W., 10,000--20/9/98.

Croydon Public Libraries.

CENTRAL REFERENCE LIBRARY.

Accession No. 8580 Class No. 9327·42

Besides the class topic, other topics treated of in this book are as follows :—

TOPIC NO.	PAGES.	TOPIC NO.	PAGES.

This Volume is presented *by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury*

*to*________________________________

and will, in the event of the Library being broken up, be returned to the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Westminster.

(s)

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

BROMLEY LIBRARIES

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged:—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or, he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed :—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

⁂ Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. IV.—Part II.—continued.

HENRY VIII.

1531-1533.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

EDITED BY

PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON:
LONGMANS & Co., Paternoster Row; TRÜBNER & Co., Ludgate Hill;
also by PARKER & Co., OXFORD;
MACMILLAN & Co., CAMBRIDGE;
A. & C. BLACK, EDINBURGH; and A. THOM & Co., DUBLIN.

1882.

1·42 X 327·46

8580

BROMLEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES AL L5
CLASS L'45
ACC. 01862 7557

Printed by George E. B. Eyre and William Spottiswoode,
Her Majesty's Printers.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

CONTENTS.

PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - - - - i
CALENDAR - - - - - - - - 1
TABLE OF CONTENTS - - - - - - 943
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS - - - - - 955
GENERAL INDEX - - - - - - - 1001

ABBREVIATIONS.

S.	Archivo General de Simancas.
L.	Legajo or bundle.
Bul. Suel.	Bulas Sueltas.
Pat. Re.	Patronato Real.
T. c. I.	Tratados con Inglaterra.
Cap. c. l. cas. d'Aus.	Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria.
T. c. Pont.	Tratados con Pontifices.
E.	Estado or Foreign affairs.
Co. d. C.	Corona de Castilla.
Co. d. A.	Corona de Aragon.
Co. d. N.	Corona de Navarra.
F.	Flandes.
A.	Alemania.
Po.	Portugal.
I.	Inglaterra.
R.	Roma.
Na.	Napoles.
Si.	Sicilia.
Mi.	Milan.
V.	Venecia.
Ge.	Genoa.
To.	Toscana.
Pr. d. It.	Principes de Italia.
Var. De.	Varios Despachos.
L. Suelt.	Legajos sueltos, or bundles of papers not yet classified.
L. d. Berz.	Libros de Berzosa.
Se. de Guer.	Secretaria de Guerra.
Mar y T.	Mar y Tierra.
H.	Hacienda or Finances.
M.	Madrid.
Re. Ac. d. Hist.	Real Academia de la Historia.
Salazar	Coleccion de D^{n}. Luis de Salazar.
Muñoz	——— de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz.
Car. Var.	Cartas varias.
Bib. Nac.	Bibliotheca Nacional, at Madrid.
B.	Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon, at Barcelona.
D. Pasc. d. G.	Library of Don Pascual de Gayangos, at Madrid.
Pap. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp.	Papeles relativos á la historia de España.
P.	Archives de l'Empire, now Archives Nationales, at Paris.
Mo. Hist.	Monuments Historiques.
K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien.	Kaiserlich und Königlich Haus- Hof- und Staats Archiv, at Vienna.
Arch. d. Roy^{me}. de Belg.	Archives du Royaume de Belgique, at Brussels.
Doc. Hist.	Documents Historiques.
Pap. d'Etat. Neg. d'Ang.	Papiers d'Etat, Negotiations d'Angleterre.
Arch. Cent. Priv. y Cart. Re. d. S^{ta}. Mar. d. Naj.	Archivo Central *at Madrid:* Privilegios y Cartas Reales de Santa Maria de Najera.

LIBRARIES

1533.

31 Mar. **1057.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 20.

As I had the honour of writing to Your Majesty on the 9th ult° this king was only waiting for the bulls of the archbishop of Canterbury to celebrate his new marriage. The said bulls having arrived in this city five days ago, to the great regret of everyone here (de tout le monde), the King has marvellously pressed the synod, here assembled [in convocation] for that particular purpose, to decide at once the case, so much so that the prelates in attendance have hardly had time even to take food, and are threatened in such a manner that not one has yet dared open his mouth in opposition, with the solitary exception of the good bishop of Rochester (Fisher), whose opinion, though very just and reasonable can have no weight at all, *he being positively alone by himself*, against *all the majority. So that in fact, the Queen herself, Fisher, and others who are in her favour, look upon the case as irretrievably lost if the very great docility of the said synod and the King's unruly passion be taken into consideration. Indeed the general belief is that before next Easter, or very shortly after, the new marriage will take place with due solemnity, for already the necessary preparations to that effect are being made and the Lady's royal household has been appointed* so that* nothing remains to be done but to have it publicly celebrated. *All people here cry "murder" against the Pope for his procrastination in this affair, and likewise for his not having delayed the expedition of the Canterbury bulls until after the final sentence, since he was duly warned of the imminent danger pending therefrom. Indeed there is hardly one among the courtiers, whether on the King's side or on the Queen's, who does not declare in public that His Holiness will in the end betray Your Majesty; especially the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who say that they are sure of it, and could if they chose give proofs of their assertion.* Although I believe that these and other like reports proceed more from the hatred these people bear the Pope than from any real conviction of their own, yet I have deemed it my duty to inform Your Majesty thereof. However this may be, His Holiness will be one of the first to repent his doings, for he will undoubtedly lose his authority in this kingdom—a highly scandalous result for the whole of Christendom as well as a most injurious proceeding against the Queen—for among other statements made in the writ (*libel*) exhibited in Parliament against Papal authority it is expressly forbidden in future to apply or appeal to Rome in any case whatsoever, whether temporal or spiritual, matrimonial or other, under pain of confiscation of property, and imprisonment of the parties concerned as guilty of rebellion, enjoining that the writ is to have retroactive power, and be enforced in future suits, as well as in pleas already instituted, *which clause, as may easily be understood, applies exclusively to the Queen's*

---

* "Et lestat royal de la Dame est desia fait."

case. Indeed I am told by some one, though I can hardly believe it, *that should the Queen still persist in her appeal to Rome, and refuse to comply with the said writ* (*edit*) *the King intends to deprive her of her dower* (*de son dot et douaire*).

Hitherto the secular members of the House have not condescended to the King's wishes, or voted the said Bill against Papal authority, but have most manfully opposed the same on many grounds more or less solid, and especially on the plea that should the Pope resent the injury done him, declare the English to be schismatic and place this kingdom under excommunication, so as to prevent traffic and the sale of clothing, which is what they live by, that measure would be the cause of most awful riots in the country, and most likely of a civil war. Against this reasoning of the members those who push the King's affairs in Parliament give out that there is no such danger, inasmuch as the Christian princes their neighbours would be too glad to follow such an example and countenance the King's threats and practices (*mennasses et practiques*). Nor has the Papal Nuncio failed, as was his duty to do, to represent to the King the singularity of his behaviour, telling him, among other things, that the World would find it very strange that a prince, who styles himself "Defender of the Faith," and who had once written in favour of Papal authority, should now try to pull it down in opposition to God and reason, and refuse that very obedience which he himself and his predecessors on the throne had given to the Holy See. To which remark the King answered that what he was doing was intended for the preservation of his own authority, and to guard against the injuries already done him, or intended against him at Rome. It was very true, he said, that he had formerly written books in favour of Papal authority, but he had since better studied the subject, and found that it was the very contrary of what he had stated in writing. The Pope might perhaps give him occasion to reconsider the matter, and reconstruct what he had written, intimating no doubt that should the Pope do his pleasure in this affair he may undo what he has attempted against his authority.*

A Scotch gentleman, under colour of being king Francis' servant, has just arrived under a safe-conduct on his way to France, and has been several times to Court, not only in company with the French ambassador, but by himself. What his business here may be I have been unable to learn. I sent, however, a confidential person to him to ascertain, if possible, what he was about, with instructions that should he find the Scotchman well disposed and affectionate to Your Majesty he should at once give him my commendations, and offer him my services. At which the Scotchman seemed pleased and greatly

---

* "Il estoit bien vray quil avoit autresfoys compose livres a la faveur du pape, mais quil avoit depuis mieulx estudie, et trouvoit le contraire de ce quil avoit escript, et quil pourroit estre que lon luy donneroit occasion destudier plus avant, reconformer ce quil avoit escript] veullant innuyr quil ne tiendra sinon que [le pape luy veuille complaire.]"

1533.

obliged to me; but fearing lest the person I sent with the message might turn out to be a spy, he merely said that although he had given out that he was going to France there to reside and take service, he went only for the sake of promoting the affairs of king James of Scotland. The first thing, he said, the duke of Norfolk had asked him at his interview with him was how many armed men had crossed from Flanders into Scotland. The said gentleman further said to my confidant that what I wrote to Your Majesty respecting Beauvoir's mission to Scotland—when he was sent thither by king Francis—was perfectly true. Beyond these facts my man could not hear more from the Scotchman owing to visitors coming suddenly into the room, though he promised to call the day after at the embassy, and tell me more about it. As I knew, however, that he could not well do this without being found out, and exciting suspicion, I sent him word not to come, and he was grateful for my attention. Some one who has seen him since tells me that he owns to being the bearer of a treaty of alliance between France and Scotland in virtue of which he is to ask help and assistance from the Most Christian King.

As to Mr. de Rochefort I have not been able yet to ascertain what his mission is. *I hear, however, from some good quarter that it is founded on some* out of the way and extravagant plans, *and that some days ago he had quitted the court of France without being able to accomplish anything.**

The Doctor whom this king sent to Ambourg (Hamburg) and to the king of Denmark returned three days ago. He brings in his company in the guise of a merchant a gentleman of the said king as envoy to this one, who, however, did not make himself known to the Doctor until they arrived at Calais. I hear also that the gentleman in question is one of the principal personages of that kingdom, and that he has come to offer his services to this one, which I cannot believe, at least against the Scotch, owing to the good neighbourhood and alliance existing between the two countries. I will try to ascertain the truth of the case, as well as the Doctor's business in Denmark, that I may acquaint Your Majesty by the first post.

Hearing that a number of infantry were [collected] in Holland I have tried all I could to ascertain whether in consequence of the movements in that quarter any preparations were made here; but hitherto have been unable to obtain information or even to form conjectures on that point.

On the side of Scotland nothing new has happened since my last, save that four days ago privateers from that country captured eight English vessels laden with merchandise; in consequence of which the King has ordered out the six

---

* "Quelle estoit fondee en beaucoup de diableries et choses extravagantes, et quil a desia quelques jours party de la court de France sans exploit du monde."

1533.

men-of-war, of which I wrote to Your Majesty, and which had not yet dared go out of the Thames. *And I have been told that had it* not been for the importunity of the merchants of this city, who have offered to pay part of the expenses of the armament, the King gave no signs at all of having them out; so little does he care for the concerns of his subjects, all his attention being now engrossed by his new marriage.*—London, 31st March 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received on the 25th of May."

French. Holograph. pp. 6.

10 April. **1058.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 21.

All the representations this present Parliament has made respecting the danger in which the King is placing himself and his kingdom, as I informed Your Majesty, and those still more urgent made since my last to drive him, if possible, from his purpose, have been unavailing. The King has by his absolute will obliged the members of that body to vote the motion against Papal authority and to declare, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty, that all causes, even those relating to marriage, shall be henceforward tried here, in England, without in anywise recurring or appealing to Rome, under the penalty attached to crimes of "lesæ Majestatis," and that should anyone bring to this country briefs of excommunication or interdict from the Pope, he is immediately to be seized and put to ignominious death for the same. Which trap (*pipee*), as may be imagined, has been solely and exclusively laid against the Queen. This being observed by some members of this Parliament, and especially by one who represents this city of London, who was once in Spain, and is one of my most intimate and familiar friends, they have presented an amendment to this effect; that should the King consent to remit the Queen's case, and also this business of the Pope to the decision of the General Council, they would persuade the people to grant him 200,000 pounds sterling. But all to no purpose; the King has not consented to the divorce case being decided by anyone else but his archbishop [of Canterbury], of whom he is pretty sure, since he has already performed the marriage ceremony, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty. Indeed he seems quite determined, as he himself has told many of his courtiers and the members of his Privy Council openly declare, to proceed to the solemnity of his marriage and the consequent coronation of the Lady immediately after Easter.

---

* "[Et a ce que lon ma dit sans l'importunacion des marchans que on[t] offert de le frayer en partie, le royne faysoit compte ne semblant de les envoyer si peu se socye til des affaires si nest de son nouveaul marriage]."

1533.

The better to dispose and prepare which matter he sent yesterday the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the marquis [of Dorset ?], and earl of Oxford,* to tell the Queen that she need not trouble herself about returning to him, for he had already taken another wife, and that in future she must abstain from calling herself or being addressed as queen, as he would give her the title of duchess only, leave her in possession of the property she owned before, and offer even a larger revenue if she should want it. I cannot say whether the said noblemen have any other message for her; but if they have the Queen is sure to let me know to-morrow, and I will acquaint Your Majesty with the result of the interview. It may be that these people are afraid of the Queen's going out [of England], for about a week ago the King's Privy Council ordered Millort Monjois (Lord Mountjoy) to go in all possible haste to her, remain there where she is, keep guard over her, and not move from the spot until fresh orders.

Last Easter Sunday (*Paques Flories*) the King sent the bishop of Rochester (Fisher) to prison under the custody of him of Winchester [Gardyner], a very strange act, that prelate being the most holy and learned in all Christendom. Which imprisonment has been made, as the King had it stated the other day in this Parliament, under colour of the bishop's (Fisher) having said that Mr. de Rocheffort's late mission to France was for the purpose of presenting a very large sum of money to the high chancellor of France (Prat), and to the cardinal of Lorraine, to induce the Pope by money or other means to ratify this king's new marriage, or at least to dissemble and not proceed further against the parties. That the King thought the Pope would make no difficulty, inasmuch as the marriage was already a "fait accompli." This much the good Bishop is accused of having said, and I do really believe that it must have been also one of the objects of Mr. de Rocheffort's mission to France; and, moreover, that in order not to hinder their negotiations with the Pope through the motions which they intend making in this Parliament,† the King, a week ago, sent a message to the Papal Nuncio through the duke of Norfolk, requesting him not to write to His Holiness about the said affair. But the real cause and occasion of the good Bishop's detention is his having so manfully taken up the defence of the Pope and of the Queen, by which Your Majesty will be able to understand the state of confusion and disorder in which things are here, and the obstinacy of this king, who is wilfully working his own ruin and perdition. Indeed, I hear that whenever anyone represents to him the many inconveniences arising therefrom, and the dangers of a foreign invasion,‡ he (the King) resolutely answers that if united and in harmony together, the English shall never be conquered by a foreign prince; and yet it seems to me as if he were doing all he can to forfeit the affection of his subjects.

---

* "Il envoya hier devers la royne les ducs de Norphoc, Suffolcq, marquis et le comte de Ausburg," &c.

† "Et [que] pour non gaster leurs practiques vers le pape par ce quilz sollicitoient en ces estatz, le roy puis huit jours," &c.

‡ "Il dit quent (*sic*) on luy parles des inconvenients que luy peuvent advenir, que estant en union et bonne volonte langleterre elle nestoit conquestable par prince estrangier."

Meanwhile all Englishmen, high and low, are in great alarm, and consider themselves as good as lost, believing that even if there should be no foreign invasion, civil war will break out and ruin them all. Great as their fears are, and not without reason, the general indignation is still greater, for excepting 10 or 12 persons who surround the Lady, all the rest of the nation are terribly afraid of disturbances in this country; so much so that whatever losses they might sustain through it, still they would wish Your Majesty to send here an army with which to destroy the poisonous influence of the Lady [Anne] and her adherents, and make a new reformation of all this kingdom.*

I beg Your Majesty to pardon me if I venture too far on matters which are not my incumbence (*daustruy mestier*); but the great interest I take in Your Majesty's concerns compels me to say that, considering the very great injury done to Madame, your aunt, you can hardly avoid making war upon this king and kingdom, for it is to be feared that the moment this accursed Anne sets her foot firmly in the stirrup she will try to do the Queen all the harm she possibly can, and the Princess also, which is the thing your aunt dreads most. Indeed, I hear she has lately boasted that she will make of the Princess a maid of honour in her Royal household, that she may perhaps give her too much dinner on some occasion, or marry her to some varlet,† which would be an irreparable evil. Besides the said dangers, which are urgent enough, and ought to be prevented, there are two weighty points to be taken into consideration: one is the bad example and great scandal of this divorce; the other the fear of this kingdom being alienated from our Holy Faith and going over to the Lutherans, which will happen soon enough, and will be an irreparable evil, inasmuch as the King himself is shewing them the way and helping them on, and the archbishop of Canterbury is doing still worse.

An undertaking against this country would be in the opinion of many people here the easiest thing in the world just now, for this king has neither cavalry nor well trained infantry (*ne chevaulx ne gens de conduite*), besides which the affection of his subjects is entirely on Your Majesty's side, not only that of the common people but of the nobility in general, with the single exception of the duke of Norphorg (Norfolk) and two or three more. It is true that the better to ground the said enterprize, and remove all scruples and difficulties respecting existing treaties, it would be advisable that the Pope should invoke the aid of the secular power, and that in virtue of the censures already executed, Your Majesty should forbid all intercourse of trade between your dominions of Flanders and Spain and this kingdom to make the people rise against the promoters of this accursed marriage; and that in order to encourage and countenance them in their rising it would be advisable to fit out some ships of war, and secretly aid the Scotch with money, or give them hopes of aid, so that they may not conclude peace, which is the thing these people desire most at present. In my opinion the only apparent difficulty in such a plan is the fear of the Most Christian King attempting something in the meantime against Your Majesty's dominions; but considering the just ground of your quarrel there can be no danger of that, for I hear from an authentic source that when the sieur de Montpesat resided here as ambassador, the King having asked him whether in case of Your Majesty declaring war he could count upon the assistance of France, that ambassador replied rather hesitatingly that he did not know how far the King, his master, would be able to help him, as the case was not specified in their mutual treaties; and that even if the Most Christian King was willing he might perhaps not be able to assist his brother of England, knowing, as he did, that an undertaking against this country would be of short duration, and his own assistance of little value. He, therefore, imagined that the King, his master, would probably wait for the issue of the contest. So if this king, who is the right arm of that of France, were punished, I have no doubt that the pride of the other would considerably abate.* It might also happen that the Swiss, without whose help this king cannot possibly accomplish anything, being forewarned of the enormity of the case, might refuse to assist him against Your Imperial Majesty, even if they should get a good price (*pot de vin*) for the bargain.

---

* "[Il nest chose a croyre de la craincte, ou est tout ce peuple tant grans que menuz et ne pensent pas moings sinon quilz sen vont trestous perduz, et quant ores ne leur seroit mene guerre extrinsique que lintestine les ruynera. Et combien, Sire, que la dite craincte soit grande, et non sans cause, toutesfois lindignation quilz ont generalement trestous, sors x ou xii qui son autour de la dame, surmonte inextimablement la dicte craincte de sorte que ores ils deussent souffrir de grandes pertes et dommages, si vouldroient ilz que vostre maieste envoyat icy armee pour eradiquer le poison de la dame et de ses adherens, et faire une nouvelle reformacion en tout le royaulme."]

† "La dite anne sest vantee quelle vouloit avoir pour demoiselle la dite princesse que nest que pour la faire trop manger, ou pour la faire marier a quelque varlet."

It is perfectly true that if it were not for the Princess' imminent danger, to which I have above alluded, and also because, should the English see Your Majesty at all lukewarm in this affair, they might lose the affection they profess you, the most prudent course to follow would be to temporize a little, and try to stop their trade with your subjects. And yet it seems to me as if this expedient was also fraught with danger; for if that be done this king will immediately try to get the king of France to make some stir (*emocion*), and, perhaps, also contribute his share of the expenses; though on the other hand, if he sees his kingdom suddenly invaded, he is not likely to lose his time in soliciting the aid of other princes, but will spend in his own defence the money he would otherwise have given. At any rate, it seems to me that Your Majesty would do well not to allow the English merchants who reside in your dominions of Flanders and Spain to be ill-treated, for they will be instrumental in maintaining and fostering the good-will and affection of the people to Your Majesty.

---

* "Respondit quil ne sçauoit, car cela nestoit pas exprime en leurs traictez; et quant le dit roy trez chrestien auroit envye de mal faire, sachant que lemprinse de ce royaulme est de si courte duree, doubtant que cependant il ne pourroit faire chose de valeur, vouldroit actendre lyssue, et si ce roy quest le bras droit de lautre estoit chastie lautre rabbaptroit de lorgueil."

I hear that the King is about to forbid everyone, under pain of death, to speak in public or private in favour of the Queen. After that he will most likely proceed to greater extremities unless God and Your Majesty prevent it.

Again I beseech Your Majesty to forgive me if I dare give advice in such matters, for besides the above causes *the great pity I have for the Queen and Princess, Your Majesty's aunt and niece, absolutely compel me to take this course.*

The Papal Nuncio, who was in Scotland, has been back for the last three days. He says that the Scots are under great pressure from these people, and that they are willing to make peace on the very terms they demanded at the beginning; otherwise they are prepared to carry on the war. The duke of Albany's secretary, who returned also from that country a week ago, is now here on his way to France. They have, as I am given to understand, retained him so long here that they might sound him about the peace, which, as above said, these people most desire, though they strongly object to the conditions asked as humiliating to themselves.

The German, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, has at last been dispatched with a letter for his master and lord the landgrave [of Hesse], thanking him for his offers of service, and saying that this king is in no need of men. The same answer has been returned to the Danish captain, who, it was said, came here on a similar errand; both have received some money towards the expenses of their journey, and nothing more.

The merchants residing here perceiving the precarious state of affairs in this country are trying as much as they can to withdraw their merchandise, or otherwise dispose of their goods. For the same reason my creditors, fearing lest I should be obliged soon to leave this country, are most pressingly urging the payment of my debts to them. I humbly beg and entreat Your Majesty to give orders to the Treasury of the Low Countries for the speedy settlement of my arrears, &c.

I am about to start [for Greenwich] to speak to the King on business, which cause, as well as the hasty departure of this courier, prevents me from reading over and reconsidering the contents of this present despatch.—London, 10th April 153[3].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received on the 29th of the same month, 1533."

French. Holograph. pp. 7.

1533.
21 April. **1059.** COUNT of CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 38.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 236.

Received at Vulsena (Bolsena) the Emperor's letter of the 8th April last. Sent by the same messenger to Jacopo Salviati at Rome a copy that he might shew it to His Holiness.

Entered Rome on Thursday the 17th, and had a most splendid reception, for although he (Cifuentes) had left this to his (the Pope's) discretion, and the latter considered no regular audience to be necessary, having already had one from him at Bologna, his reception on this occasion was as formal and ceremonious as if his nomination and arrival in Rome had been just then intimated. All the Pope's servants and those of the cardinals, not to say anything of their mules and jockeys came out, as customary on such occasions, without counting those of the Spaniards and Germans (*la nacion*) residing at Rome, so that nothing more could be desired.*

On the following Saturday he (Cifuentes) had audience from the Pope, to whom he delivered the Emperor's verbal message, &c.

After many protestations of friendship and regard for him (the Emperor), the Pope asked him (Cifuentes) whether he was aware that the English ambassadors and others in that king's name had urged, and were actually urging, him to revoke the brief that had been issued, commanding his separation from the Lady Anne. This he had refused to do for his (the Emperor's) sake, though very much pressed by the parties, who alleged *that there were several flaws in the brief.* In order to ascertain how far the English were right, he had submitted the brief in question to cardinals Monte and Campeggio, and auditors Capisuccio and Simoneta, and to the Datary also. Answered the Pope that being no lawyer (*letrado*) he could not give his opinion on such points; he (Cifuentes) had no doubt that the Imperial proctors and advocates had already given a satisfactory answer; but he could not help thinking that such representations on the part of the king of England ought to be rejected not listened to, since not one of his ambassadors had ever exhibited powers from him. All this (he said) was mere cavilling to gain time for an occasion to come when the King might accomplish that, which according to the Emperor's ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys), he has threatened to do, which is to marry the Lady Anne before St. John's Day. Hearing which His Holiness replied: "I believe it, for I have letters from France announcing the very same thing, and saying that the King is the more inclined to marry that he finds his mistress is in the family way. After all (added the Pope) the marriage once effected it only remains to think of the remedy." Answered that the only remedy was for His Holiness to do justice quickly since justice was so plainly on the Queen's side. Though the King might have uttered those threatening words, he was not likely to carry his threat into execution, especially if His Holiness sentenced the case soon. It was the toleration with which the King was treated, and the constant delays allowed here at Rome which emboldened the king of England to speak in that manner, and might perhaps embolden him also to execute his threat.*

---

* "Que fue sallir (*sic*) toda su familia del Papa, y la de los cardenales sin las mullas (*sic*) y moços de spuelas que en tal caso suelen venir."

His Holiness replied: "I will most certainly do justice;" but he added: "Were this marriage to take place, what would your Emperor do?" Replied: "Let Your Holiness do what I ask, and then my master, as the most powerful king and emperor that he is, will see what is to be done."

In answer to an Imperial despatch from Alessandria received here, at Rome, he (Cifuentes) has nothing to say except that Muñoz, the solicitor,† was the bearer of the brief for the Crusade which was signed at Bologna. As he was going to Spain by land, he (Muñoz) no doubt omitted to inform the Council of his departure. The brief concerning the "gabella" or tax of Naples was also ready on his arrival. Doctor Figueroa, regent (president of the Summaria) in that kingdom, took it with him.

Field-master Maxicao wrote to ask for a brief of the Pope and for a Papal commissary that the infantry that is going to Naples may find provisions on its passage through the lands of the Church. The brief was procured and sent; also a letter for the duke of Urbino, through whose estate the infantry has to pass.

Since his arrival at Rome he (Cifuentes) has heard that the marriage between the duke of Orleans and the Pope's niece is a settled thing; but it appears that the Duke is not to be married by proxy, as was said, but is to come here in person‡ Will at a future audience speak to the Pope about it, not indeed to prevent the marriage, for there is nothing in his instructions against it, but in order to ascertain if there be anything in the contract likely to prejudice his (the Emperor's) interests.

The viceroy of Naples [marquis of Villafranca] sends copy of advices received from Coron. Encloses it as well as letters from Venice. The news is fully confirmed by the Venetian ambassador residing here. Will to-morrow, or after, call on His Holiness and beg him to write to his Nuncio there to intercede with the Signory in favour of the people of Coron, and levy the prohibition of taking food to them.—Rome, 21st April 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

---

* "Yo le respondi que su Sant^{d} hiziese brevemente justicia pues tanta la tenia aquella Serenissima Reyna, y que aunque aquellas palabras dixesse no lo haria si su Sd. determinase la causa, porque la dilacion y templança que acá vehen les da occasion de decir semejantes palabras y por ventura que lo hagan de fecho."

† "El sollicitador Munyoz."

‡ "Sino que el mismo duque havia de venir para desposar [se] y casarse con ella."

1533.

21 April. **1060.** CARDINAL PALMA to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 820, f. 26.

Has written twice advising the news of this city.

Offers his services again. There can be no doubt that the marriage of France will soon take place. Until now His Holiness has gone on saying that the French make no demands whatever and seem quite disinterested in the affair, which in his (Palma's) opinion is hard to believe. We shall see, and if anything turns up His Lordship is sure to hear from him immediately, for he has every facility of knowing what goes on in the Pope's most secret councils.

Rumours prevail of an interview between His Holiness and the king of France, but in his (Palma's) opinion without much foundation; on the contrary he believes that all probabilities are against it, for though the French have actually applied for the said interview, and His Holiness has not yet answered *Yes* or *No*, he hears from a most authentic source that there is not much probability of its being effected. At any rate, negotiations are still on foot, and if anything be decided, His Lordship shall be informed in time.—Rome, 21st April 1533.

Signed: "A. C. Palmiensis."

Italian. Original. pp. 2½.

15April. **1061.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 24.

On Tuesday the 7th inst., having been informed of the strange and outrageous conduct and proceedings of this king against the Queen, whereof I have written to Your Majesty, I went to Court at the hour appointed for the King's audience, that I might there duly remonstrate against the Queen's treatment. I took with me Mr. Hesdin, who by the consent of the queen [of Hungary] is now here to claim the arrears of his pension, in order that he might be present, and hear the remonstrances I had to address the King, hoping also that if I had to use threatening language the King might not be so much offended if uttered in the presence of the said Hesdin.* On my arrival at Greenwich the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) came to meet me, and leading me to the apartments of the duke of Norfolk, who had just gone to see the Queen, said to me that the King being very much engaged at that hour had deputed him to listen to what I had to say, and report thereupon. My answer was that my communication was of such a nature and so important that I could not possibly make it to anyone but to the King in person. Until now he had never refused me audience, or put me off, and I could not think that he would now break through the custom without my having given him any occasion for it, especially as the King knew that Your Majesty most willingly received the English ambassadors at

---

* "Pour ruer quelque propoz sil venoit a taille esperant que le roy prendroit les choses en meilleur part en presence du dit Hesdin."

1533.

all hours, whatever might be their errand or business. The Earl repeated his excuses, and seemed at first disinclined to take my answer back to the King, until at last, perceiving my firm determination, he went in and came back saying the King would see me immediately, though he still tried to ascertain what my business was, and advised me to put off my communication until after the festivals. It was settled at last that I should see the King on Thursday in Holy Week, on which day having about me a copy of my last despatch [to Your Majesty], I took again the road to Court, accompanied as before by the said Master Hesdin, and was introduced to the Royal presence by the same earl of Wiltshire. The King received us graciously enough. After the usual salutations and inquiries about Your Majesty's health, the King asked me what news I had of your movements. I answered that the letters I had received last were rather old, but that I had reason to believe you had already embarked to return to Spain at the beginning of this present month. This statement the King easily believed, and was rejoiced to hear (such is his wish to see you fairly out of Italy). I added that the weather for the last days could not have been more favourable, and therefore that it was to be hoped Your Majesty had reached Spain in safety. Having then asked me whether I had other news to communicate, I told him that your brother, the king of the Romans, had made his peace with the Turk, and that the latter had sent an embassy, at which piece of intelligence the King remained for some time in silent astonishment as if he did not know what to answer.

After this, coming to the principal object of my visit, I told him plainly that, although for several days past I had heard of the attempt made both at the convocation of the prelates and in Parliament to impugn the Queen's rights, and greatly injure her just cause, I had taken no notice of the facts, inasmuch as I could not be persuaded that so wise, virtuous, and Catholic a prince could possibly authorize or sanction such things, and also because I thought and believed that such practices (*menees*) could in no wise impair the Queen's right or cause her harm. Yet that having lately been apprized from various quarters that such an attempt was really being made, I considered that I could not acquit myself of my duty towards God, towards Your Imperial Majesty, and towards himself if I did not remonstrate at once against such behaviour, and entreat him by his virtue, wisdom, and humanity patiently to listen to my observations as proceeding from my desire for his service, for that though he might disregard and despise man, he would at least respect God.* To which the King answered that so he had done, and that God and his conscience were perfectly agreed on that point.

---

* "Et que puis quil ne vouloit auoir regard aux home[s] lesquels il despectoit (*sic*) trestous, quil deuoit auoir respect a dieu."

1533.

Hearing the King express* himself in this manner and wishing to bring him back to the subject as gently as possible, I observed that my colleague and I could not but be very much flattered at the familiar way in which he had expressed his sentiments, as if we were his own servants, which sentiments, I added, proceeded no doubt from his heart not from his mouth. He assured me, however, that such was not the case, and that what he had just said had been said without dissimulation. Upon which I again said to him that I could not believe that Christianity, being so agitated and troubled by heresies, he could possibly set so bad an example and contravene the treaties of peace and amity which, as he himself, who had been the principal promoter and mediator in them ought to know best, had cost so much time and trouble to make. He ought to know that even supposing no inconvenience arose therefrom in his lifetime there would be most serious ones after his death with regard to the succession. There had never been such a case, I continued, nor did we read of it in history, as for a prince to divorce his legitimate wife after five and twenty years, and marry another woman. Not knowing what to answer to my observations, the King gladly seized the opportunity which I gave him by this last statement to contradict me, and said: "Not so long, if you please; and if the world finds this new marriage of mine strange, I find it still more so that the Pope [Julius] should have granted a dispensation for the former." I then mentioned to him five popes who had dispensed in similar cases, and declared that I was unwilling to dispute that matter with him, but that there was no doctor in his kingdom, who after such a debate would not confess that pope Julius was authorized to dispense in the case.† After this, coming to speak about the manner in which his solicitors had procured the votes of the university of Paris, on which he founds his principal argument, I offered to produce the letters I had received relating the whole affair, as well as the names of those who had held for the Queen, but he said there was no necessity at all for that. I, moreover, told him that neither in Spain, nor in Naples, nor in any other country could one single prelate or doctor be found to assert the contrary, and that even in his own kingdom every canonist and lawyer was of the same opinion, with the exception of the few who had been gained over to the other side, and I proposed, in confirmation of my statement, to exhibit other letters, which he likewise refused to see.

At last, wishing to turn the conversation, the King said that he wished to ensure the succession to his kingdom by having children, which he had not at present, and upon my remarking to him that he had one daughter, the most virtuous and

---

* "Apres quil se fut ainsi desgorge ie luy dis pour le ramener grazieusement quil nous monstroit bien," &c.

† "Mais quil navoit docteur en son royaulme quant viendroit a telz termes que ne luy feisse confesser la verite."

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

accomplished that could be thought of, just of suitable age to be married and get children, and that it seemed as if Nature had decided that the succession to the English throne should be through the female line, as he himself had obtained it, and therefore, that he could by marrying the Princess to some one secure the succession he was so anxious for, he replied that he knew better than that; and would marry again in order to have children himself. And upon my observing to him that he could not be sure of that he asked me three times running: "Am I not a man like others?" and he afterwards added: "I need not give proofs of the contrary, or let you into my secrets," no doubt implying thereby that his beloved Lady is already in the family way.

After this we came to speak about the Queen and to argue whether she had or had not been known by prince Arthur, and after responding victoriously to the suppositions and conjectures which he alleged in support of his opinion, I produced such arguments in proof of the contrary that he really knew not what to answer. Which arguments having been brought forward on more than one occasion I will not trouble Your Majesty with a reproduction of them, and will only say "que venant a reprendre le dit seigneur roy ce que plusieurs fois il auoit confesse, que la royne demeura pucelle du dit prince Arthus, et voyant quil ne le pouvoit nyer, il dit quil lauoit plusieurs fois dit mais que ce nauoit este que en ieu, et que lhome en iouant et banquetant dit souvent pluseures (*sic*) choses que ne sont veritables." Having said as much as if he had obtained a great success, or found some subtle point towards the gaining of his cause, he began to recover his self-possession and said confidently to me: "Now I think I have given you full satisfaction on all points; what else do you want?" Whatever the King might say the satisfaction was not all-sufficing, but it served me admirably, much more than he himself could imagine, to dispute certain premises he had laid down. I told him that I flattered myself that I was the ambassador of the prince who desired most his welfare, profit, and honour, as well as the tranquillity of his kingdom.* I had brought with me Master Hesdin,† there present, who was, and acknowledged himself to be, his affectionate servant—as did also all Your Majesty's officers—that he might be present at the conference and hear what his answer was; but I would promise most solemnly that nothing that might be said at that audience should be reported to you unless he himself wished, for I consented to the said Hesdin giving me the lie if I ever attempted to write to Your Majesty anything he (the

---

* "Il se comença a haulser me disant maintenant vous ay ie paye, que voulez vous plus? Toutesfois son payement ne se trouve de monnoye mectable, et me vint plus a propoz quil ne pensoit pour abbatre quelques parolles de l'ambassadeur du prince du monde plus desirant son bien prouffit et honneur et la tranquillite de ses royaulmes et pays."

† Immediately after the paragraph the letter continues, "et puys ie recite (recitai?) dung sien tres adonne serviteur, et que avoye bien voulu mener avec moy le dit Hesdin questoit et se renommoit son serviteur, comme aussi se reputoint tous ceulx de vostre maieste."

1533.

King) did dislike. This I said to the King that I might inspire greater confidence and make him open his heart more fully (*lui fere deslier le sac*). The better to gain his confidence I told him how happy I had once considered myself at being chosen by Your Majesty to represent your person near so great and magnanimous a king, hoping that his Privy Council, taking due cognizance of the affairs pending between the two crowns, everything should go on smoothly. Now, on the contrary, affairs had taken such a disorderly turn, and were in such confusion that I considered myself unhappy in having to represent Your Majesty, inasmuch as I had continually assured you in my despatches that whatever countenance the King put on, and whatever he did his heart and the affection he bore Your Majesty were not affected, and that he would never think of doing anything that might give occasion to suspect that he intended living otherwise than in peace and amity with Your Imperial Majesty. At these words, and without waiting to hear the rest, as if he wished to avoid all further conversation on this delicate subject, the King frowned, and moving his head to and fro, said rather abruptly: "Before I listen to such representations, I must know from whom they proceed, whether from the Emperor, your master, or from yourself; for if they be private remarks of your own I shall know how to answer them." And upon my answering that it was superfluous to ask whether I could have received commission to complain of facts and things which had only taken place a week ago, the intelligence of which would require a full month to be transmitted, and perhaps, too, four successive despatches of mine before it was believed—my general charge and instructions being to maintain by all best means the peace and friendship between Your Majesty and him, and especially to watch over the Queen's affairs, since from them depended in a great measure that very friendship—the King replied that you yourself had nothing to do with the laws, statutes, and constitutions of his kingdom, and that in spite of all opposition he would pass such laws and ordinances in his dominions as he thought proper, adding many other things in the same strain. My reply was that Your Majesty neither could nor would hinder any such legislative measures, but on the contrary would, if necessary, help him in them unless they personally affected the Queen, whom he wanted to compel to renounce her appeal [to Rome] and submit entirely to the judgment of the prelates of his kingdom who, either won by promises or threatened with that punishment which had already attained those who upheld the Queen's right, could not fail to decide in his favour and against her. After this I repeated what I had told him on previous occasions in Your Majesty's name, that is to say: that the fact of the case being determined here, in England, as he wished, would in nowise remove hereafter the doubts about the succession for the reasons above explained,

1533.

He, himself, considering how unreasonable and illegal it would be to have the case tried and decided in England, when the authority of the Holy Apostolic See was concerned, had from the beginning of the suit asked the Papal permission for the two cardinals (Campeggio and York) to take cognizance of the case here. Even after that he had allowed the Queen to appeal to Rome, and in the course of time not satisfied with that had himself, and through others, solicited the Queen to consent to the case being tried out of Rome, not here in England, for he knew that to be a most unreasonable demand, but in a neutral place. For these reasons I said the Queen cannot and ought not to be tied by laws and statutes to which no one hardly had consented, and which had been carried by compulsion. To this remark of mine the King replied half in a passion (*demy appassione*): "All persuasions and remonstrances are absolutely in vain. Had I known that the audience you applied for had no other object than to speak to me of these things I certainly should have found some excuse to break through the established rule, and escape from such objurgations." But on my representing to him the object of my calling, and telling him that he was positively bound to listen not only to what an ambassador of Your Majesty, but the commonest mortal, had to say to him in a case of this sort, and the courteous and humane manner in which you had always treated his ambassadors, he was obliged to retract, and said that as regarded the commission granted to the two cardinals he could not deny that he himself had applied for it, but that was, he said, under a promise made by the Pope that the cause should never be revoked [from England]; but since His Holiness withdrew all the commissions he had previously given, he (the King) did likewise reject the offer to have the case tried and sentenced in a neutral place, for he wished it to be determined here and not elsewhere. As to his consent to the Queen's appeal he had only given it conditionally, and provided the statutes and constitutions of the kingdom allowed of it, not otherwise, and said that lately a prohibitive one had been made in Parliament which the Queen herself, as an English subject, was bound to obey. Hearing this I could not help observing that laws and constitutions had no retroactive power, and that they could only be enforced in the future. As to the Queen being an English subject I owned that she being his legitimate wife was really and truly such, and that consequently all debate about constitutions and appeals was not only superfluous but out of the question; but that if the Queen, however, was, as he asserted, not his wife, she could not be called an English subject, for she only resided in this country in virtue of her marriage, not otherwise, and Common Law establishes that the claimant is to bring his action before the tribunal of the country whereof the defendant is a native. The Queen might as well ask to have her case tried in Spain, but this she had never attempted, contenting herself that the

1533.

court to which he himself had firstly applied as claimant should take cognizance of the affair, that being the only true and irrefragable tribunal in her case. And upon his replying that he had not sent for her, and that his brother, the prince of Wales, had first taken her to wife and consummated marriage, I remarked that if he himself had not sent for her he had after his brother's demise kept her by him, and prevented her from going away at the request of her father, the Catholic king of Spain, through his ambassador at this court, Hernand Duque de Estrada, as I could prove by his letters. These, however, the King refused to peruse, and again repeated: "She must have patience and obey the laws of this kingdom." Then he added that Your Majesty in return for so many services and favours had done him the greatest possible injury by hindering his new marriage, and preventing his having male succession. That the Queen was no more his wife than she was mine, and that he would act in this business just as he pleased, in spite of all opposition and grumbling, and that if Your Majesty capriciously attempted to cause him annoyance he would try to defend himself with the help of his friends.

Lastly, upon my urging upon him that his marriage had been pre-arranged by the King, his father [Henry VII.], and by the Catholic king of Spain [Ferdinand], both of whom were the wisest of their age, and would have never consented to it had there been the least shade of scruple respecting prince Arthur—which after all was the principal ground of complaint—he again insisted on his determination to act as he pleased in the matter without attending to considerations of any sort whatever, adding that you yourself had shewn him the way to disobey the Pope's injunctions by your appealing four years ago to a future Council. Upon which I told him that he himself could not do better than follow your example and appeal to that very Council, and since he alleged that he was ready to imitate you in this respect, I must warn him that no prince in the world had more respect than you had for His Holiness, or deeper fear of his excommunications, for upon one occasion you had been one whole Holy Week without attending Divine service.

These last words of mine had great effect upon the King, who no doubt thought that I meant to reproach him for not having obeyed the Papal excommunication and interdict once fulminated against him; he, therefore, was a little hurt and said to me in rather an angry tone of voice: "If you go on like that you will make me lose my temper." I begged him to tell me how I could have offended him, warmly protesting that I had no such intention; then he lowered his voice a little and spoke less harshly, though, notwithstanding all my entreaties, he would never say how or in what I had offended him, and I must say that the rest of our conference passed without any visible signs of ill-humour on his part.

1533.

Thus encouraged I asked him whether in the event of Spaniards and Flemings, as good Christians, refusing for fear of the Papal interdict to hold communication, or carry on trade with his subjects, they would be amenable to the penalties described in the statute, and what sort of crime could be imputed to them. He remained for a while thoughtful and startled, not knowing what to answer, which being observed by me I preferred asking leave to retire to remaining where I was and waiting for his answer. I, therefore, said to him: "If such be the state of things I will not trouble Your Highness any more and lose my time; I will withdraw." He then said "adieu" to me in a gracious manner, but retained Hesdin, to whom he addressed the following words; "You have heard what the Emperor's ambassador has just said respecting the Papal excommunication and the stopping of trade between my subjects and the Spaniards and Flemings; but I can tell you that the ecclesiastical censures do not on this occasion fall upon me, but upon the Emperor himself who has so long opposed me, and prevented my new marriage, thus making me live in sin and against the prescriptions of Mother Church. The excommunication, moreover, is of such a nature that the Pope himself could not raise it without my consent; but, pray, do not mention this to the ambassador." This will give Your Majesty an idea of the King's blindness in these matters. Hesdin only replied that the affair was of too much importance for him to mix himself up with it.*

We both returned [to London] without accepting the pressing invitation to dinner from the earl of Wulchier (Wiltshire) who *in the absence of the duke of Norfolk was to preside at the table.*

On Wednesday the said Duke, and the others of whom I wrote to Your Majesty in my last despatch, called upon the Queen and delivered their message, which was in substance as follows: "She was to renounce her title of queen, and allow her case to be decided here, in England. If she did, she would confer a great boon on the kingdom and prevent much effusion of blood, and besides the King would treat her in future much better than she could possibly expect." Perceiving that there was no chance of the Queen's agreeing to such terms, the deputies further told her that they came in the King's name to inform her that resistance was useless (*quelle se rompist plus la teste*), since his marriage with the other Lady had been effected more than two months ago in the presence of several persons, without any one of them having been summoned for that purpose.† Upon which, with much bowing and ceremony, and many excuses for having in obedience to the King's commands fulfilled so disagreeable a duty, the deputies withdrew. After whose departure the lord Mountjoy,

---

* "Le dit Hesdin le luy respondit synon que cestoient choses [et] matieres trop haultes pour luy hors de son gibier."

† "Sans toutesfoys que nul deulx y eust este appelle."

1533.

the Queen's chamberlain, came to notify to her the King's intention that in future she should not be called queen, and that from one month after Easter the King would no longer provide for her personal expenses or the wages of her servants. He intended her to retire to some private house of her own, and there live on the small allowance assigned to her, and which, I am told, will scarcely be sufficient to cover the expenses of her household for the first quarter of next year. The Queen resolutely said that as long as she lived she would entitle herself queen; as to keeping house herself, she cared not to begin that duty so late in life. If the King thought that her expenses were too great, he might, if he chose, take her own personal property and place her wherever he chose, with a confessor, a physician, an apothecary, and two maids for the service of her chamber; if that even seemed too much to ask, and there was nothing left for her and her servants to live upon, she would willingly go about the world begging alms for the love of God.

Though the King is by nature kind and generously inclined, this Anne has so perverted him that he does not seem the same man. It is, therefore, to be feared that unless Your Majesty applies a prompt remedy to this evil, the Lady will not relent in her persecution until she actually finishes with queen Katharine, as she did once with cardinal Wolsey, whom she did not hate half as much. The Queen, however, is not afraid for herself; what she cares most for is the Princess.

On Saturday, the eve of Easter, Lady Anne went to mass in truly Royal state, loaded with diamonds and other precious stones, and dressed in a gorgeous suit of tissue,* the train of which was carried by the daughter of the duke of Norfolk, betrothed to the duke of Richmond. She was followed by numerous damsels, and conducted to and from the church with the same or perhaps greater ceremonies and solemnities than those used with former queens on such occasions. She has now changed her title of marchioness for that of *queen*, and preachers specially name her so in their church prayers. At which all people here are perfectly astonished, for the whole thing seems a dream, and even those who support her party do not know whether to laugh or cry at it. The King is watching what sort of mien the people put on at this, and solicits his nobles to visit and pay their court to his new queen, whom he purposes to have crowned after Easter in the most solemn manner, and it is said that there will be banqueting and tournaments on the occasion. Indeed some think that Clarence, the king-at-arms who left for France four days ago, is gone for the purpose of inviting knights for the tournament in imitation of the Most Christian King when he celebrated his own nuptials. I cannot say whether the coronation will take place before or after these festivities, but I am told that this king has secretly arranged with the archbishop of Canterbury, that in virtue of his office, and without application from anyone he is to summon him before his court as having two wives, upon which, without sending for the Queen, he (the Archbishop) will declare that the King can lawfully marry again, as he has done, without waiting for a dispensation, for a sentence from the Pope, or any other declaration whatever.

---

* "Charge de pareriez (parures ?), vetue dune robbe de drapt dor frize."

A deputation of English merchants trading with Flanders went on Friday last to see the King for the purpose of ascertaining whether they could in future ship goods for that country. They were told that the King was not at war with Your Majesty, and that they might trade or not just as they pleased; those who had any scruple might remain at home; those who chose to go on with their trade might do so. Notwithstanding which answer there is hardly any English or foreign merchants having goods in Flanders who has not sent for them, or had them put under another name (*les couvrir*), for there is hardly one who does not consider himself lost and ruined, and would not wish himself far off with his goods and substance. Indeed this fear is not confined to the merchants, but pervades all classes of society, and I have been told that Cramuel (Cromwell), who is perhaps the man who has most influence with the King just now, has had all his treasure and valuables removed to the Tower of London. And I do really believe that neither the King himself nor any of his courtiers is exempt from fear, both of the people and of Your Majesty; yet it would seem as if God Almighty has blinded them, and taken away their senses, for they are perfectly bewildered and know not what to be at, nor how to mend their affairs. Indeed this is so much the case, that should the least mishap overtake them they would be so disconcerted that neither the King nor his counsellors would think of aught else than flight, knowing very well the people's will in these matters.

About a week ago the sieur de Rochefort (George Boleyn) returned from France with the sieur de Beauvoes (Beauvoir), who started yesterday for Scotland for the purpose of inducing king James to place his differences with this king into his master's hand, and making him judge and arbiter of their differences. I have been told by a very worthy man that the duke of Albany's secretary returning from a visit to the said Beaulvoys (*sic*) had assured him that the said ambassador would be unable to accomplish his mission in Scotland, and that war would go on fiercer than ever. Indeed it would seem as if the Scots at this moment more prosperous than ever, for instead of being as before on the defensive, they are continually making raids on the borders. *For this purpose did Mr. de Rocchefort go to France as it is now ascertained.* These people, as I am told, wish immensely for peace with Scotland, but God, as I said above, has taken away their senses, and they cannot see how to bring it about. The said

Mr. de Rocchefort, as his own servants assert, has been presented in France with 2,000 crs., no doubt for the good tidings of his sister's marriage, to whom the Most Christian King has now written a letter addressing her as queen. I fancy, moreover, that the French consider this good news, firstly: because it is likely to be the means of breaking off the friendship between Your Majesty and this king, and also, because it might ultimately be the cause of freeing the French from their debt and payment of pensions, either through sheer necessity, or for fear these people may have of their ultimately joining you, should the Pope proceed to sentence the case and have the censures executed—a thing which, in my opinion, Your Majesty ought to urge in every possible way—the French would be released from all their bonds and pecuniary obligations to this king.

The name and title which the King wishes the Queen to take, and by which he orders the people to call her, is the old dowager princess (*la vielle et vefve princesse*). As to princess Mary no title has yet been given to her, and I fancy they will wait to settle that until the Lady has been confined (*que la dame aye faict lenfant*).

Every day numbers of people come to my hotel and inquire from my servants and neighbours how long I intend remaining here in London, for until the hour of my departure many will go on thinking that Your Majesty consents to this marriage, without which condition no one thinks that this king would have dared to proceed to such extremities. For this cause I think I ought to be immediately recalled, and most humbly beseech Your Majesty to send the order; not so much to avoid the dangers and troubles that may supervene, for I should consider myself happy to sacrifice my life for the Imperial service, but merely for the above-named considerations, &c.—London, 15th April 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

The King has this very day dispatched a courier to Rome. I fancy it is for the purpose of telling the Pope that whatever has been attempted in this Parliament against him and his authority has been done at the solicitation of his people, not at his own, and that should his new marriage be ratified and sanctioned he is ready to revoke everything. He has forbidden the courier to carry any other letters but his, that the truth may not be found out. Your Majesty, however, might tell His Holiness how matters stand, and urge him to sentence the case and make all other necessary provisions.

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received the 12th of May."

French. Holograph mostly in cipher. pp. 14.

1533.

27 April. **1062.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 12.

The last Easter festivals the prior of the Austin friars preached a sermon in which he expressly recommended his audience to offer up prayers for the health and welfare of queen Anne,* at which recommendation the assistants were so astonished, so sorry, and so shocked that almost all left the church in high displeasure and with sad countenances without waiting for the rest of the sermon, which was only half over. At which the King was so much disgusted that he sent word to the Lord Mayor of this city that unless he wished to displease him immensely he must take care that the thing did not happen again; and he gave orders that in future no one should dare speak against his marriage. In virtue of which orders the Lord Mayor caused all the crafts and guilds to assemble in their various halls, and commanded them under pain of incurring the Royal indignation not only to abstain from murmuring about the King's marriage, but to command their own journeymen and servants, and a still more difficult task their own wives, to refrain from speaking disparagingly about the new Queen. *But whatever prohibitions he may issue, the King cannot, and will not, prevent people from speaking their minds in secret, and his injunctions will have no other effect than that of completely alienating the hearts of his subjects. The King also four days ago sent another message to queen Katharine forbidding her to retain her title of Queen, or the servants of her household to give it to her. Not satisfied, moreover, with such rude treatment, he has commanded the Princess, his daughter, not to communicate with her mother in writing or otherwise; and although the Princess has since begged and entreated him to appoint some one next her person to give evidence that her messages to her mother are only in reference to her health, and proposing that her own letters and the Queen's may previously pass through the King's hands, her prayers have been completely disregarded. This prohibition (I hear) was read to the Princess the very same day that the King caused his new marriage to be announced to her. Hearing which, she was at first thoughtful, and then, as the very wise person that she is, dissembled as much as she could, and seemed even to rejoice at it. Without alluding in the least to the said marriage, and without communicating with any living soul, immediately after her dinner the Princess set about writing a letter to her father, and upon the bearer of the message asking for a verbal answer, as he had been instructed, she said she had none to give, and referred him to the letter she had just written to her father, of which she would say nothing; on its being shewn to the King* I hear he was marvellously *content*

---

* "Recommenda nommemant et bien expressemant que lon deust prier pour lestat et salut de la royne Anne."

1533.

and pleased, praising above all things the wisdom and prudence of the Princess, his daughter.

Having succeeded in the execution of his plans the King wishes now for an investigation and trial of the case, and to this end the Queen has been summoned to appear personally before the archbishop of Canterbury, on the 1st of next month, at an abbey distant 30 miles from this city, in a lonely spot, which has not been chosen without certain mysterious reasons, the King being afraid that should the proceedings be instituted here in this city, people might talk, and perhaps too make a disturbance, about it. At first the Queen was thrown into great perplexity by this summons, not knowing precisely how to take the thing, but upon my sending her my legal opinion in writing she decided not to take any notice whatever of the summons. For there is, in my opinion, no danger at all for the Queen, whatever the proceedings instituted against her may be, provided she does not renounce or modify expressly or tacitly, or in any other way relinquish the appeal she once made [to Rome], which is what the King and his ministers are cunningly aiming at in various ways; but in order to defeat this scheme of theirs I have purposely drawn out a sort of protest for her to sign, and I sincerely hope that she will not fall into the nets of calumny and wickedness that are being prepared for her.*

The duke of Norfolk is getting all things ready to go to France as this king's ambassador. He is to take with him the bishop of London (Stockesley), the abbot of Uvaincaistre (Winchester), the comptroller of the Royal household, Master Brian, Master Brum (Brown), and several others, whose suit will consist of upwards of 100 mounted retainers. A rumour is afloat, though I have yet been unable to trace it to an authentic source, that after negotiating at the court of France one portion of this embassy is to go to Rome, and the other to Your Majesty. Some suspect, and indeed go on saying publicly, that the Pope and the Most Christian king of France are to hold an interview at Avignon or Nice, and that this great embassy is sent for no other purpose than for this king to be invited to the said interview. This report seems to me to be without foundation, and yet considering the great bustle the Duke made with the last courier, who was dispatched to Rome, as I wrote in my last, ordering him to make all possible haste on his journey, and promising to increase his wages by 40 ducats if he went thither and back in 20 days—as he (the Duke) said he could not leave for France until the return of the said courier—there is ample room to conjecture that either the Pope is really to attend the proposed interview, or send some one to France, there to treat with these ambassadors; or else that the Pope himself, and the Most Christian King have been invited by this one to depute persons, who conjointly with the English may go over to Your Majesty and intercede for the divorce case to be decided here in England. All doubts will be cleared up in a few days, when I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty of the whole, humbly begging in the meantime to be excused if I have been too rash or imprudent in my conjectures.

---

* St. Peter's priory at Dunstable.

Preparations are being made here for the Lady's coronation, and it is said that the ceremony will be conducted more sumptuously than on any other like occasion. It is rumoured that on Ascension Day, the day fixed for it, the Lady is to appear magnificently arrayed, no difficult matter for her to accomplish since she is in possession of all the Queen's jewels, and wears them on all occasions: a most strange and unwarrantable proceeding on the part of the King, as people here think that he has actually despoiled his own legitimate Queen of her property to give it to another woman. Certainly if no prompt remedy is applied to such transgressions there is no knowing where the said Lady will stop, as I have lately written to Your Majesty.

Nothing new respecting the affairs of Scotland.—London, 27th April 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph mostly in cipher. pp. 5.

27 April. **1063.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 13.

Had the Pope consented, since he would not pronounce sentence in the divorce case, to insert a clause in the Canterbury bulls expressly forbidding the Archbishop to mix himself up with this affair, as I had the honour of acquainting Your Majesty in my despatch of the 7th ult°, there can be no doubt that many serious inconveniences might have been avoided. But the Pope preferred acting in his own way, thus giving occasion to the English to repeat what they have all this time been saying, namely: that in the end he (the Pope) would deceive Your Majesty.

The principal, and almost only point, on which rest the remedies, about which I wrote in my two last despatches, is to obtain a definitive sentence, and also full provision for the future, both of which His Holiness cannot well refuse considering he has so often promised to do justice. Everything, therefore, depends upon a quick and sudden decision of the case, of which the Queen herself entertains doubts, for she fears lest His Holiness, through his usual craftiness (*son accoustume artifice*), in order to please these people, as well as the French, also to keep Your Majesty in suspense and in error, should indefinitely postpone the sentence. Indeed, should His Holiness make up his mind and come to the point there can be no doubt that the sentence must necessarily be favourable to the Queen, even supposing her right not to be as good as it really is, or the words of the sentence to be softened so as not to give offence, if it be true, as many

1533.

people do affirm, that His Holiness is only trying to keep up the trial until such a time as he can conveniently decide in favour of this king, the former being under the impression that Your Majesty will ultimately acquiesce and that there will be no war between you two. In short, these people, as I have already had the honour to inform Your Majesty, will spare nothing to gain the Pope over to their side, and persuade him at least to delay his decision and dissemble. For this reason it is absolutely necessary to use the utmost diligence in pushing this point.[*]

I once wrote to Your Majesty that should the definitive sentence be obtained it would be advisable to send here at once some worthy and honourable personage, who might by his courtesy and good manners soften matters instead of embittering them, and remove from this king the impression that we intend to carry the thing by violence (*que lon voulsist mener le Roy a cops de baston*); for although such expedient in my opinion would no longer be of any use as persuading the King to return to his duty, yet mild and courteous words will always serve our purpose and might the better justify Your Majesty's conduct before God and men, whilst we could afterwards proceed to such measures as might be deemed necessary.

For a long time back, seeing the bad disposition of affairs in this country, I have endeavoured to ascertain what the Queen's intention really is, and what else she proposes doing to escape from this evil (*pour y remedier autrement*), since it is quite evident that neither by mildness, nor by the ways of justice can the object be attained; but I have always found her so over scrupulous in her affection and respect for the King that she would consider herself irretrievably doomed to everlasting perdition were she to follow any other path that might provoke a war between Your Majesty and this king. However, some days before my writing to Your Majesty the Queen sent me word that she would willingly look out for another remedy to the evil, and that she placed herself entirely in my hands as to what that remedy was to be; but since then I have been unable to hear further from her or know what she really intends doing.[†]

---

[*] "Car venant a icelle definision il ne fault avoer doubte que la sentence sera en faveur de la Royne, ores quelle neust si bon droit, la menageant, au moings sil est vray ce que plusieurs disent que Sa Sainctete ne tasche que de tenir le proces en discussion, saichant que sil la bailloit en faveur du Roy vostre maieste y acquiesceroit, et ne seroit question de guerre. Ceux-cy, comme jay deuant escript a vostre maieste, ne epargneront chose de ce monde pour gaigner le pape pour au moings, si mieulx ne peuvent, luy fere dilater et dissimuler laffere, pour quoy sera necessayre que vostre maieste face faire extreme diligence et poursuite."

[†] "De long temps voiant le male disposition des affaires dicy taschay de sçavoer lentencion de la Royne pour y remedier autrement, puis que par doulceur et voye de justice ny avoit ordre; mais elle est si scrupuleuse et a si grand respect et affection au Roy quelle penseroit estre dampnee irremisiblement celle (si elle) avoit [a] prendre quelque chemin tendant a la guerre. Quoy voyant, sire, ung peu avant quescripvisse a vostre maieste elle me respondist quelle desiroit bien aultre remede, toutesfoys quelle sen rappointoit (rappourtoit?) a moy; autres particularite ne ouverture nay encoires peu avoir dicelle."

1533.

Since my despatch of the 15th inst. some merchants have again asked me through a third person whether they could send goods from the ports of this country to Flanders in surety. My answer has been that unless something else happens in the meantime to disturb the peace, I saw no danger in their shipping merchandise for the ports of Spain or Flanders, and this for no other reason than the extreme benevolence of Your Majesty towards them.* This same language I have indirectly used to the rest, so that many have already shipped their goods for Flanders, and the remainder are about to follow their example either by necessity or the better to maintain their credit, imagining that if matters become worse they will have time enough to get rid of their goods or transfer them to some other merchant of this place, as the Spaniards have done already, holding themselves in readiness, if war should break out, to quit this country without danger to their property or goods. And I am told that an Italian of this city having reported to the duke of Norfolk on these preparations of the Spanish merchants, that minister was sadly put out and grieved, saying that there was no occasion for such an alarm. True it is that though I have visited the Duke since he has said nothing to me or shewn any displeasure about it.

I forgot to mention in my last that the mission of the herald sent to France had reference principally to the badge and dress of the Order of the Garter, which he was to take to the Grand Master (Montmorency) and to the Admiral of France (Brion).†

Headed: "Paragraphs of a despatch in cipher, from Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor of the 27th April 1533."

French. pp. 3½.

— **1064.** The Points to be considered in the Matrimonial Cause.

S. E. L. 1,457, ff. 148–52.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 264.

The first point for consideration is this, that the king of England having been married to, and led a matrimonial life with, the Queen for upwards of 18 years, quietly and without scruple, and having had offspring by her, such as the princess (Mary) now living, who ought by all reasons to succeed to the kingdom, procured six years ago a commission from the Pope for cardinals Campeggio and York to proceed to a divorce between himself and his Queen. And upon the latter opposing this step, and asking that the matter should not be discussed and tried in England, as the King wanted, a formal appeal was made in her name at Rome, the Queen insisting upon the causes for the desired divorce being there investigated, and the suit determined in a manner befitting the nature and

---

* "Veu mesmes la singuliere benivolence que vostre ma^te. leur pourtoit a tous."

† If a note on the dorse of this despatch in a contemporary hand be correct the above are paragraphs omitted in Chapuys' despatch of the same date (No. 1062), and ought to be inserted immediately before the one beginning "The duke of Norfolk, &c.," page 647.

1533.

importance of the affair, and also that in order to obviate very notorious suspicions, the cause should be judged elsewhere than in England; the King, however, insisting on the contrary that the cause should be investigated and determined in that country, or at least out of Rome and Italy, wherever he could conveniently appear personally and defend his own cause.

There has been much dispute and altercation on this last incident to this very day, but after proceeding by contumacy on the principal matter, an excusator appeared on behalf of the King, though without mandate or powers from him, maintaining in his name and in that of the realm that the said cause and matter under discussion should be remitted to England; which point was long debated by one side and the other, and disputed in Consistory, when it was at last resolved that the said excusator could not be admitted without powers from the King, and that failing in this the principal matter should be proceeded with.

Such is the state of the cause at this present moment. The Emperor both before and after he left Spain for Italy, has not failed to recommend the expedition and decision of the said matter, having expressly sent to the Pope several persons for that purpose, and kept in Rome many learned doctors in Theology, and jurists (*letrados en derecho*), besides writing to the Pope many times about it in his own hand, or through his secretaries, or speaking many a time, and purposely to the legates, nuncios, and other ministers of His Holiness, who have from time to time resided at his court; doing, moreover, all that was thought most conducive to the good issue of the affair, and having besides expressly and in the most affectionate manner commended it to His Holiness the first time that they met at Bologna, and also this last time, when His Holiness most solemnly and expressly promised that setting aside all undue delays and subterfuges he would determine the said cause as contained in the secret treaty [of Barcelona] lately examined in Council.

Besides this, and pending the prosecution and solicitation in the said principal matter certain briefs were obtained from His Holiness in the first instance, and afterwards from him and his cardinals, inhibiting the said king from marrying the said Anna de Bulans (Boleyn). After that other briefs more stringent and severe than those of the said inhibition were made out, ordering the said king at once to separate from the Lady Anna, and treat the Queen, his legitimate wife, with due affection under pain of excommunication and interdict to his kingdom, and other penalties "etiam ipso jure" contained and specified therein. And yet though the briefs themselves have been duly presented to him, and the last of them in particular has been formally executed, the King has not only disobeyed them all, but entirely disregarding the Papal injunctions and the "litis pendentia" has married the said Anna, whom he now treats publicly as his wife after divorcing

1533.

Katharine, his only legitimate wife, and forbidding her to call and entitle herself queen.

Upon which it seems necessary to look into the case and consider what course of action is to be pursued by the Emperor in a matter of such importance as this, he being the prince in Christendom most closely related to queen Katharine, and at the same time bound to take action in it out of the goodwill and affection that the said Queen, his aunt, has always professed him, and also because the affair itself is so scandalous and so great an offence against our Faith, and the authority of Mother Church.

Matters being in this state the three following expedients are proposed as a remedy. First, the prosecution of legal terms; second, force; and third, force and law conjointly: on all which points, and on each of them in particular, certain difficulties present themselves.

The first expedient, namely, proceeding by law or "justice," might appear to be the best and most desirable considering that legal terms have already been resorted to, and especially because the nature and quality of the affair is essentially spiritual and exclusively concerns conscience. A declaration of which seems to be convenient and even necessary, not so much perhaps on account of the said Queen and the preservation of her rights, as for the upholding of those of the Princess, who is the King's legitimate daughter in marriage, and has her title to the succession settled and declared, since the one and the other have been so notoriously and openly revoked and put in doubt, the decision and settlement of this affair, which is wholly spiritual, belongs by right to our very Holy Father the Pope. But in this cause two principal difficulties arise among others that might be mentioned; one is that the king of England and his kingdom refuse to recognize the said legal procedure owing principally to the deliberations and convocations lately held in the said kingdom; the other that in reality the Pope has always been, and is still, very cold and indifferent in this matter and most tolerant with regard to the English king, and besides that during the prosecution of the trial the Queen and the Princess might be ill-treated, and perhaps too in danger of their lives.*

The second means, which is that of sheer force, is fraught with a danger which anyone who takes into account present circumstances, and the state of Christendom, and the alliances, which the king of England might make, can understand. To begin an aggression would be a manifest danger and venture for the whole of Christendom, and more particularly for the Emperor and his kingdoms and vassals everywhere, for it must be borne in mind that although the aforesaid king of England has actually married Anna de Bulans, he has not yet proceeded against the Queen by force or violence, nor has he acted against the Emperor, her nephew, in a manner to call forth the said aggression. Things being as they are, unless the King contravenes the articles of the peace renewed with him, and last settled at Cambray after the commencement of the said divorce suit at Rome,—though the Emperor stands under great obligations to the said Queen in this affair, both as prince and relative, and this matter touches the authority of our Holy Mother Church,—yet this business being a private one, His Imperial Majesty must weigh and consider what he owes to the public welfare, and how he can avoid greater inconveniences.

---

* "Y demas que durante la prosecucion de la dicha justiçia la dicha Reyna y princesa podrian ser mal, y por aventura peligrosamente tratadas."

The third means, namely, to combine force with justice, is likewise subject in part to the above considerations, and if adopted can only be expedient in helping on the execution of the sentence, whatever that may be. When the Pope with his Holy Apostolic See has pronounced sentence, and provided ecclesiastical remedies [to the evil]; when things have gone so far as for him to invoke the secular arm of princes—in which all those who are good Christians and fear God are obliged to co-operate—then in that case the Emperor, as the greatest prince in Christendom, will be bound to put himself at the head of the enterprize, and uphold and defend the authority as well as the jurisdiction of our Holy Father. Should this third and last expedient be considered preferable to the other two, then in that case it would be advisable to consider first what steps ought to be taken about His Holiness, and whether the Emperor ought to send an ambassador to Rome expressly for that purpose, taking into account the importance and quality of the affair, or whether the whole of it ought not to be committed to the count of Cifuentes (Don Fernando de Sylva), the Imperial ambassador at Rome, sending him instructions of what he is to do.

Whether it ought to be proposed by the Queen's counsel at Rome to have the principal matter and its sentence prosecuted as it was commenced, and insist on the revocation* of the acts attempted during and in contempt of the "litis pendentia," and ask that the Queen may again be put in possession of her matrimonial rights, since it is notorious that she has been forcibly deprived of them.

Should it be found more convenient to prosecute the affair till sentence is obtained, it should be settled beforehand whether the execution of the inhibitive and penal briefs conjointly with the interdict of this kindom, in the case therein specified, is to be enforced, the said case being realized by the King's marrying the said Anna de Boulans; or whether it would be better and more convenient to avoid for the present such harsh measures, which might perchance be made a pretence for war, or at least would put a stop to all intercourse and trade between the Emperor's dominions and England, and only to insist on the aggravation of the said censures,

---

* "Si se deura (*sic*) proponer por sus consejeros de la Reyna en Roma de proseguir la materia principal, y determinacion della como está començada prealablemente ó para persistir en la revocacion," &c.

1533.

and on the multiplication of the pains to be incurred, even to the deprivation of the Royal dignity, and of all the titles and privileges which the said king of England may hold from the Church and the Holy Apostolic See.

Whether the protest ought to be renewed, or a fresh one entered into at Rome, to the effect that neither the Queen nor her daughter, the Princess, conjointly or separately will tacitly or expressly grant or consent to anything prejudicial to their own respective rights, especially to those of the said Princess as affected by the new marriage, should the said Anna bear children, or whether the entering of the protest should be left for another opportunity.

Whether the Queen's counsellors at Rome ought not to propose that a summation and public requisition, or otherwise be made to the Pope, and even to the Consistory of Cardinals purporting that considering the trial has commenced, and the King has committed himself this act (*via de hecho*) in which he perseveres and indeed goes every day from bad to worse *(de mal en peor)* in contempt of Apostolic authority, and of our Holy Mother Church, to the great scandal of Christendom, and to the Queen's great injury, the said Pope and Consistory be urged to declare that justice is in favour of the said Queen, and to provide for its enforcement. And whether it will be advisable to protest against what is now being done in England by the archbishop of Canterbury and other ecclesiastical and civil judges in opposition to, and to the prejudice of the said *litis pendentia.*

Whether the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) and the king of Portugal (João) ought not, being such near relatives, to write or send embassies to His Holiness in favour and commendation of the said Queen and her rights.

Item.—Whether the said king of the Romans ought not to get the electors and princes of the Empire also to write on the same business, since not only the said electors and princes of Germany, but even the lords of more distant countries unanimously blame and detest the divorce, which the king of England desires to carry out.

Should the Pope insist upon knowing beforehand what His Imperial Majesty purposes doing to enforce the execution of the said sentence, and of the pains declared in the briefs, as he has often asked count of Cifuentes, it will be necessary to ascertain whether his request is to be complied with, or whether it will be sufficient for the present to tell him that justice must needs be done in fulfilment of his own duty towards God and the world and the preservation of his own Apostolic authority, and whether all this as well the declaration of the course demanded by justice, and every other remedy ought not to precede the use of the secular arm. This His Holiness ought not, and cannot omit for many a reason.

His Holiness may be certain that things having come to such a pass the Emperor will not fail to adopt any measures considered expedient (*convenible*) or possible for the execution and observance of the said sentence, as a good Christian prince, and most obedient son of the Universal Church that he is. But such a promise before the sentence is actually given will arouse suspicion on the other side, and be a pretence to say that the execution was treated of before knowing the certainty of the sentence.*

What course should be adopted respecting the person of the Queen, and whether she ought to be advised to remain in England in order to preserve always, and as long as possible, the favour and affection of the vassals and subjects of the kingdom—a thing which is very important for bringing the King to reason, either through remorse or repentance of his sins, or perhaps also through annoyance or tediousness caused by the said Anna, or again through fear of his own subjects—whether in the case of the Queen abandoning England things might come to such a pass that it would no longer be possible to dissemble without risking severe retaliation from Your Imperial Majesty, his brother, the king of the Romans, and other princes closely related to the said Queen—are matters very much open to consideration. Whether by remaining in England the Queen might be exposed to manifest danger and contingencies, and if so what she herself ought to do as regards the divorce case, and for the preservation of her own rights and those of the Princess, her daughter, should the King, impelled by the said Anna, attempt to send her away from his kingdom are also, as His Majesty cannot fail to see, extremely arduous points.

Lastly, whether it would be advisable to send a person expressly to England, or instruct the Imperial ambassador there residing to make such appeals to the King as may appear most conducive to bring him over to a sense of his duty to the Queen, without, however, driving things to extremity, or exasperating him, so that the Queen and the Princess may not be treated with greater rigour, and that the latter may not fall into the hands of the said Anna, a contingency to which she seems to be exposed according to despatches received from Chapuys; or whether it will be sufficient to write a letter to the said ambassador, and inform him of the resolution in this respect, that he may admonish and remonstrate with the King in virtue of the credentials that are now being prepared for him.

Whether the king of France ought also to be written to, or a person sent expressly to him concerning this matter, or whether it will be sufficient to address the Imperial ambassador residing at his court. In either case what ought to be the nature of the communication or instructions, and what ought to be said to the King and to the Queen of France on

---

* "Mas en esto, antes de la sentencia dada seria cosa escrupulosa y de donde la otra parte podria tomar achaque de suspicion de haber tratado de la execucion antes de saber la certitud de la sentencia."

1533.

the subject, that she, as so close a relative of queen Katharine, may be induced to persuade the King, her husband, to do whatever may be in favour of the Queen, her aunt.

In what way the queen of Hungary, regent and governess of Flanders and the Low Countries (*las tierras de allá*), ought to bear herself towards the king of England and his subjects in the event of a rupture, and what instructions ought to be sent on this particular point to the said queen of Hungary (Mary), to whom the queen of England and the said ambassador (Eustace Chapuys) often apply.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 9.

— **1065.** OPINION of a PRIVY COUNCILLOR* on the Matrimonial Cause.

S. E. L. 1,457, f. 152.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 152.

Of the three means proposed in the above report, namely: first law, second force, and third force combined with law, it would seem that the first of all is most convenient and needful under present circumstances. It ought to be pursued in all possible ways. Although it may be supposed that the king of England and his kingdom will not submit to the dictates of justice, especially after the statutes and ordinances lately promulgated, justice once legally declared it will be seen what is to be done next. Every effort should, therefore, be made to induce His Holiness to determine the case as soon as possible, but in the meantime it would be well to consider what measures ought to be taken for the safety of the Queen and Princess.

The second means, that of force, might be suspended for the present, owing to the reasons alleged in the enclosed "consulta," and particularly owing to the obligation under which His Majesty stands of attending to the welfare of Christendom, and avoiding the grave inconveniences that might result therefrom, and particularly to His Majesty's kingdoms and vassals; for although the Emperor is bound in so many ways, this one may be considered as principal and personal, for as the "consulta" says: though the king of England has taken a second wife, yet he has not proceeded by force or violence against the Queen, nor has he done any act against His Imperial Majesty to contravene the capitulation of the peace signed at Cambray, at a time when the divorce suit had already commenced, and the case was pending.

The third means proposed, which is force and justice combined, seems the most acceptable. The sentence once pronounced it will be seen how the execution of it is to be carried out.

---

* Most likely of Granvelle (Nicolas Perrenot). Both this "consulta" and the preceding must have been prepared before the departure of Rodrigo Davalos to Rome. The title is: "Los puntos que salvo mejor parecer se podran consultar sobre el negocio de la Reyna de Inglaterra, atento que el Rey, su marido, se ha alienado del todo del casamiento de entrél y la dicha Reyna, y de hecho se ha casado con Anna de Bulans, y la tiene publicamente por mujer."

Should His Majesty adopt the first of these means as the most expedient to ensure justice in a case so important—and that with the least delay possible, owing to this event of the King's new marriage—it seems advisable that Your Majesty send to Rome a person well qualified for the task, and at the same time of rank, with a holograph letter to the Pope and all possible reserve, who conjointly with the count of Cifuentes, and assisted by all the Imperial servants at Rome, may take on himself the task of promoting the sentence.

The Queen's counsel in that city ought at once to propose the prosecution and determination of the principal matter, or insist at least upon the revocation of all things attempted during the "litis pendentia," or that the Queen be remitted (*remitida*). It is for the counsel and lawyers to consider what is most convenient, whether both things can be accomplished, and whether one thing does not impede the other. At any rate it seems advisable that the action of the prohibitory and penal briefs should be continued; if justice is to be prosecuted in the main it seems as if rigour could be for the present suspended, yet proceeding to the aggravation of the censures and multiplication of the pains until the final deprivation [of the kingdom].

The protest in the Queen's and Princess' name should be entered now immediately if it is thought that by delaying it their rights might run some risk.

The suggestion made in the above "Consulta" respecting certain proposals to be made to the Pope and to the cardinals in consistory respecting the declaration of justice, and protest against what is being done in England seems likewise acceptable, as well as that of the kings of the Romans (Ferdinand) and of Portugal (João), as the Emperor's near relatives, sending embassies, or writing to His Holiness in favour of the Queen and for the protection of her rights.

Also for the said king of the Romans to try and persuade the electors and princes of the Empire to help in the affair, although the King might, if he considered it proper, only speak or write to those whom he knew to be well disposed.

Should the Pope insist, as no doubt he will, on ascertaining first what measures Your Majesty is prepared to take for the execution of the sentence, the advice given in the report (*consulta*) appears to me very good, namely: to urge the Pope to do justice and pronounce sentence without further delay, promising that when the sentence comes to be executed Your Majesty shall not be found deficient in those duties and obligations which as a good prince and obedient son of the Church devolve upon you, namely: of having His Holiness' mandates and prescriptions carried into effect.

With regard to the Queen, and the measures to be adopted for her personal safety, it would seem as if for the present it would be best for her to remain in England. The causes given for her stay are worthy of consideration, for certainly her staying

1533.

in the country might be of use, whereas if she were to leave it would be impossible to dissemble any longer and a rupture would be inevitable. Should, however, her person be in danger every precaution necessary to insure her safety ought to be taken.

If the King attempted to exile her from England the thing could not be done without Your Majesty's knowing it beforehand, in which case, and the whole affair being further advanced, it will then be time enough to consider what is to be done for her protection.

Respecting the person to be dispatched to England that he may in union with the Imperial ambassador (Eustace Chapuys) remonstrate with the King as may seem most fit, and prevent matters from becoming worse than they are, as is said in the report, that is a thing which in my opinion cannot possibly be avoided; the King ought to be addressed privately by means of credential letters delivered to an extraordinary ambassador.*

Whoever goes to England might pass through France, and after delivering his embassy, the remainder could remain at the ambassador's charge.

With regard to Flanders, if the ways of justice are followed, the Queen ought to continue as heretofore, especially if nothing new should happen in England. She ought to be kept well informed of whatever is being done for her sake that she may according to circumstances act as is most convenient, always taking care that her complaint and protestations be properly kept up against anything that might happen.†

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 5.

3 May. **1066.** Dr. Ortiz to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 860, f. 27.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 239.

Wrote by a courier dispatched by Regent Figueroa explaining the state of the matrimonial cause. That was before the arrival here of the new ambassador, Conde de Cifuentes. Since then Your Lordship must have heard from him and from others the execrable act committed by the king of England of this new marriage with his mistress, which not only removes all difficulties in the way of the censures and punishment he so richly deserves, but makes it highly imperative that he should be at once declared as criminal, and excommunicated, and his kingdom placed under interdict, that is if the Pope wishes to do justice, as I sincerely hope he does.

With regard to the principal cause, the opinion of the lawyers here is that the remissory letters, which had not yet been

---

* On the margin of this paragraph proposing the mission of an extraordinary envoy the word NO is written in the Emperor's hand.

† Let a letter be addressed to the King blaming his conduct in this particular instance, and entreating him to look at this matter with compunction (*piedad*), since he is known to have said once to the ambassador that he thought he was wrong in what he attempted, and our ambassador advised him not to do it. The Spanish is as follows: "Que se scriva al Rey afeandole este caso y que lo mire con piedad, porque el [Rey] dixo al embaxador en cierta ocasion que asi le avia parescido, y avia [este] aconsejado al Rey que no lo hiciesse."

1533.

presented, should now be produced in court. The ambassador is sorry to see that there is no money at hand to pay the notaries and other law expenses. Indeed, before the Count's arrival he (Ortiz) was obliged to borrow 80 ducats to pay one of them on account of 400, which he said were owing to him from the last process; otherwise the said notary would never have consented to open and attest the remissory letters lately presented in court.

Begs again His Lordship's favour with respect to his (*asiento*), and the affairs of his two brothers.—Rome, 2nd May 1533.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

3 May. **1067.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 860, f. 27.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 239.

The last post took a despatch of his (Ortiz's) reporting on the matrimonial cause and proceedings here, at Rome, up to the arrival of the Imperial ambassador, count of Cifuentes, and the difficulties that had lately been raised respecting the excommunication of the king of England and of that Anne. The affair is still in the hands of cardinals Monte and Campeggio, as well as of auditors Simoneta y Capisuciis (*sic*) and the Datary, who cannot possibly come to any other decision save declaring the King to be judicially and legally excommunicated as well as Anne, although it must be said that the [cardinals] who oppose the measure still make difficulties about this.* It is, therefore, necessary that the notification of the last brief made days ago in Flanders should be sent to us, and likewise that which was made when the Emperor came for the first time to Bologna of a first brief very wisely and prudently drawn, and which has been of great use to us in the cause. Cuevas says that he is almost sure that this brief and the act of its notification in Flanders, vice-chancellor Miçer May (*sic*), the last Imperial ambassador, carried away when he left.

The last news from England, and one much to be astonished at, is that the King has *de facto* and publicly married that Anne, disregarding completely all inhibitions from the Holy Apostolic See. If he thinks that his marriage can be lawful, he is very much mistaken, being, as it is, a manifest heresy and evident schism within the Church. This shews what power the Enemy of Mankind has gained over him (the King) and that for the punishment of such offence and mortal sin, and the due execution of the justice of God, it now behoves the Emperor, should the final sentence be anywise delayed, to seize, without waiting for any further declaration from His

---

* "Y no podran sino concluir que el Rey de Inglaterra está juridica y legitimamente descomulgado y tambien la Ana, aunque los contrarios de ella (de la descomunion?) hagan mayor dificultad."

Holiness, any favourable opportunity that may offer itself of unsheathing the sword which God has placed in his hands for the repression of similar offences and scandalous insults against the Church and its ministers.

If, moreover, it should be true, as generally asserted, that His Holiness is soon to go to Nize, to hold an interview with the king of France, he (Ortiz) has no doubt that he will before his departure, pronounce sentence in the principal cause, since it is quite evident that in virtue of the two first briefs notified in Flanders in 1530 and 1531 any ecclesiastical judge can declare the king of England, his Privy Councillors, and that Anne too, excommunicated, and the whole of his kingdom placed under interdict: which declaration after being affixed in several places near the frontiers of France and England might be the cause of a general rising against that king. Unluckily the Imperial ambassador (count of Cifuentes) has not considered it prudent to write to Flanders about this until he has consulted the Emperor's ministers, though he has desired him (Ortiz) to write home about it, which he has already done.

All the rest the Count has sufficiently explained to the Emperor in his despatches, which must already be in the Privy Council.—Rome, 3rd May 1533.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3½.

---

7 May. **1068.** The CARDINAL of JAEN to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 860, f. 161.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 247.

I wrote last night announcing our* safe arrival in this capital. After closing and sealing the letters to send them on to the embassy, the count of Cifuentes sent word that he had not yet found leisure to call and pay his respects to the Duchess,† but that he would come next day and communicate certain matters. I wish he may come before the departure of this courier, that I may have an opportunity to say something about the state of affairs.

His Holiness is so pleased with our Duchess that there are no terms sufficiently eloquent to describe his joy. The day of our entering Rome, after introducing the Duchess to him, he made me stay to supper, not only, as he said, that he himself might speak to me at leisure, but also in order that I should witness the honours which his court were about to pay to the Duchess. He would not, however, allow me to escort her through Rome on account of certain old customs and ceremonies of their own. He would even have wished that I had not

---

* The Cardinal (Fr. Esteban Gabriel Merino) had in charge the Emperor's daughter, Margaret, newly married to the duke Alessandro.

† Margaret, the Emperor's daughter.

1533.

made my entrance at the same time with her, but this I would nowise consent to in compliance with Your Majesty's express commands.

His Holiness' conversation turned principally on the matrimonial cause of England; but as I had no idea of what the ambassador (Silva) might have settled with him on this particular question, I was very spareing of my answers, and tried to turn the subject of the conversation as much as I could, remarking only that the case was certainly an ugly one, and in such total contempt and disregard of the Apostolic See that no words could convey an idea of it. "Your Holiness (said I to the Pope) ought to shew to the world in this affair what your power is."

He likewise hinted in a familiar sort of way at his intended interview with the king of France, which, he said, he had chiefly procured for the purpose of ascertaining that monarch's views on general affairs. My answer was as short and concise as the former, but this much I told him: "I have never heard of generals being expected to reconnoitre by themselves the fords of rivers at which their armies are to cross; they usually send exploring parties to do the work." His Holiness approved of my sentence, and shrugging his shoulders said he was of the same opinion.

It seems to me as if this last English business had somewhat cooled his ardour with regard to the interview. If so, let the Emperor send us instructions as to how the Count and I are to act, and whether we are or are not to follow His Holiness in his journey to Nize, since, as far as I can judge, there are different opinions on that score. As to myself I am so fatigued and worn out by my last journey that I would rather not accompany him. The English matrimonial cause shall not be neglected in the meantime, but every endeavour made to have it proceeded with.—Rome, 7th May 1533.

Signed: "G[abriel] cardinalis Giennen[sis]."

Addressed: "To the very magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, of His Imperial Majesty's Council, &c. at Court."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

---

7 May. **1069.** The COUNT of CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 860, f. 2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 243.

It agrees with other advices here received.

His Holiness has letters from his Nuncio in England, advising that the King has publicly married his mistress (*manceba*) Anna, with the usual ceremonies. He had first convoked Parliament to that effect and there had been much difference of opinion among its members and considerable opposition (*division y contradicion*), but in the end some through threats and others through

1533.

promises were brought to assent, and the archbishop of Canterbury and certain other prelates decided that the marriage could take place.

Is to continue as hitherto, to act according to the instructions he has received.

His Holiness appears to be much shocked at this conduct on the part of the English king. Having, however, spoken to him on the subject and begged that he would at once determine the cause, he (the Pope), said that he wished to know first whether the Emperor was willing to take this affair in hand. He (the Count) is certain that nothing will be done until the Pope knows the Emperor's intentions in this particular, though he has already issued orders to go on with the suit.

On this point, also to adhere to the instructions.

With regard to the conferences to be held at Nice, he (the Count) can only say this that though the departure was fixed for the 26th inst., His Holiness told him the other day that his galleys would not be ready till the end of June. There seems to be some coldness (*tibieza*) about it. Will do his utmost to prevent the interview.

A letter to be written to this cardinal.

Cardinal Palmeri* writes from France respecting the conferences, and gives as his opinion that they will take place in the end.

Is to procure that the assistance be given, and the money sent.

The six Catholic cantons of Switzerland have quarrelled with the others, and wish to declare war. Though the Pope has promised to assist the former with money, Jacopo Salviati remarked the other day that since it was the Catholics who were the aggressors, neither Pope nor Emperor ought to help them. Prothonotary Caracciolo writes to say that he has received letters from Baptista de la Insula of the 26th of April, saying that the Catholic cantons had held a Diet with the Zurichians (Zuricaños), and that an agreement had been entered into for both parties to hold their peace.

---

* The same archbishop of Matera whose letter to the Emperor has been abstracted under No. 1060.

Levya's private opinion about this.—Rome, 7th May 1533.

Indorsed: "Summary of despatches from count Cifuentes and others at Rome."

Spanish. *pp.* 3.

7 May. **1070.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 860, f. 44.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 244.

Having obtained reliable information that the English ambassadors had called on His Holiness, and suspecting that something was wrong I went this morning and inquired. His Holiness told me: "I have this very day received letters from my Nuncio in England of the 12th of April, informing me that the king of that country has actually married [the Lady] Anne with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions. A few days previous he had convoked the Chambers for that very purpose. Some of the members of the higher, as well as of the lower house, had made an opposition at the first and second sittings, so much so that the King in a passion rose from his seat and said to those of his party that they must help him, for he was determined to marry; the others opposed the step strongly, and yet his own people managed things so well that at last some by bribes, others by threats, assented to the King's wishes, and it was resolved that he should marry.

It appears, however, that the better to gain his end the King had sometime before ordered that all tithal, matrimonial, or testamentary causes should be judged and sentenced in his kingdom before the ordinary judges, of whom the supreme lord was the great archdeacon of London,* and the judge of first and second appeals the archbishop of Canterbury with other prelates. The latter was the very man who, on the King's applying to him for help in the divorce case, had wickedly and falsely (*con sus mañas falsas y malas*) declared that he could marry Anne if he chose. Upon which they say that the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk went to acquaint the Emperor's aunt (queen Katharine) with the resolution of the Chambers, though it is not known yet what answer she returned to the message. But as I have no doubt that Your Lordship has much better information on this point than I could bestow after hearing what the Pope and Salviati had to say, I will forbear from wearying your attention; I will only observe that as the Pope has told me repeatedly that the remedy is in our Emperor's hands, and insists upon knowing first whether His Majesty intends or not declaring war against England, it would be desirable that I should receive instructions as soon as possible, for I have my suspicions that everything is not right here.

The Pope told me besides that according to the Nuncio's

---

* "De los quales el supremo era el archidiano (*sic*) mayor de Londres, y el juez de primera y segunda apellacion el arçobispo de Conturbery."

1533.

account the king of Scotland being at war with England had sent a man of quality, a bishop, to request the king of France's help in virtue of the old alliances between the two countries. The King had not yet answered the King's message, but had signified to his ambassador, the Bishop, that he was greatly displeased with his master for having accepted the order of the Golden Fleece from our Emperor. The Scottish ambassador had another commission, namely: to ask the King for the hand of his daughter, and if that could not be done, go to Flanders, see queen Mary and contract a marriage with the daughter of the king of Denmark [Christiern II.]

With regard to the much talked of interview of the Pope and the Most Christian King at Nice, I happened to say the other day to the Pope: "At any rate the king of France will not have to fulfil among his other engagements this one of keeping the peace in England,* for I hear that the king of that country has made up his mind to marry his mistress." I observed that when the Pope heard this from me he seemed uneasy, for after having announced that his departure [for France] would take place on the 26th inst. he said to me, when I mentioned the subject to him: that the Papal galleys would not be ready till the end of June, and that there would be much discussion among his cardinals, some of whom were averse to the journey, &c.

Prothonotary Caracciolo informs me by a letter of the 23rd, which I received here (at Rome), that according to information sent by the Imperial ambassador in Switzerland the six Catholic cantons had actually declared war against the other seven Lutheran ones. Such being the case I said to His Holiness that on no account was the monthly assistance which had been promised to them to be withdrawn; that the Emperor's 4,000 ducats for this month had already been paid by us according to agreement, and, therefore, that he was bound to remit to them his contingent. He promised to send orders to his Nuncio in Switzerland to pay the sum, &c.—Rome, 7th Mai 1533.

---

10 May. **1071.** The Same to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 860, f. 41.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 249.

Wrote on the 8th inst. by the ordinary courier that left this, and again on the very same day by another who departed a few hours after. On the following day Your Majesty's letter of the 27th ult^{o} advising your safe arrival at Barcelona came, at which we all rejoiced. It happened that on that day the most illustrious Lady, the duchess [of Florence], the cardinal of Bari, the vice-queen,† and I were invited to dinner by the

---

* "En lo que toca a las vistas entre otras platicas y razones dixe a Su Sant^{d} 'a lo menos ya el rey de francia no cumplirá una de las principales causas (cosas ?) que prometía de hacer en ellas, pacificar lo de Anglaterra, pues el Rey se havia determinado en casarse.' Y paresce que le conoci blandura por que haviendo publicado," &c.

† That is the archbishop of Bari, Don Estevan Gabriel Merino, and the marchioness of Villafranca (Doña Maria Osorio Pimentel), wife of Don Pedro de Toledo, the viceroy of Naples. Both had been appointed to escort and conduct to Rome Margaret, the Emperor's daughter, about to be married to Alessandro de Medici, duke of Florence. See above, p. 660.

Pope, to whom I presented the letter which came for him, and at the same time read him mine, at which he was very much pleased.

On this occasion and others I failed not to ask His Holiness for the fulfilment of his promise to the Swiss cantons, and I have great pleasure in informing Your Majesty that two days after I received His Holiness' letter to the Verulan actually enclosing bills of exchange for 4,000 ducats. I have written to Caracciolo desiring him to forward it, and let me know when the bills are accepted and paid.

With regard to the English matrimonial cause no time is being lost. I am endeavouring to procure a final sentence, and though the Pope, as I informed Your Majesty, is afraid to determine it unless he knows beforehand what your will and intentions are, I keep begging him to issue sentence, especially at this time when the king of England has done what could never have been expected from one who entitles himself "Defender of the Faith." Should His Holiness (I said) issue sentence, as we earnestly require him to do, there will be an interval between the sentence itself and its declaration, during which time it might be maturely considered when and how the said declaration and deprivation [of kingdom] are to be made, and the execution of the sentence remitted to Your Majesty. This seems to me a good expedient to prevent their delaying the sentence any longer, and to stop their arguments whenever they tell me that they are waiting for your answer. I told the Pope as much, but whether my reasoning produced any effect upon him, or not, I cannot possibly tell; certain it is that he sent for some official, and in my very presence ordered him to set about it at once; yet he announced to me that he was about to send to Your Majesty a confidential servant of his (*persona suya*) to give you notice that if the declaration of the sentence and deprivation of the King is to take place you must take a previous engagement to have the sentence executed and otherwise favour and assist the Church in this matter. Besides the special messenger whom the Pope is thinking of sending to Your Majesty, he particularly requested me to impress upon you the mighty importance of the measure, for (said he) my determination to push the king of England to extremities is a thing that must needs cause great excitement and commotion throughout Christendom, besides which the king of France is sure to help him indirectly, if not openly by some of the means he has at hand, which means the Pope proceeded at once to specify. He would have gone on stating his view of the affair had I not stopped him short by saying: "Your Holiness must be aware that all this has been foreseen and provided for by the treaties (*capitulaciones*) of Madrid and Cambray, as I have said at other times, and, therefore, there is no cause for appealing from the said treaties."

With respect to the interview I have often broached the subject. I still find His Holiness bent upon holding it, not

1533.

perhaps so firmly as before, but still with some persistence, for I can discover no signs of his giving up the idea.

Told him of the money that had lately been deposited Your Majesty's orders at Ansaldo Grimaldo's bank to help the Catholic cantons of Switzerland; he faithfully promised to send his contingent.

Antonio de Leyva and his opinion on Monferrato.

France striving to make the Swiss cantons agree.

Count Salma and his negotiation.

News from Coron lately sent by the viceroy of Naples.

I have not spoken to the Pope about the Council, because on my arrival in Rome I found that nobody thought or spoke of anything else save the interview of the Pope and king of France. Besides there are many who think that one of the reasons which takes His Holiness to Nice is this very affair of the Council.—Rome, 10th May 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Oiginal. pp. 4.

---

10 May. **1072.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 29.

Since my last of the 27th ult° I have received Your Majesty's letter of the 8th, the contents of which I failed not to communicate to the Queen immediately. She was wonderfully pleased and comforted not only at hearing of the affectionate care Your Majesty takes of her wretched affairs, but likewise at the prosperous condition of yours, upon which her own peace of mind as well as the welfare of all Christendom chiefly depend.

The Queen, considering that it is not legal (*loysible*) for her to appeal, claim, protest, or present petitions (*provisions*) to the archbishop of Canterbury, as such acts would place her under pain of rebellion and the crime of "læsæ Majestatis" according to the last Act of Parliament, and that anything that might be said, produced, or alleged in her favour could not stay or delay the resolution taken by the said Archbishop, which is to pronounce the sentence of the divorce on the day after Ascension Day;* fearing, moreover, lest obeying the summons, and appearing at the Archbishop's court, *he or other ecclesiastical judges by him deputed for the purpose might have at hand notaries and witnesses prepared to write down and attest things in favour of the prorogation of his archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and in derogation of her own appeal,* has decided not to appear, but to disregard entirely the Archbishop's summons. Nor was there in my opinion any necessity for this,† since the advoca-

---

* "La destinée entreprinse du dit archeuesque, quest de donner la sentence de diuorce a lendemain de lassention (*sic*)."

† The copy has: "aussy men est yl de besoing veu que," &c., but the sense of the sentence and what follows requires: "aussy n'en est yl besoing."

1533.

tion of the cause [to Rome] and the inhibition to the English judges, as well as all other provisions annulling the proceedings, were duly executed here, and affixed in places of which the said Archbishop could not well allege ignorance. This, notwithstanding, and *for greater security, I* (*Chapuys*) *have had certain protests and extrajudicial appeals drawn up before authorized persons in a legal form, which protests and appeals will have the same vigour, force, and efficacy as if they had been made in the archiepiscopal court.*

As far as I can guess this king *will be very glad at the Queen's contravening in any way the ordinances of Parliament, not only that he may thereby have some ground for ill-treating her, but also that he may oblige the nobles of his kingdom, who in similar cases are to be judges, to condemn the Queen*[*] *and decide that she has incurred the penalties established by the said ordinance and constitution,* the King, thinking no doubt, that in consequence of that artful design, the said nobles will be bound *to uphold the Archbishop's sentence, and consequently his* (*the King's*) *pretensions.*

These reasons and considerations have no doubt led the Queen to request that *I should not interfere in the said judgment,* the more so that when the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner), and the treasurer of the Household (Fitzwilliam) addressed her, two years ago, in the King's name, they distinctly told her, as I have had the honour of informing Your Majesty, that she was to dissuade me, *if I valued my life from presenting briefs or apostolic letters of any kind, for if I did the King himself could not prevent my being murdered by the people.*[†] Such were the Duke's words on that occasion, but I (Chapuys) know better, for the love and affection which the English in general bear Your Majesty and the Queen is so very great that nothing of the sort is to be apprehended unless the King's ministers themselves by false representations stir the people on to disorder, and find an excuse to arm against Your Majesty, thereby depriving the English of all hope of that good-will towards them, at which, as I have understood from ambassador Eliot and others, they are nowadays aiming.[‡]

And so it appears, for the King and his Privy Councillors are trying to persuade the people here that Your Majesty

---

[*] "A ce que puys comprendre ce roy auroit belle ennuye (enuye ?) que la royne contrevint en aucune sorte a la ordonnance des susditz estatz, non seullement pour auoir occasion de la mal traicter, mais aussy pour contraindre tous les grans du royaulme que en tel cas doiuent estre juges de condempner la dite royne."

[†] "Questoit que me gardasse austant que maymoye dexecuter lettres apostoliques ou brefs, car le roy mesmes (*sic*) ne me sçauroit garder que le peuple ne me assomat."

[‡] "Nestoit que ceulx-çy par quelques faulses persuasions tracassent iceluy [peuple] a faire quelque desordre, ce quil [le roy] vouldroit bien faire par avanture pour armer le peuple contre vostre maieste, et le mectre par ce moyen en despoir de la beniuolence dicelle [maiesté], a quoy comme iay entendu de l'ambassadeur eliot et daillieurs, ilz taschent."

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

1533.

stirred on by the insatiable ambition and rapacity of your Spanish subjects has formed the project not only of coming over to England, sacking the whole kingdom, and laying it waste by fire and sword, but likewise of getting possession of it, and placing on the throne one of your own kinsmen, after exterminating the Royal family of England. As an antidote to such malicious reports sedulously circulated among the people, I should recommend that the merchants of this nation, who frequent the ports of Spain and Flanders,* should be treated with all possible consideration, as I have already had occasion to write to Your Majesty.

Notwithstanding the above resolution of the Queen, and my promise not to interfere, I thought of writing a letter to the King on the subject that his pertinacious insistance should become more manifest: I accordingly wrote to him as follows:

"Sire,

As I have lately informed Your Highness, and can shew when required, the Emperor, my master, has given me express, patent, and authentic powers to act in this matrimonial cause, and commanded me, in case of any attempt being made to decide it here, to protest and appeal in his name as his legitimate and authentic agent and proctor, present apostolic letters and briefs, and do any other acts requisite and necessary for the preservation of the rights of, and justice to, the said Queen. Having, therefore, heard that the archbishop of Canterbury, disregarding entirely the various appeals, protests, advocations and other formidable inhibitions decreed by His Holiness, and of which he himself cannot pretend to be ignorant, has now summoned the said Queen to appear at his archiepiscopal court, I am bound, according to the letter of my said powers and instructions, to acquit myself of this my duty, and execute the Emperor's orders.† This being done by me out of several respects and considerations, not indeed from fear of the said Archbishop's proceedings—which can nowise hurt the Queen, but on the contrary must ultimately turn to his prejudice—but for the sake of honesty, and out of my wish that all things should turn out well for the parties, I have thought fit to inform Your Highness that being invested with sufficient powers from my master to do all that is required in this affair, I intend from this very day to enter upon the duties of my office. I, therefore, beg Your Highness to take this my interference in good part, as there is every reason to expect from your prudence, wisdom and goodness. I pray God to give Your Highness a very happy and very long life. From your city of London, the 5th of May 1533. Your most humble and most obedient servant—Eustace Chapuys—To the King."

---

* The original has: "aux marchans angloix qui habitent *ont entent* (ou hantent) les pais de vostre maiesté."

† "Desireroye suyuant le teneur de mon dit pouuoir m' acquitter en ce que mest commis et commandé."

1533.

Such was my letter. I thought it was better to address the King in writing than ask for an audience and speak to him, inasmuch as after his having taken such an irregular step,* it seemed as if I ought not to frequent his court for fear people should think that Your Majesty consented to the King's proceedings. In this manner too the King's answer and intention would come straight to me in writing and serve for the better discharge of my duty; I might shew it to those who uphold the Queen's right, and if necessary have it published and circulated among the people as the pressure of circumstances and nature of the affair might demand.

The King having graciously enough received through my secretary the above epistle, sent me a message immediately after that he would answer that very day or the day after; and so he did for next morning Cremuel (Cromwell), who informs me just now of all Court affairs,† and is the man who enjoys most credit with the King, came to me and said: that the King had duly received my letter containing various paragraphs, and among the rest one purporting that I intended appealing and presenting certain apostolic letters to the archbishop [of Canterbury] in Your Majesty's name. The King thought that Your Majesty had no cause or occasion to mix yourself up with the affair, and that you ought to consider that, however great the immunity and privileges of ambassadors, he could not go so far as to respect them when the privileges of his own crown and kingdom were thus violated and set at nought. "The King (said Cromwell) begs you to weigh the consequences of such an act, and strongly advises you to abstain from it. As the matter in question (he added) is one of great importance, the King declines to answer your letter in writing; but if you will go to his Privy Council on the 7th inst.,‡ full answer shall be made to your letter."

Accordingly, on the appointed day (the 7th of May), about 8 in the morning, I found myself at a meeting of the King's Privy Council composed of the following councillors: the earls of Vulchier (Wiltshire) and Essex, Lord Rochefort, the Treasurer (Fitzwilliam), comptroller Cremuel (Cromwell), the two chief justices of England, doctors Sampson and Fox, and others. The two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were not present, for they had gone to their country residences far away. On my arrival there the earl of Wiltshire took out of his pouch (*scarcelle*) my letter to the King, and asked me to explain its contents and shew the powers from Your Majesty therein mentioned. My reply was that I was quite ready to explain the contents of the letter, but as to exhibiting the powers I had from Your Majesty I did not see the necessity of it, inasmuch as being Imperial ambassador in England, and having general powers to act in your name, any particular ones I might have for the affair mentioned in my letter could only be of use to myself in case I should be accused of exceeding them. However, in order to shew the King that I did not wish to be overscrupulous, but on the contrary was desirous of doing his pleasure in every respect, I would at once exhibit the powers, which I threw down on the table. This being done, I summarily declared the contents of my letter, and explained to them the nature and purport of the Papal briefs excommunicating the King and them all.

---

* "Et ce pour canse que ayant faict ung tel desordre ne me sembloit conveni de hanter ne fere le court pour non mettre en sospeçon le monde que vostre maiesté est consentant de ce affaire, et aussy pour autres consideracions."

† "Et vint a moy de sa part Cremuel quest celluy que ma aduise tous les affaires."

‡ "Le vii^{e} jour."

Hearing this the said Vulchier (earl of Wiltshire) got up and said as a man who is at once vexed and surprised (*marry et estonne*) that the letter was a most strange one, and of such a nature that had it been written by a man of this kingdom, however great and distinguished, he would certainly have had his property confiscated and himself cast in prison for setting at defiance the statutes, laws, and ordinances lately passed in Parliament. He (the Earl) had been commanded by the King to draw my attention to the said ordinances, and say that if I continued to behave, and do the office of ambassador, as hitherto, the King, his master, would go on treating me as favourably and perhaps more so than any other ambassador in the world, but that if I attempted to put on two faces, and exceed my functions of ambassador that would be another matter. For that reason, he said, it was for me to consider whether I ought to mix myself up with the affairs alluded to in my letter. Upon which I said to them: "Why, you are like the eels of Meaux (Melun ?), who cry out before they are skinned." I have not yet appealed, nor presented Apostolic letters, nor said anything in my communication to the King to produce such complaints, even had the letter which I sent him been written by anyone else but an ambassador. Respecting the good treatment of the King to which you have alluded I have nothing to say. Certainly until now I have no reason to complain; the King is so gracious and kind a prince that he could hardly act otherwise towards an Imperial ambassador. As to my putting on two faces—by which the Earl no doubt meant that I wished sometimes to pass for Your Majesty's ambassador, and at other times for the Queen's proctor—I assured him that the profession was entirely new to me; I knew nothing about it unless he would shew me the way to manage such things. In short I told him that had he chosen, he might have had a very legitimate excuse for not undertaking to speak to me on a matter in which he might well be suspected to be an interested party,* and the discussion of which belonged exclusively to lawyers.

To these arguments of mine the Earl knew not what to reply, and referred me to his colleagues in the room. Upon

---

* "Quil se pourroit assez legitimemant excuse [r] de parler de ceste matiere en la quelle pour linterest que lattoche (*sic*) lon le pourroit soupeçonner pour affectionne, et dallieurs que cestoint negoces de gens litterez."

1533.

which I addressed myself to the councillors, and told them that if they only had patience, and would listen to me I could summarily relate the whole thing from the beginning, and state what I myself thought of it. The councillors having consented, I asked them what language they wished me to address them in, whether Latin or French, and the former being chosen, owing to some of them not understanding French, I made at once a very long address beginning with the friendship which Your Majesty had always entertained for their king and kingdom, and that if you had mixed yourself up with the affair in question it was more for the welfare, honour, and repose of the King and kingdom than for any other consideration, though Your Majesty looked upon the Queen as your own mother, and upon the Princess as your sister.* I then explained to them how moderately and mildly Your Majesty had proceeded in the whole affair, and whereas the principal argument produced in favour of the King is the opinion and votes of universities and individual doctors and lawyers, I shewed them what corrupt practices had been used to obtain the said votes, and that there was nevertheless a greater number of votes for the Queen than for their master, besides which all the prelates and doctors of Spain, Naples, and other countries had without one single exception, and without pressure or difficulty, voted for the Queen. I told them that even here, in England, notwithstanding the practices and threats that had been used, the wisest and most virtuous among the prelates and doctors of the land maintained the latter opinion; nay, the university of Paris itself, for it had declared that if the Queen, as asserted, had not been known by prince Arthur, her marriage to the present king was valid and good; and I proceeded to prove to them by arguments innumerable the truth of that assertion. I then went on to say that the statute which they alleged was null and void for various reasons, which I pointed out to them, for even supposing the statute to be legal (*bon*), the Queen could not, and ought not, to be made amenable to it for several reasons which would take me too much time to explain. After this I laid down before them the very just causes and reasons why the case could not, and ought not, to be decided here in England, especially before the archbishop of Canterbury, who is the most suspicious judge that could be chosen for a trial of that sort, and who, contravening the oath just made of being obedient to the Pope, and himself being excommunicated, could not pronounce sentence in this case, and if he did his verdict was null and void, that of the Pope being the only true one, capable of removing the dissensions likely to arise concerning the succession to the Crown, which in this country more than in others are easily stirred up, and put down with great difficulty. Of this, I said, they had had good experience

---

* "Bien que vostre maieste tienne la royne pour mere, et [la] princesse pour soeur."

1533.

in former times, the whole kingdom having been disturbed by the [wars of] the Roses; though it seemed nowadays as if they wished to sharpen the thorns of those very roses.* They ought also to consider that although the archbishop of Canterbury might be a competent judge in this trial, which he was not, as sentences in matrimonial suits are not considered unappealable, it may at all times be annulled† without prescription: which would be a source of discord and intestine troubles for this kingdom, owing to a number of considerations which I then explained to them, and would be too prolix for Your Majesty to hear now, but which I intend fully to develop to Mr. de Grandvelle by another post that he may report to Your Majesty at his leisure.

My address at an end, and after the councillors had conferred together for some time in their native English tongue, Dr. Fox got up, and made a long answer in Latin, the substance of which was: That the King through his great learning, moved by the Divine Spirit and his own reason, had found that he could not without sin live conjugally with the Queen; he had consequently separated from her; that, he said, was a "fait accompli" no longer subject to discussion. To oppose the cognizance of this business by the archbishop of Canterbury would be tantamount to opposing the laws and statutes of the kingdom, which neither the King himself nor Parliament could do, still less allow the presentation of any bulls or briefs from the Pope tending to disregard the said statutes. "Truly speaking the Pope (added Dr. Fox) has no authority whatever among us; he has nothing to do either with temporal or spiritual matters in this kingdom, so that if you (Chapuys) should at any time present briefs from the Pope, you will not be able to allege immunity, or privilege as an ambassador, inasmuch as it would be inconsistent with your office to present such briefs, which after all are not mandates from the Emperor, but from the Pope, whose ambassador you (Chapuys) are not. He (the Pope) has a Nuncio here, and it is through him that these sort of communications, if at all, ought to be addressed. Besides which the powers which you have just exhibited are of old date, and the Emperor may have changed his mind since, as there is reason to think from the conjectures expressed, and advices received by the King from his ambassador at the Imperial Court. For these reasons, that you may not willingly run into danger, and thereby create disturbances (*esmotion*) in the kingdom, we all beg you not to proceed further in this matter until you get a fresh mandate from the Emperor."

After several replies and objections, and on my insisting on

---

* "Et que par çy devant les roses avoint trouble ce royaulme, mays que maintenant yl sembloit quilz vouloint aguiscer les espines des roses."

† "Et quil falloit quilz pensassent que oerez que le dict archeuesque fust juge competent comme yl nest, que puisque la sentence en cas matrimonial ne passa jamays en chose jugee, tosjours sans prescripcion se pourra retraytter (*sic*) la sentence."

1533.

my former purpose, which I said I was about to execute regardless of the consequences—thus fulfilling the duties imposed upon me by the said powers—the Councillors in a body again begged and entreated me to forbear, so as to avoid the inconveniences and dangers above alluded to. Finally perceiving that the two judges had only attended the Council for the purpose of solemnly warning me not to transgress the statute—the copy of which in a long paper roll the earl of Wiltshire kept all the time in his hand,* and also, suspecting, as I wrote at the beginning of this despatch, that there was no need for me to insist further on that point, wishing moreover to make a virtue of necessity, I said to them that as a proof that my only wish was to bring matters to a good end, and prevent their being made worse, I was willing to suspend all proceedings for two or three days, during which time His Highness might perhaps be pleased to return me an answer in writing. Should the answer be such, I said, as likely to satisfy Your Majesty on all points, I was ready to abstain from further proceedings in the affair.

All seemed glad at this proposition of mine. I expect today the King's answer; should it not come it is my intention to remind the Councillors of it.

As I was leaving the Council-room I said "pour la bonne bouche" to those present: "There are people at this court who circulate most strange reports about the Emperor, my master; some say that he has at last consented to the divorce, whilst others maintain that far from it he is preparing to invade this kingdom, and lay it waste by fire and sword. I can only tell you that such reports are not only false and malicious but particularly injurious to my master; far from thinking of an invasion the Emperor only desires to favour this kingdom as much as he can, for he will never be persuaded that there can ever be a cause for his acting otherwise. As to his consenting to the divorce, you must know that such is my master's love of justice that should sentence be pronounced against the Queen, he will obey the Pope's decision; otherwise all the world put together could not make him swerve from what he considers his duty,† nor from the path which he intends to follow to the end, not so much, as I have said, out of affection for the Queen, as out of friendship and love for the King. This, I am sure, your master would very soon have to acknowledge, if putting aside other affections and his passionate love for the Lady,‡ he should maturely consider his relations with the Emperor. For this reason (I said) you would do well to warn the said spreaders of news, and tell them to abstain in future from circulating falsehoods, as otherwise I shall be obliged to publish other [and quite different statements]."

---

* "Et finablement voyant que les deux juges nestoient [la] synon pour me faire la solempne prohibicion et coniuracion de non transgresser leur dit statut, duquel le dict Vulcher tout au long que fuy (fus) la tint la copie en sa main," &c.

† "Quant au premier [point] quil falloit quilz entendissent que ce nest que la justice le requiere ainsi, tout le monde ensemble ne feroit fleschir vostre maieste."

‡ "Le quesperoye y cognoissant le roy ayant ung peu sequestre son affection ou passion pour la dame."

K 89.

The councillors agreed with me that my complaint was a just one, and my request reasonable, and that if they should be made aware of such things they would willingly rectify them.

The King's marriage, as it is said, was celebrated with due solemnity on the day of St. Paul's conversion, and as about that time Dr. Bonart (Benet) came back from Rome, and the Papal Nuncio went to Court very frequently, some people here suspect that the Pope has given some sort of tacit consent to the marriage, which, however, I cannot believe, though I must observe that ever since that time the said Nuncio has not, that I know of, gone to business as often or steadily as before. *And although long before the promulgation of the aforesaid statute, I had earnestly requested him that in compliance with the orders received from His Holiness, and his own promise at the time when I presented to him Your Majesty's letters, he should execute the brief against the archbishop of Canterbury, or otherwise assist me in this undertaking, he has done nothing at all, and I really suspect that he may secretly have done or said something against our cause.*

The duke of Norfolk's journey to France has no other foundation that I can hear of than the Pope's visit to Nisse (Nizza), and intended interview with the king of France, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty. About eight days ago the Duke accompanied by his physician called on the French ambassador, who happened to be suffering from ague. Whilst at dinner some one asked him whether it was true, as the report went, that he was going to the Pope at Rome. The Duke, whether out of bravado, or because he wanted to dissemble, answered: "Me going to Rome; I will never go thither except with my lance in rest."* He also said that in the journey he is about to undertake he intends taking with him 300 horses besides mules and beasts of burden. I cannot say whether he will come back in such high spirits, but he certainly appears very desirous and even impatient of setting out on his journey. Since my last I hear that he (the Duke) has been advised to take no ecclesiastics with him. The day for his departure has not yet been fixed, as that will very much depend on the answer which the courier they sent to Rome lately, and about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, may bring. *Dr. Sampson and others tell me that the King imagines that the answer will be a favourable one, and has no doubt that the interview of Pope and King at Nizza takes place with the full consent and approval of Your Majesty.*

---

* "Quil ne iroit oncques a Romme ce (*sic*) nestoit la lance sur la cuysse." It is quite evident in this passage that "*ce nestoit*" is for "si ce n'estoit."

1533.

The King has issued orders for all the gentlemen (*gentilhommes*) to present themselves in due state at these festivals of Pentecost (Whitsuntide) to do honour to the coronation of his Lady, for which solemnity new and costly preparations are daily being made. The King, however, is sure to reimburse himself amply for all his expenses on the occasion, for it is the custom of this country at such festivals and solemnities for the King to create knights [of the Order] those who have sufficient income to support that rank. In case of anyone refusing the said knighthood so as not to be obliged to fulfil certain duties—as many do—the King used formerly to accept from them a goodish sum of money. Nowadays it is intended to take another and more certain course; whoever has a revenue of 40 pounds sterling shall be compelled to accept the said Order [of the Garter] or give up all the income of his estates, however large it may be, during three years, which amounts to a very considerable fine. Besides the displeasure caused by the ill-treatment of the Queen, which makes people murmur and inveigh against this coronation, most have no other hope than the reformation which by Your Majesty's hand is soon likely to reach this country, nor any other fear than that of being compelled by Your Majesty to declare openly for the Queen; for they say that this accursed woman [Anne] is sure to ill-treat and persecute all those known as having upheld the Queen's rights, or spoken in her favour.* I mean the people of substance and rank, for whoever should undertake to punish or ill-treat all the rest would have enough to do. Indeed, I do not hesitate to say that things have now come to such a pitch that were captains of Your Majesty to land in this country they could immediately enlist as many men as they chose under their banners.†

This woman in the meantime is doing all she can to win the affections of the Londoners, but she is very much mistaken, for if there was an invasion I take it that the people would keep the enlistment money (*gaiges*) and cry "Long live the Conqueror" as they are in the habit of doing.‡

Ten days ago the King sent to Rome in great haste the nephew of the auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci); for what purpose I have been unable to find out. A man from the Pope has also arrived here to treat about the convocation of a General Council; in company with the resident Nuncio (Baron del Borgo) he went on Sunday last to Court, and is to return again to-morrow. I fancy that an agreeable answer will be given to their application, namely, that the King will not have anything to say to the Council, which as some here say, is precisely that which the Pope is looking for, whatever he may say to the contrary.

---

* "Et nont la pluspart autre espoir que a la reformacion que par la main de vostre maieste se mectra içy et ne autre paour (*sic*) ce peuple, mesmes ceulx qui ont du bien, synon que vostre maieste ne les oblige, disant quilz sçauent bien que ceste mauldicte femme traictera mal tous ceulx qui ont soubstenu le party de la royne ou parle a sa faveur."

† "Et ose bien asseurer vostre maieste quilz auroient de la suyte austant quilz voudroient."

‡ "Mais elle sabuse, car si venoit ung affaire je croy quilz garderoient les gaiges et diroient uive qui vince (*sic*) a l'accoustumee."

The messenger from Denmark, who was here to justify the King of that country for the outrage said to have been committed on the English there, has lately taken his departure. I have not yet been able to ascertain what other business he had here.—London, 10th May 1533.

Signed; "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England to the Emperor. Received on the 25th."

French. Holograph. pp. 10.

---

18 May. **1073.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.,* c. 228, No. 30.

Notwithstanding the promise of the Privy Council that within three days' time I should get an answer to my letter—as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in my last despatch—a week has now passed without my receiving any intimation about it. Whether it be that the King and his councillors wish to gain time, as usual, or that they want to deliberate further on the subject of my said letter, the fact is that up to the present I have had no summons. Last Tuesday, however, the duke of Norfolk and some of the councillors invited me to dine with them, but considering the circumstances and the unsatisfactory state of affairs, and wishing not to create or encourage the suspicion among these people that Your Majesty can possibly consent to such a detestable act as this new marriage, I declined the Duke's invitation, but nevertheless went thither after they had finished their dinner, when they tried, by alleging innumerable reasons and authorities to convince me that I ought not to, and could not, disturb or impede the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury, not only as regarded the statute newly made, which especially forbids such attempts, but also in view of the insufficiency of my powers, which they attacked in every possible way. After amply and sufficiently answering their arguments one by one, and meeting their reasoning, the councillors instead of replying as I expected, changed their tactics and began to beg me to consider of what small advantage the step I meditated would be, whereas the danger was imminent, and the inconveniences likely to arise most certain. On my side I tried to shew them that the advantage of obeying punctually Your Majesty's instructions and commands was a sufficient incentive for me; it was that which led me to proceed and act according to my charge, &c. On this head many other things were said on both sides, with the detail of which I will not trouble Your Majesty, as one-tenth part of what was said on the occasion would be enough to cause you annoyance. Yet as most of the things that were then said are linked together in a sort of

1533.

chain, and stand in relation to each other, I consider it my duty to relate some of them.

As I have had the honour to inform Your Majesty my pursuit of this affair, and the obstinate insistence I have shewn, was never intended for the purpose of executing my threat, since far from doing good that would most probably have resulted in sundry inconveniences. It was merely that I might have occasion to shew them (the councillors) a piece of my mind on many subjects, and also to gratify the King and his Privy Council in this respect, gain credit with them for the future, and in this manner prevent any ill-treatment to which the Queen and the Princess might be subjected. This is, indeed, a delicate subject which no one here except myself would have dared to mention for fear of the Lady [Anne], and I really believe that had I not written to the King the letter copied in my last despatch, and spoken to the earl of Wiltshire, and to the rest of the Privy Council in the manner I did, the Queen would have been worse treated, whereas by means of the small gratification I have procured them by seemingly listening to their prayers and advice, I daresay I have done good service to the Queen and Princess, so much so that the former has already experienced the benefit of it, as she assures me and approves entirely of my conduct on this occasion.

On Tuesday, therefore, after a most lengthy debate, nothing was decided except that I still insisted upon the execution of my charge, and threatened to go on with it unless the King caused a written answer to my letter to be made out and sent to me, containing more conclusive arguments and reasons than those alleged by the councillors. If they refused to communicate to the King this resolution of mine I would, I said, write again and ask for an answer. Upon which, and after they had promised to report accordingly, I left the Council-room and went home.

On Wednesday evening I sent a message to Cremuel (Cromwell)—the oldest among the councillors and he who now enjoys most credit with the King—begging him to come to me next morning, which he most willingly promised. Having, however, informed the King of my request and of his intended visit, Cromwell was desired to go into the Royal Chamber before he came to me. As he could not see the King immediately, he was obliged to put off his visit to me for that day and sent his excuses, but yesterday morning he came and duly explained the cause of the delay.

After some conversation on general matters I told Cromwell what faith I had in his good offices for the preservation of peace and friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master, and that my faith in him would be very much shaken if in this particular instance he did not make some stir to keep up a good understanding between two such princes as the Emperor and the king of England so closely allied to each other, &c. There was no need for me to sum up the many causes and reasons for the maintenance of such amicable relations now threatened more than ever by this new and highly unprincipled marriage. I sincerely hoped that in course of time the King, his master, free from love and passion, would of himself acknowledge his error and return to the right path.* For that reason instead of embittering matters, or adding, as it were, oil to the fire, and considering that the execution of my charge in this particular instance might over irritate and provoke the King on various accounts and considerations which I need not recapitulate, I had resolved for the preservation of that same friendship and alliance—which I was desirous to maintain and foster—to refrain at present from the duties of my charge until I saw some change in the Queen's treatment, or received a fresh mandate from Your Majesty. "The King," I said, "and the members of his Privy Council ought to take particular care, after such an unprincipled and unlawful marriage as this one, not to give extra offence to the Emperor in minor details, such as the ill-treatment of the Queen, his aunt, the attempt to change her title, the enforced retrenchment of her expenses and household servants, the tearing off of her escutcheon from her Royal barge, and from the gate of the great hall at Vuamaystre (Westminster), such ignominious treatment being only reserved for those accused of high treason."

After praising the affection which I shewed to the King, his master, Cromwell replied that he thanked me greatly for the information I had just given him about the removal of the Queen's arms. He knew nothing about that, he said, and believed that when the fact came to the King's notice he would be mightily displeased. With regard to the Queen's estate and money for her maintenance he had understood from the King himself that no retrenchment was in contemplation, &c. I said that I believed him (Cromwell) to be so much inclined to the preservation of amicable relations between Your Majesty and his master that I had not the least doubt that he had hitherto done, and would in future do all that was right; and that the King's principal excuse being founded on the scruples of his conscience, and the wish to procure male succession, it would lose much of its plausibility if attended by these petty and unworthy offences against the Queen, and, therefore, that it was incumbent upon him to see that such ill-practices were not resorted to. "In tendering this advice," said I, "I address you as a faithful and devoted servant of the King, your master, not as the Emperor's and the Queen's friend though as I know you to be that also."

Cromwell took these words of mine in good part and then began to remind me of the great favours which his master had once done not only to Your Majesty but likewise to your grandfather the emperor Maximilian, and the Catholic king

---

* "Esperant que par succession de temps le roy, son maistre, sequestre damour et passion et cognoissant la verite y remedieroit de luy mesme."

1533.

of Spain (Ferdinand) of good memory, adding that he considered Your Majesty so grateful that though the Spaniards, who are a spirited people but have different notions about honour,[*] should stimulate and urge you to declare war to his master, the mere recollection of the favours received in old times would prevent you from acquiescing in their wishes. "Besides (he said) the mutual advantages accruing from the intercourse of trade between this country and the Emperor's dominions are sure to prove an obstacle to such designs, if they do really exist, to which I may add that my countrymen are not people to allow themselves to be conquered without resistance."

After this the said Cromwell tried to excuse the King for having acted with such precipitation. He knew that the Pope would not do him justice, and, therefore, had resolved to give His Holiness a good slap on the face.[†] He praised much the doctrine and learning of the King, which, he said, were such as to have encouraged him to act as he had done. Having so far satisfied his conscience he thought that he was not to be blamed for what he had done. Cromwell, however, owned to me that neither the King himself nor all the princes of Christendom put together, nor all the preachers in the world, could ever persuade him that the love and affection for Lady Anne had not influenced his determination, but after all if his conscience was at rest, nobody had a right to interfere in the matter. I then interrogated Cromwell about the time and place of the new marriage, and the witnesses who had attended the ceremony, but could obtain no information whatever on the subject. The duke of Norfolk, he said, had not been present at it, but that was no reason for my doubting its celebration since he (Cromwell) knew that several members of the Privy Council had attended. He, however, refused to give their names, and would not be more explicit on the subject, though in order that he might go on with his information I distinctly told him that I could not possibly believe the marriage to have taken place since such care was taken not to publish the form of it; and that it seemed very strange that a prince so respected and obeyed, as the King was in his kingdom, should do such things under the rose (*sous la chimenee*), thus giving his own subjects and the rest of Chistendom matter for suspicion and slander.

Having then asked him what news he had from Rome he said to me, whether dissembling or in earnest I cannot tell, that His Holiness having heard from the King's ambassador of the King's new marriage had shewn much displeasure at it, and said somewhat passionately: "Very well, we shall remedy that."

---

[*] "Que oerez que les hyspagnolz, que sont gens de ceur (*sic*) et non pareillemant estimant lhonneur, vouloissent animer et stimuler vostre maieste a fere guerre contre le roy. son maistre, que les susditz bienfaictz len (les en) retireroint."

[†] "Que ce nestoit que pour sçavoer que le pape ne luy vouloit fere jnstice, et la (*sic*) donna deux ou troys couptz de bec a sa sanctité."

1533.

With regard to the duke of Norfolk's journey, and those who were to accompany him, Cromwell told me that he knew not when their departure for France would take place.

As I was perusing Your Majesty's letters of the 25th ult°, with the announcement of your very prosperous and very anxiously expected arrival in Spain—at which not only your own natural subjects and servants, but also all true and good Christians ought wonderfully to rejoice—the above-mentioned Cremuel (Cromwell) happened to enter my room. Not wishing, however, to go to Court under present circumstances, I begged him to communicate the said news to the King, and free me from that duty, which commission he (Cromwell) willingly accepted. I then read to him the paragraph relating to the good offices and offers made by the count of Tende[*] in the name of the Most Christian king [of France], adding a few remarks of my own respecting the true friendship that seemed to exist between Your Majesty and the said King, which, I observed, could not but increase daily considering your affinity and relationship, which could not be greater or closer than it was, and also the vicinity and commercial intercourse of your respective countries. No alliance, said I, could be so profitable to France as that of Your Majesty, which no one could impair or dissolve as long as you continued to be the greatest prince in Christendom. Cromwell confessed this to be true, and without shewing any particular joy at the news imparted to him left my room declaring to me before quitting that his intentions were, as he assured me, to do everything in his power to prevent any further offences being done against Your Majesty.

Were I by this means or in any other way to gain my point, which is to prevent any fresh attempt to injure the Queen or the Princess, her daughter, I consider that it is as much as any man can do for the present. I will attend exclusively to that, and do my best until I receive fresh instructions.

Notwithstanding my firm determination not to trouble Your Majesty with the greater part of the arguments adduced by me in support of my thesis, in the dispute with the members of the Privy Council, I have since thought that I had better inform you of some of them. Having demonstrated to the said councillors by force of reasoning that the statute against the Queen was invalid and inefficacious, inasmuch as the old treaties and confederacies forbade Your Majesty and this king to promulgate any laws, statutes, or ordinances whatever to the prejudice of the subjects of one or the other; also that the statute in question was in direct contradiction with the letter of the last treaty of peace, wherein it is expressly said and stipulated that neither of the contracting parties shall do injustice to the subjects of the other, I added that though the Queen might be considered an English subject, as they chose to assert, yet no adoption into another country could ever quite efface the nationality of birth, and that if for an injustice done to a poor sailor, or the stealing of a horse on the territory of one of the two contracting princes, peace had been often broken, for much greater reason might it be in this case, the injury being so grave, and the person attacked of such high rank, and rather more than a mere subject.

---

[*] "Je luy monstray aussy larticle touchant l'affaire et offres du conte de Tende de la part du roy tres chrestien, sur quoy de moy mesme audioustay aucunes parolles de la bonne amytie que pensoye estre entre vostre maieste et le dit seigneur roy de France." This count of Tende was the son of that René de Savoie, who died from wounds received at Pavia. See vol. iii., part 1, pp. 104, 106, and 150.

This argument of mine remained without an answer, not one of the councillors present daring to say anything against it. I have reproduced it here in the very words in which it was couched, in order that *should the Pope refuse to do his duty, or attempt new delays, and should Your Majesty feel inclined to take the law into your hands, you may do it hereafter without contravening the existing treaties since these people have been the first to violate them.**

Your Majesty cannot imagine the great wish *all these Englismen have that a landing force should be sent. Every day I am visited by people of quality, who break my head with speeches and writings, giving me to understand that king Richard, the last of his name, was never so much hated by his subjects as this present King is, and yet that he was dethroned by two or three thousand Frenchmen under the leadership of a prince hardly known in this country, whereas Your Majesty is very popular, and has besides in your favour a Queen, and a princess, her daughter, and a strong party comprising the whole of the nation or nearly so. This is not a question (they say) for them to decide without the help of foreigners, nor can they without assistance from abroad declare themselves openly. A good expedient (they add) to gain the favour of the English, and secure likewise the co-operation of the Scotch, would be to spread the report that Your Majesty would see with pleasure the marriage of the king of Scotland [to the princess Mary].*†

It was fully determined not to say anything more on this delicate subject, of which I have already treated in former

---

* "Et ce, sire, ay je voulu toucher affin que si [le pape ne vouloit fere son deuoir taschant de delayer laffere, que vostre maiesté considere, ayant enuye de remedier aux affaires, celle (si elle) ne le pourroit parfaire sans contrevenir aux traictez estant par iceulx-çy premierement vyolez."]

† "Sire, il nest a penser le grand desir que [tout ce peuple a que vostre maieste envoye yci gens; tous les jours men est rompu la teste par englois, gens de qualite, par escript et discours me donnant entendre que le roy richart, le dernier, ne fut oncques tant hay de ce peuple que cestuy, et toutes foys il fut dechasse de deux ou troys mille françois, et leur conducteur nestoit non seullement tant ayme yçi que vostre maieste, mays a payne estoit yl cogneu, et si navait [il] la faveur dune royne et une princesse et de leur parcialité que comprent tout le royaulme, ou bien prez; mais que nestoit question sans ayde et chief destrangiers quils se osassant declayrer, et que qui mieulx se vouldroit fortiffier et de le faveur des escossois et de ce peuple aussy il fauldroit laisser couler le bruyt que vostre maieste desireroit le marriage du roy descosse."]

1533.

despatches, perhaps at greater length than my instructions authorised me to do ; but the importunities of many [friends] have compelled me to do so. I beg Your Majesty's pardon if I have gone too far.

To-morrow some horses of the duke of Norfolk and his suite are to leave for France. The Duke himself will start six days after, so as to be at Nizza (Nize) towards the beginning of July.

Of other news I have little to report. The Pope's man who came here about the convocation for the Council, was directed hither from France for an answer; but this king's ministers sent him back saying that whatever resolution the king of that country arrived at respecting the said convocation this king would abide by. No other answer has been given him. *The Privy Councillors declare that the Pope is not in earnest in this matter, and that he has no more wish of celebrating a Council than they themselves have. This notwithstanding he has been handsomely received and feasted, and has had besides a present of* 300 *crs.* The resident Nuncio, moreover, has invited him sometimes to go to Court, no doubt in order to make people believe that they are on good terms with His Holiness, and it must be owned that whatever he (the Nuncio) may say to the contrary he has been and is entirely in their hands, having done very little real service to the Queen.

Of the business of the French ambassador, who went to Scotland for the purpose of securing peace, I have been unable to hear. Since he left London I am told that he has received several letters from France, and that his mission to Scotland is principally owing to the great desire these people have of peace.

A week ago two young gentlemen from France arrived in this city and went to Court. The day before yesterday on their return from the Royal residence, where one of them had been knighted [by the King], they came to visit me accompanied by the French [resident] ambassador. They were sent here by the Grand Master and by the High Admiral of France for the purpose of being installed in the chapel of the Order of the Garter at Windsor, then and there taking seat for the said lords, and performing the ceremonies prescribed on the occasion.

The citizens of London are trying to make all the inhabitants contribute their share towards the expenses of this approaching coronation, which will amount to about 5,000 ducats,* one-third of which sum will be spent in a present for the Lady, and the rest in a pageant for the occasion. Formerly there was no difficulty in or opposition to the raising of that tax; now they want to subject all foreigners to

---

* "Ceulx de ceste cite sont apprez pour fere contribuer tous les habitans pour les frais de ceste couronation, que monteront a leur charge environ de cincq mille ducatz, dont les troys seront pour le present de la dame, et le surplus pour le triomphe."

1533.

payment; but this time, as far as I can gather, Spaniards are to be exempted, which is no doubt a compliment paid to our nation. As the Easterlings are Your Majesty's subjects, they would like to be exempted also, but considering the great privileges they enjoy in this country they fancy that it is much better for them to offer no opposition.—London, 18th May 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received on the 11th of June."

French. Holograph. pp. 6.

21 May. **1074.** The CARDINAL of JAEN [MERINO] to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 860, f. 156.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 253.

Has received his letter of the 6th inst. With regard to the duchess [of Florence], since she is by this time safe in Naples, and he [Covos] will no doubt read what was written to the Emperor on the subject, there is no need for him to enter into particulars. Suffice it to say that he [the Cardinal] should have liked her to be sent for the next four months to one of the estates which the Vice-Queen [of Naples] owns in the kingdom. Such was His Holiness' wish, but the Viceroy (marquis de Villafranca) and his wife [Doña Maria Osorio Pimentel], being of opinion that she ought not to reside at Venafro during the hot season, but stay at Naples, which has a better temperature by far, it was decided, after consulting the best physicians of this capital (Rome), that the duchess (Margaret) should go thither; she must already have reached her destination; the Emperor's service in this respect has been done, so he is now free from all responsibility.

The count of Cifuentes had sent him an express to tell him (Merino) to make haste, and help him in preventing, if possible, the conferences of Nice. There was no need, however, to urge him on, for as soon as the intelligence reached him from another quarter he made all possible speed, and when the Count's message reached him on this side of Florence, and close to Siena, he (the Cardinal) was riding post, having escaped with no small difficulty the feasting and entertainments which the duke Alessandro [de' Medici] had prepared for him.

(*Cipher:*) With regard to the interview of His Holiness with the king of France, he (Merino) must declare that the first news he had of it was at Florence. He then requested cardinal Cibo and the Duke [Alessandro] to write to the Pope and dissuade him from that journey, giving many reasons why in his opinion neither the Pope's interests nor the final pacification of Florence would be benefited by it—nay, the projected marriage of his niece (Catarina) would tell against the perpetuity of the Duke and his posterity in that government. So

1533.

convinced was the Duke of his (Merino's) reasoning that he promised to write immediately to Rome. He (the Cardinal) has since his arrival at Rome said the same things to His Holiness, to Jacopo Salviati, and to Capua (Schomberg), putting before their eyes many similar cases, and pointing out the inconveniences and dangers likely to arise therefrom. Has come to the conclusion that if the Emperor wants the interview notto take place, and makes a stand against it, the Pope will not go. Jacopo Salviati has secretly told him (Merino) as much, and shewn him besides the minute of the letter which His Holiness wrote to the Emperor in his own hand through the count of Cifuentes, who, however, has not said a word to him [Merino] on the subject.

Respecting the English business it is to be observed that the Pope would, if he could, act in concert with the Emperor. He seems to think that to proceed by way of open warfare (*por armas*) would be too laborious an undertaking, and therefore he is inclined to prorogue his censures from fear of the Emperor's not assisting him when it is needed. It seems desirable that the Emperor return a fit answer, as is his duty to do, and at the same time urge the Pope to do his, and act immediately. In all other things he (Merino) finds the Pope consistently firm in his attachment to the Emperor. Of the Count's designs in this particular business and others intrusted to his care, his conferences with His Holiness, or what he himself writes home, he (Merino) cannot judge, for that ambassador has hitherto been remarkably close and reserved, never by any chance shewing him the letters he receives or the minutes of those which he writes home; nor do they confer on business as he (Merino) might wish, for up to this day he has only been once to visit him, and that was at night and in disguise. Does not say this in tone of complaint, but only by way of warning and for the Emperor's information, since in his opinion this sort of behaviour cannot be otherwise than prejudicial to the Emperor's service. Another one in his place would most likely ask for his "congé;" he will do no such thing but will execute with clean breast and as far as his abilities permit him the Emperor's commands and instructions. Begs him [the High Commander] not to make use of this information unless it be for His Majesty's service. As to him whatever the Count may do or say he is not in the least offended; the Count is a perfect gentleman, and he (Merino) is ready to serve and honour him in such a manner as to deserve his good-will; indeed he has at times sent his secretary to him to consult about certain affairs, and especially those relating to the Duchess, &c. Begs again that the substance of this letter be only communicated to Mr. de Granvele (Perrenot de Granvelle) that both advise him as to the conduct he is to pursue in future. That will be his rule, and he will not have to trouble them any more on the subject for whatever they decide will be done. When at Milan he (Merino) saw the chapter of his instructions which has reference to the count of Cifuentes, and his relations with him; he saw immediately how matters stood and told Idiaquez so.

As to the approaching interview he (Merino) has done everything he could to prevent it, by speaking to His Holiness or to his ministers. Hitherto he has obtained their delaying until September next, and this very day hope has been given to him that the interview may perhaps not take place at all.

(*Common writing:*) All that is written in cipher is only intended for His Lordship's (Covos') private reading; after communicating such a portion of it as may seem advisable to Mr. de Granvelle the letter itself had better be thrown into the fire.

Recommends Miçer Juan Reina, who has hitherto done much service, also lic^{te} Giluz,* the Emperor's chaplain, who during this journey has been most useful.—Rome, 21st May 1533.

P.D.—I receive this very moment notice that His Holiness is about to send to Nice one of his chamberlains called [Giovanni]† della Stuffa, about the interview.

Signed: "G[abriel] Card^{lis} Giennen[sis]."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

22 May. **1075.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 860, f. 237.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 257.

Until to-day, Ascension Day, I have been unable to leave the house owing to fever and gout, which troubled me much. After mass I remained to dinner with His Holiness that I might have an opportunity to converse with him on various matters, and especially on the intended interview and the English business. After dinner for two or three hours past and future events were discussed at length. With regard to the English matrimonial cause, fancying that His Holiness might be waiting for Your Majesty's answer, I begged him to consider the matter, for it was in my opinion the most scandalous and ugly act that had been committed in our days, not one of the heresies recently started could be compared with it for enormity. His Holiness spoke about one divorce, but it seemed to me as if the king of England were guilty of two divorces, for in the first place he has repudiated the Church of God, and then he has separated himself from his Queen, with whom he has lived so many years, &c. With regard to his first divorce, that is that from the Church, it was His Holiness' duty suitably to visit such an abominable case (*en caso tan nefando*), and as to the second, there were the same reasons for so acting. The delay which was being

---

* "Licenciado Giluz (Eguiluz?) capellan de Su M^{t}."

† "En este punto me han dicho que su sant^{d} embia un camarero [suyo] tal de la Stufa a lo de las vistas de Niza."

1533.

granted was, in my opinion, very injurious to the conscience and authority of His Holiness and of the Sacred College of Cardinals, because silence or dissimulation might afford people in and out of England cause to doubt whether there is not some shade of justice in what the King has done.

Having pressed him hard on these points, the Pope suddenly turned to me, and said: "What would you, Merino, do if you were in my place?" My answer, with all due reverence, was thus worded: "Were I the Vicar of Christ on Earth I would first of all fix my eyes on God, and after mature deliberation with my cardinals and lawyers would write a 'declaratoria' reproving and annulling whatever has been done in this affair, and commanding the King to separate from his second wife;* I would besides order the principal cause now pending in the Rota to be proceeded with 'ad ulteriorem' and without further delay.

Convinced by these and other powerful arguments, which I failed not to put before him as forcibly as I could, His Holiness said at last: "I am of your opinion; I will without loss of time cause the cardinals to discuss this affair, and tell me how I am to act." I have since informed the Count of the Pope's determination, and he has promised to speak to the cardinals.

With regard to the interview (*vistas*), as I do not know yet what Your Majesty's wishes may be, I have carefully abstained from saying anything in your name; but I failed not to represent to His Holiness, as from myself, the many dangers and inconveniences that might arise therefrom. I told him to consider the state of things in Italy. The country enjoyed perfect peace; he himself was free from the nuisance of so many armies continually wasting the substance of the inhabitants. Such conditions might perchance be altered in consequence of his interview with the king of France, and then people might with reason call him the cause of all their evils and misfortunes. I depicted to him the state of Florence, which I had lately visited, and told him how, thanks to Your Majesty, things were there getting better, and the possession of that Duchy was likely to remain in his family. Schism might be produced therein in consequence of the interview, the more so if the marriage between his niece, Catarina, and the Orleans was effected.

I also replied to the four or five things which he says the king of France offers to bring about at these conferences, and proved to him that even if he had the will, which to me was very doubtful, he certainly had not the power to effect them. Our conversation upon the whole was very long. Not to trouble Your Majesty I omit many things said on both sides, His Holiness naturally trying to persuade me that the proposed interview would be equally beneficial to him and to Your Imperial Majesty. From which I gather that His Holiness is

---

* "Una declaratoria increpando y anulando lo hecho, mandandoles la division del toro (*sic*) et mensa," &c.

1533.

entirely bent upon this journey. Your Majesty will tell us how to act.

As the succour to be sent to Coron was a thing of great importance and suffered no delay, I failed not at this, which may be called my first interview with His Holiness, to bring the subject before him. He assured me that whenever Your Majesty decided to send thither Doria's galleys, or those of Sicily, Naples, and Monaco, he (the Pope) would order his to join the expedition, and would besides do what he could towards procuring provisions and money.—Rome, 22nd May 1533.

Signed : "G[abriel] Card^{lis} Giennen[sis]."

Addressed : "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

26 May. **1076.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 32.

(*Cipher :*) The day before yesterday Your Majesty's letters of the 6th inst. came to hand. Since that date several despatches of mine must have reached their destination, through which Your Majesty will be able to judge whether according to orders and instructions received I have or not fulfilled the particular duties of my charge which in this particular affair of the divorce were "not to make matters worse than they are, not to threaten with war, nor in any way imply that there might be a rupture in the friendship and good intelligence between the two countries." Your Majesty must know by this time how faithfully I have followed the said instructions, and that whenever the King himself, or the members of his Privy Council inquired from me whether I thought Your Majesty would declare war on this account, I have always begged and entreated him and the rest not to speak to me of such things, for in the first place I thought them incapable of giving Your Majesty any cause or occasion for war, much less of provoking and declaring it to you and to your brother, the king of the Romans, for many reasons and considerations which I alleged at the time, and which would take me too much time to relate here. Among other arguments of which I made use was this : since the King himself has from the very beginning put his case in a judicial form, there is no question of war, but on the contrary a hope that though he may have taken another wife he will not on that account oppose and resist the sentence of the Holy Apostolic See. For if the King, I said, has dissolved his first marriage, bound by bonds stronger than adamant,* he can very easily break through this second one, which has not the same firmness and solidity, just as a certain king of France once did, who having divorced his wife, a princess of Denmark, took her back again afterwards.

---

* "Et que sil avoit rompu le premier marriage lye avec lyens plus fermes que dyamantins que plus facillement il pourroit dissoldre le dernier lye de feuilles de vourreaulx."

1533.

With this and other like reasoning have I always met the bellicose interrogatories and allusions of these people, always taking care to impress them with the idea that Your Majesty could not do less than prosecute the trial of this divorce case, not so much out of consideration for this king and kingdom as out of regard for the Queen.

As to Your Majesty's commands for me to exhort and persuade the Queen to remain in England notwithstanding any bad treatment she may be subjected to, that has already been done and achieved as effectually as possible, and unless the King has her forcibly sent out of this kingdom—which he would hardly dare to do—there is no danger of her voluntarily quitting this country; for besides the many wise reasons against such a measure, specified in Your Majesty's letters to me, the Queen herself thinks that were she to leave this country, she would sin against Law and against the King, whom she considers, and will as long as she lives consider, as her lawful lord and husband. Indeed, however ill-treated, she has always shewn him the same affection, and even now she has never made use of angry or irritating words, much less since she knows Your Majesty's wishes in this respect.[*]

The King, perceiving that notwithstanding the prohibition he issued some time ago against speaking about his second marriage, people went on talking all the same about it, has had a proclamation made that whoever will denounce such talkers and slanderers will receive a reward in money;[†] and, moreover, for fear of producing rebellion among his subjects has ordered that no one, whether clergyman or layman, shall dare preach without the licence of the bishop of London (Stokesley), who being one of the chief promoters of this divorce, naturally instructs them as to what they are to say (*les embouche a plaisir*). In which proclamation and other means employed to repress the popular feeling Your Majesty will find the explanation of the King's perplexity. Indeed his own silversmith and jeweller, who is also that of Lady Anne, said the other day to one of his customers—a very worthy and creditable man, who related it to me—that the King was exceedingly angry at some English merchants having gone to Flanders to bring back their merchandise, for that, he said, was equivalent to prognosticating and announcing war, and instilling suspicion and jealousy into the minds of the people much before there was any occasion and before the princes had thought of it themselves.

---

[*] "Et quelle pescheroit grandement de apparter (*sic* de se separer?) de l'obeyssance du roy, le quel elle tiend et tiendra pour soy mary, et a icelluy entend et veult a james obeyr quelque mauvais traictement quelle sceut auoir de lui, non obstant les quels mauvais traictemens la dite royne lui monstre austant daffection et obejssance quelle feit onques, sans jusques a present avoir james use dune seulle mauvaise ou querelleuse parolle, de quoy sans doubter elle se guardera saichant le bon plaisir et vouloir de vostre majeste."

[†] "Voyant le roy que nonobstant les deffences faictes de non parler de ce marriage que lon ne sen gardoit poinct yl a faict un edict que les reuelans et accusans de tels parleurs et detracteurs auroint certaine somme dargent."

About eight days ago a gentleman arrived in this city sent by the king of France for the sole purpose of hastening the departure of the duke of Norfolk, who immediately after the arrival of the Frenchman began to make preparations for the journey, and sent on his train and servants, he himself having left this very morning.*

I fully expected that the Duke would have come to this city that we might confer together, and that I might bid him adieu, but he was in such a haste and so pressed for time and with business that scarcely anyone could approach and speak to him. For this reason, and likewise not to appear as if I felt extremely curious about his sudden departure, or otherwise entertained fears about it, I refrained from going in person to say good bye to him, but sent one of my secretaries to do that and whatever else was required in my name. Though the Duke, as I say, was on the eve of departure, and very much engaged, he nevertheless received my man, and gave him all manner of courteous messages and commendations to me, as well as polite offers, the better to impress which on the man's memory he recalled him twice to his presence and repeated them over and over again,† adding that he was going to meet the Pope and the king of France at Nice, where, he said, some good things might be discussed, thereby meaning no doubt that Your Majesty might be persuaded through the above-mentioned means to ratify and forgive this second marriage of the King, so that union and friendship might subsist between Your Majesty and him. But, in my opinion, if such be their object these people had better not tell the Pope or the king of France anything about it; neither of whom I am sure would be very active in promoting such a plan if they thought that through the ratification or rather toleration of this second marriage the union and friendship between the Empire and this country was likely to be strengthened. The Pope's ostensible objects in this meeting are, as I hear: the war against the Turk, the convocation of a General Council, and the extirpation of the Lutheran sect. Please God that there be nothing further! The Papal Nuncio here told me more than two months ago that he had seen letters from merchants about a project of marriage between His Holiness' niece and the duke of Orleans, and that the former was to have as dower the duchy of Milan, the present duke [Francesco Sforza] getting by way of compensation that of Bourbon[nais], in France, and besides that the hand of the sister of the sieur d'Alebrecht (Labret). I cannot say whence the Nuncio drew this information, for which he gave me very plausible reasons at the time; but as the news seemed to me then, as it does now, strangely improbable and without foundation, I have avoided communicating it until now *that the very scrupulous care displayed about the meeting itself, together with its unprecedented character have induced me to report thereon.*

---

* "Le quel duc dois la dicte arrivee du françoys commença faire marcher son train, et a ce matin il est deslouge."

† "Pour les quelles [courtoisies et offres] bien imprymer au ceruaul de mon homme, il le fit rapeller deux fois pour les luy reiterer et replicquer."

There is a talk here of a truce with the Scots, and it is confidently expected that peace will ensue after that. The bishop of Durem (Durham) was to have gone to Scotland for the purpose, but as yet there are no signs of his departure.

(*Cipher :*) I have not failed to warn the queen [dowager] of Hungary [Mary] of the probability of peace being concluded between this country and Scotland, that she may in the event of it safeguard the interests of Your Majesty's subjects as regards fishing (*tenir main a leur pescherie*). And I have no doubt that the said Queen in her great wisdom and vigilance will do all that is proper and convenient for the Imperial service. For although a peace be concluded, as I say, between the two countries, still should the Pope feel inclined to proceed to the sentence and consequent measures against this kingdom—without which Your Majesty cannot well undertake anything—the king of Scotland could without infringing treaties or breaking promises, be the instrument and executor through whom the affairs of this country might be settled;* and if Your Majesty for fear of greater publicity and scandal, or from not choosing to kindle too fierce a fire in Christendom, declined openly and alone to undertake this enterprize, then very probably, the said king of Scotland being well provided with money by the Pope—whom this affair principally concerns, as well as by Your Imperial Majesty, all intercourse of trade being stopped in virtue of the Papal commands—the Irish, who call themselves the subjects of the Holy Apostolic See, would come in and help with all their might. It is true that if such vigorous measures could be avoided it would be far better for all parties; yet, in my opinion, there is no hope of the evil being alleviated by mild remedies, and even these people, who would have to suffer much, should the affair come to such an extremity, are wishing you to send a fleet and an army to these parts. It is for Your Majesty with your innate prudence, great wisdom and experience, as well as the help of that Divine inspiration—which has never abandoned you in the most critical times, and made you so prosperous in all your undertakings—to decide what is to be done in this case for God's best service, and the welfare of Christendom at large.—London, 26th May 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed; "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received the 11th June."

French. Holograph entirely in cipher. pp. 6.

---

* "Et quant bien la dicte paiz seroit conclu, ce non obstant veuillant le pape proceder a la sentence et autres provisions consecutives, sans quoy vostre majeste ne peut bonnemant riens actempter, le dict roy decosse sans infringer ne paix ne promesse, pourroit estre le vray ministre et instrument pour redresser les affaires depar deça."

1533.

29 May. **1077.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 33.

The duke of Norfolk, who was to have left on the 26th, the date of my last despatch, has by the King's commands remained two days longer in town *for no other purpose, as I imagine, than to give him time to treat with me of the matters, whereof I will hereafter inform Your Majesty.* Accordingly, the day before yesterday the Duke sent a gentleman of his (*ung homme de bien*) to visit me with all sorts of gracious messages, begging me to send him immediately the most confidential and discreet secretary I had in this embassy, that he might communicate to him some important affairs (*quelques bons affaires*). And I, considering that my personal attendance on the Duke would be more profitable and useful than that of my secretary, went forthwith to the Duke's hotel, though secretly and in disguise (*en habit couvert et secret*), owing to the very same reasons stated in my last despatch, which, as I informed Your Majesty, had prevented my going to bid him adieu when he thought of departing.*

After courteously thanking me for the great honour he said I did him in calling, and the trouble I had taken, the Duke began to say that he was about to take his departure to attend the meeting of two of the greatest princes in Christendom, where, had Your Majesty also been present, he was sure that owing to your kindness, virtue, prudence, and benignity (*humanite*) the most perfect, sincere, lasting, general and praiseworthy peace, union, and amity that ever was in Christendom, nay, in the whole world, might have been concluded. Your Majesty, the Duke remarked, had the key of it in your own hands, and on you depended entirely the making of that universal peace. But since all hope of your personal attendance must for the present be abandoned, it would be, continued the Duke, highly beneficial to the parties if you would send thither experienced ministers well inclined to the good settlement of affairs, and to the increase of that union and amity that we all wish for. Then as a piece of courtly flattery (*pour se gaudir de moy*), and as a reward perhaps for the trouble I had taken in coming down to him, or as the common saying goes, to "offer a candle to the Devil," the Duke added: that nothing would give him so much satisfaction as to hear that I was one of the ministers appointed thereto, and that the Papal Nuncio residing at this court (for much better reason no doubt) might be His Holiness' representative.

My answer was that Your Majesty always had done and would do in future everything in your power for the union and peace of Christendom, as could easily be proved by the almost intolerable fatigues and incredible expenses you had sustained in promoting the same. That Your Majesty wished

---

* "Pour la consideration quescrivoye dernierement a vostre maieste mavoer gardé [de] laller commander a dieu."

1533.

for nothing so ardently as to preserve and increase your friendship with the King, his master, as was evident and patent to every one, and that since it seemed as if the union of Christendom, to which he (the Duke) alluded, depended exclusively on the Queen's matrimonial cause, and on this accursed new marriage of the King, he (the Duke) was not justified in saying that Your Majesty had the key in your hands; on the contrary, the whole gist lay in the King's consenting (as reason prescribed) to the matrimonial cause being tried and sentenced by authentic and impartial judges, such as the Pope and his cardinals would be. For this reason he (the Duke) ought on the contrary to wish that the King, his master, should be present at the interview, in order that then and there he might have been persuaded to allow the said judgment (*vuydange*) to take place, as above stated, that being the only and exclusive thing which Your Majesty demanded, which could not be in justice refused to the meanest creature in this world, much less to so great a prince as you are.

With regard to Your Majesty's ministers residing at the Papal court, and at that of the Most Christian king of France, after praising their merits, wisdom, and individual qualities, I assured the Duke that they were all rightly inclined (*avoient bonne inclination*). The Duke (*cipher:*) owned that he had a good opinion of them and trusted they would act judiciously; yet he requested me to write to them individually, and exhort them to be tractable and conciliatory and do good office at the said interview, persisting still in his wish that Your Majesty should send thither a good reinforcement of ambassadors, all people of rank and authority, since the King, his master, was dispatching so numerous an embassy, and one so well qualified in this kingdom. "It would be advisable (continued the Duke) that among the Imperial ministers there should be one at least well acquainted with the most important affairs and relations of this kingdom with those of the Emperor."

After a good deal of conversation on this point the Duke and I came to the conclusion that no fitter person could be chosen for the purpose than Monseigneur de Praët, not only on account of his authority, but likewise for his experience of affairs and great dexterity in negotiating, he (the Duke) begging me to recommend him *as if the idea had originated with myself*; and upon my observing to him that I doubted whether Your Majesty, not having been previously invited by His Holiness and the Most Christian King would like to increase the number of his ambassadors at the said interview, and how astonished I was at his having been so long in announcing such a wish to me, he replied that he thought His Holiness had fully communicated his plans to Your Majesty, without whose consent he would hardly have dared to hold the interview. As to his (the Duke) not having apprized me sooner of his plans, the cause was that the king of France had written to his master, requesting that the whole matter

1533.

should be kept a secret, not to be revealed to anyone except to him (the Duke) and to one other person. That was about three months ago; since then the king of France had written many a time about it with greater insistance, begging that an ambassador should be appointed from this country to assist at the conferences, "which charge (added the Duke) I have accepted, though I must say I would willingly give one of my fingers to get rid of it."

(*Common writing*:) After this the Duke went on to say that the King, his master, had taken in very good part the advice I had given to Cremuel (Cromwell), to avoid all occasions of offence against Your Majesty. He had been grieved to hear that the Queen's arms had been removed from her barge, and rather ignominiously torn off and cut to pieces. He had severely reprimanded that Lady's chamberlain, not only for having caused the said arms to be removed, but for having appropriated the said barge, lately belonging to the Queen, when there were in the river many others equally fit for the Lady's service.*

I failed not to praise the King's behaviour in this particular instance, saying to the Duke that there was no need of an excuse, for what belonged to the Queen was by right the King's own. The King's resolution in this case made me hope that every regard would be had to the Queen and to the Princess, her daughter, and that both would be honourably treated, for, as I had said to Cromwell, the shade of scruple which the King felt in his conscience, and which, as he said, was the sole cause of separation from his legitimate queen, could not possibly be made to extend to the treatment of her and her daughter. Should this prove unworthy in future, the King, besides bringing on himself the wrath of God, would incur the blame of all the World, besides inflicting a great offence on Your Majesty. Hearing which, the Duke praised the Queen and the Princess, extolling their virtues and good qualities, so much so that it would have been impossible for me to speak of them in higher terms, adding that he was sure Your Majesty loved already the Princess, without having seen her, and would in future love her still more.† *Among other virtues of the Queen, the Duke pointed out to me as a most prominent one her great modesty, prudence, and forbearance, not only during these last disagreeable differences, but likewise on former occasions, the King having been at all times very much given to amorous intrigues.*‡ With regard to the treatment she would experience, the Duke said he was sure the King would never

---

* "Que le dit seigneur roy avoit esté tres desplaysant des armes de la royne, que non seullement avoint este arracheez de sa barge, mays aussy ung peu vitupereusement acheez (hachees?), et que le roy en avoit tres apremant tense le chamberlan de ceste dame, et non seullement davoer hosteez les dits armes mays aussy dovoer prinse la dite barge que nuemant (neuvement) appartenoit a la royne, et veu quil en y avoit en la riviere pluseurs autres aussy propices que celle."

† "Et de plus quil estoit bien seur que vostre maieste aymoit naifvemant la dite princesse, mays quil la pensoyt encoires plus aymer."

‡ "Non seullement durant le temps de ces dernieres fascheries mays aussy paravant, estant le roy continuellement enclin a amours."

1533.

diminish the dowry which had been assigned to her in prince Arthur's time, amounting, as he said, to 24,000 ducats every year, more than sufficient, added the Duke, for the estate of a dowager princess,[*] if she will only reduce her expenses within proper limits. To this I replied that knowing as I did the King's benignity and generosity, I did not consider him capable of curtailing the Queen's former allowance, were it for no other reason than her virtues and the services she had rendered him in former times, and I most earnestly entreated him to ensure that no reduction of her income should be effected. Upon which the Duke took his most solemn oath to me that he would willingly have lost 10,000 crs. rather than not hear me speak about the treatment of the Queen and Princess in the manner I had done, for had I not by my overtures on the subject afforded him an opportunity to declare his sentiments, all the gold in the world would not have been sufficient to induce him to speak first. Now that the subject had been broached, and my wishes explained, the matter might be fairly discussed and amicably settled to the end,[†] and he would take care that Your Majesty should have no new ground of complaint, as I had hinted to the said Cromwell.

The King, said the Duke, had likewise taken in good part my advice that a fitting letter should be addressed to Your Majesty in excuse or justification of his conduct in the affair. I protested to the Duke, as I had formerly done to Cromwell, that what I had said and advised in this matter was said less in my capacity of Imperial ambassador having Your Majesty's especial powers for the matrimonial cause, than as a good-wisher of his king and a friend of peace; and that if the letter which his master purposed writing to you did not produce the desired effect, that which the King expected, I was not to be made responsible for it, and taunted as having been the instigator of the step, as I was once by the King himself on the occasion of the earl of Wiltshire's journey [to Bologna]. The Duke replied that there was no fear of that now, and that he begged me to forward the King's letter to Your Majesty's ambassador [at Rome], which letter, he said, would be sent next day to me enclosed in a packet to the said ambassador. I agreed to this, though I must state that up to the present hour I have received no letters either from the King or from him.

Not choosing to remain to dinner, as I had been very much pressed to do by the Duke, I took leave of him and returned to

---

[*] "Que le roy ne luy vouloit diminuer le douayre que luy avoit este assigne du temps du prince Arthus, que montoit (comme yl disoit) environ xxiiij^{m} ducatz, et [estoit] souffizant, se veullant ung peu restraindre a lentretenemant de lestat que une vefve princesse doyt tenir."

[†] "Il me jura se foy quil avoit bachier (*sic*) plus de dix mille escus que lui eusse tenu les dits propoz du trayttement des susdites deux dannes (*sic*), royne et princesse, car sans luy avoer ouverte ceste porte, et luy ministrer telle occasion pour tout lor du monde yl neust ousé esmouvoer le propoz de telles matierez, mais que sur le raport de nous communications yl pousseroit laffaire iusque au bout."

1533.

my lodgings with the full intention of dispatching one of my own clerks to him the same evening, which I did. By whom, and soon after by Brian Tuke himself, the Duke sent me word to say that he had fully intended to call on me next morning, but that as his departure was to take place almost immediately, the King kept him continually engaged and by his side, that he might the better instruct him as to the duties of his charge. Should I kindly excuse him and take the trouble of calling again at his office he had no doubt we might hit upon some good measure (*bonne œuvre*), or at least lay the foundation for it in the future.

Accordingly, next morning, at the appointed hour, I went secretly to his cabinet (*sa chambre*), when he began again to talk about the above-mentioned personages, begging me to write about them, and at the same time asking whether it was true that Your Majesty had already sent them. "If so," he said, "I consider there is a very good chance of a good peace and alliance being concluded." "No excuses, he said, can be made as to the shortness of the time, for your letters may easily reach the Emperor in a fortnight, and as the assembly is not to begin until the 5th of July, the Imperial commissioners leaving Barcelona by sea or by land might be in time for it, and arrive almost as soon as myself." He, therefore, begged me to write as soon as possible, and though I again reproduced the same arguments as on a former occasion, he begged and entreated me to take care that the King's letters to his ambassador [at Your Majesty's Court], which, he said, would be sent to me almost immediately, should be forwarded at the same time as my own despatch.

With regard to the Queen's treatment the Duke assured me that the King was not bound by the statutes and laws of this kingdom to give the Queen more than the dower she had after prince Arthur's death, and that in virtue of an act of this last Parliament, and in consequence of the Queen not choosing to obey (*obptemperer*), the King might very well treat her with rigour, and diminish that very dower to which she is entitled. Yet in consideration of the reasons I had brought before him the day before, and others no less weighty, the King would make honourable provision for the Queen, though perhaps not so large and on so regal a scale as when she was a queen, unless she acquiesced in the sentence of divorce pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury.* He imagined, the Duke went on to say, that I enjoyed so much credit with the Queen, and had so much industry and talent that I could easily persuade her to that. If I did I should acquire inestimable glory, and be the cause of a great boon not only to this kingdom of England but to the whole of Christendom, which,

---

* "Toutesfoys par les considerations que luy avoes toucheez le iour devant et autres le roy la traicteroit honnestement, non point toutes foys si largemant et opulentemant que du temps quelle estoit royne, ce nestoit quelle voulust acquiescer a la sentence du divorce," etc.

1533.

owing to this cause and to no other, is now divided and troubled (*desunie et desordonnee*). This, he said, would be by far a better way of settling the present matter, for should Your Majesty on that account be tempted to make war, it would be a great disaster for Christendom, which after so many troubles is anxious for repose. One thing, he added, was to be considered that whoever assailed England must have wings or else come by sea; even if a landing were effected the English would not be easily conquered.[*] As to try and do them harm or make war by sea that was more difficult than people imagined; and he did not hesitate to say that sure as they were of the alliance of France the English were not afraid of any other power. The better to prove his assertion the Duke went on to say that should Your Majesty undertake to make war upon England you had better look to the defence of your own dominions from his (the King's) friends and allies who, he remarked, were neither few nor insignificant, since besides the most Christian king of France, who was the constant friend (*invariablemant*) of England, and as faithful an ally as could possibly be wished for, the King had also at his pleasure and command the king of Scotland (James), who after the one year's truce concluded between the two countries desired nothing short of a durable peace and alliance. The Duke added that he had no hesitation to say and affirm that before ten months were over the said king of Scotland would personally come here [to London] when a marriage between him and a daughter of king Francis would be effected. Besides these, the Duke went on to say, we count upon the friendship and co-operation of several German princes; and "as to Italy," he said, your master, the Emperor, must not rely too much on it, for the affairs in that country are not so comfortable as he might desire.

"I have no doubt (continued the Duke) that out of pride and regard for what they consider to be their honour, as likewise for the upholding of their military reputation, and the glory of their many past victories, the Spaniards will stimulate the Emperor to declare war against us,[†] yet I hope that his great prudence and wisdom, of which he is known to possess a greater share than any other prince in the world, his great kindness and benevolence (*humanite*), and the consideration of the old friendship existing not only between him and my master, but also between the subjects of the two crowns, as well as of the good services which this country has rendered him and his predecessors, will not on this occasion forsake him, and cause him to listen to the advice of those who would persuade him to an invasion; *nay, that he will be able to resist*

---

[*] "Et failloit considerer que lon ne peult vouler dans ce royaulme, et que y estant lon trouve gens a qui parler et mal aysez a subiuguer, voyr a les dommager aucunemant."

[†] "Pour leur cœur et reputation presumptive de leur honneur, aussy pour la gloyre de plusieurs precedentes victoyres vouldroint stimuler vostre Maiesté," &c.

the execrable arrogance of his Spaniards, who for want of pay have lately risen in mutiny."

To this last remark of the Duke my answer was that I knew nothing about the mutiny he spoke of, and that even if the report was true it could be of no consequence in the present case *for that was a sort of thing to which the best soldiers* (soudards) *in the world had always been prone, even those of Alexander the Great, who did nothing else but mutiny during that conqueror's military career.* Respecting the other point in the Duke's speech, namely, the war between the two countries, though there might have been in my opinion plenty to say and much to refute, as likewise on the Queen's supposed wrong about which he (the Duke) had spoken so much, I refrained from offering any observations, considering that my visit to him was rather for the purpose of hearing what he himself had to say than making suggestions of my own, and also to make him understand that I entirely disregarded all his threatening language. I, therefore, made as short a reply as I could consistently with my duty, and limited myself to saying ironically that *Your Majesty would certainly be much obliged to those who, whilst recounting the miseries of war, always to be deprecated, shewed greater regard for you than for themselves.*

All the world (I continued) knew Your Majesty to be naturally inclined to peace, and consequently unwilling to wage war even against those to whom you were under no obligations, unless actually compelled to it, and for very just reasons. Under such circumstances Your Majesty had, with the help of God, in whom you entirely trusted, conducted your affairs in such a manner that victory had almost invariably crowned your efforts, for in my opinion there was no monarch in Christendom more able to procure everywhere the alliances and the means required for military undertakings.

*This last observation of mine was thus vaguely expressed that I might give the Duke something to think of and turn over in his mind,** and I ended by begging him to drop altogether the subject of the war, and how and where it could be made, but merely to think of removing all causes and occasions for it, which, I said, would certainly never come from Your Majesty's side.

On the subject of the Queen I would offer no observations at the time, as I saw that all my reasoning would be useless; but as to my trying to persuade her, as the Duke had recommended, to acquiesce in the sentence of divorce pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, that I said was out of the question. I had not with her the credit which he (the Duke) supposed, and to speak frankly and without dissimulation,

---

* " [Et ceste attache, sire, me sembla luy devoir donner, et le laisser en ceste sueur sans luy declairer plus avant."

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

1533.

even if I had I would not for all the gold in the world undertake such a task without the express commands of Your Majesty. Yet, though I was perfectly sure that you would never consent to anything in this case save what justice and right demanded, I would to please the King write home all that he (the Duke) had told me on the subject, and if by chance—which I did not expect—Your Majesty ordered me to undertake the negotiation and speak to the Queen thereupon I would willingly shew the King how desirous I was of doing him pleasure and working for the preservation of the mutual friendship. Hearing which the duke of Norfolk swore on the faith he owed to God that I had spoken like an honourable man, and that he would no longer press me on the subject, begging me to do my best in this as well as in all other matters to prevent a rupture.

Your Majesty may see from the above to what extremity these people are now reduced when they thus address themselves to me, whom they know to be, as the King himself said upon one occasion to me, and I have had the honour to write in one of my despatches, one of the Queen's principal supporters and advocates. From whence I conclude either that they are in great consternation just now, or that they take me for a fool, unless I have succeeded completely in calming their fears and blinding them, since in order to imitate their foul game I have somewhat dissembled with the Duke respecting the treatment of the said ladies, in obedience to your late orders and instructions.

The Duke's conversation is not written in cipher owing to his having expressed a wish that it should be verbally transmitted to Your Majesty, as I have done. *Had he spoken to me as from himself, and not in the King's name, and with the approval of the Privy Council,* I should have *attached more credit to his words respecting the friendships and alliances at which he hinted during the conference,* for the Duke after all is not a good dissembler or liar (*inventeur*). To say nothing of the rest of the princes upon whose alliance and co-operation these people seem to count, I must say that whatever trust and reliance they may place in their neighbours, the Scots, it is a well known fact here that since the time at which the truce was concluded they have captured several English merchant vessels, and that the last prize they made, only ten days ago, was of seven ships richly laden with merchandize.

To my remark that the King at the next interview of the Pope and king of France would be requested to go back to the Queen, the Duke resolutely replied: "That the most urgent solicitations would be of no avail in that respect, for even should the Pope, the king of France, and the rest of the world entreat him to take her back he would never consent to it: such were the scrupulous feelings of his conscience on that score, and his despair of his ever getting male succession with her. The Pope might well pronounce sentence if he chose; he, the King, cared not for it, nor for his censures. True, the Duke remarked, that will cause us some trouble and inconvenience, but that is of no consequence. If Spain and Flanders refuse to trade with us the loss will be equal on both sides. We shall send part of our goods to Flanders and the rest to Calais, where the Emperor's subjects must come at much greater trouble and expense to buy our wools, with which they cannot dispense." To this I deigned* no reply, but simply smiled, and that was all.

Shortly after the Duke began to excuse himself and say that he had not been either the originator or promoter of this second marriage, but, on the contrary, had always been opposed to it, and tried to dissuade the King therefrom. Had it not been for him and for the father of the Lady, who feigned to be attacked by frenzy to have the better means of opposing it, the marriage would have been secretly contracted a year ago; and for this opposition (the Duke observed) the Lady had been exceedingly indignant with the one and the other.† In confirmation of which statement made by the Duke I can say that I have heard from a very good source, and from the lips of a person who was present [at the marriage], that eight days ago as the Lady [Anne] happened to take a piece [of cloth] to add to her dress—as ladies in a family-way are wont to do in this country, when they find their robes get too tight—her father said to her that she ought to take away the piece and thank God for the state in which she found herself, and that she (the Lady), instead of thanksgiving, replied in the presence of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and of the Treasurer of the Household (Fitzwilliam), that she was in better plight than he would have wished her to be.‡

About to take leave and return to my hotel, the Duke made me all manner of gracious offers both of his person and fortune, and again entrusted to me the speedy transmission of the enclosed packet, as well as his prayer and humble request that Your Majesty will be pleased to send to the conferences of Niza, one or more personages, as above; especially was I to recommend him to Your Imperial Majesty for whom (the Duke says) after the King, his master, he feels more regard and respect than for any other prince in Christendom. This he most emphatically repeated to me two or three times in the presence of all the Privy Councillors there present. The conference at an end I returned home§ without taking leave of the Privy Councillors.

---

* "Aux quelz propoz ne luy degnay fere autre reponse que me soubrire."

† [" Apres ce il se commença descharger quil navoit este ne promoteur ne faulteur de ce marriage, ains lavoit tousiours dissuade; et neust este luy et le pere delle que contrefit le frenetique pour avoir meilleur moyen de contredire, ce marriage fust fait (eust esté faict?) secretement il y a ung an passe, dont la dame fut fort indignee et contre lung et contre lautre."]

‡ "Que puis huyt iours ayant la [dame prins une piece comme font yci les femmes ensainctes pour supplir aux robes que se trouvent trop estroictes, son dict pere luy dit quil la failloit hoster, et rengracer dieu de la (se) veoir en tel estat, et elle, en lieu de mercyement, en presence des ducs de Norphoc et Sufforc et du tresorier de l'hostel, respondit quelle estoit en meilleur estat quil neust voulu."]

§ "Depuys ne fus ie avec eulx" is the reading in the original.

1533.

Two hours after my leaving him the Duke started on his journey, so that neither he nor his suite, in whose number is the Lady's brother, would wait to witness the pageant of the coronation,[*] for they left the day before. This morning the Lady came from Greenwich to the Tower of London accompanied by several prelates and lords, and innumerable other people, as is customary with the queens of this country, and it must be observed that whatever sorrow and annoyance the King may have experienced, as the duke of Norfolk gave me to understand, at the seizure of the Queen's own barge, the Lady has unscrupulously made use of it at this coronation of hers, and appropriated it for her own use. May God permit that she may henceforwards be contented with possessing the barge, the jewels, and the husband of the Queen, without attempting also, as I have remarked in my preceding despatches, the life of the Queen and Princess ![†]

The coronation pageant was all that could be desired, and went off very well, as to the number of the spectators, which was very considerable, but all looked so sad and dismal that the ceremony seemed to be a funeral[‡] rather than a pageant (*triumphe*) *for I am told that the indignation of the English against their king is daily increasing, as well as the hope that Your Majesty will one of these days apply a remedy to this state of things.*

Next Saturday the Lady [Anne] will traverse the whole of London, and go to the King's palace [at Bridewell], and hence, on Sunday, to Uuesmaytre (Westminster), where the solemnity of the coronation is to take place.—London, 29th May 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in London. Received the last day of June."

French. Holograph. pp. 9.

29 May. **1078.** COUNT of CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 260.

On the 22nd inst. there was a Congregation, and the answer of the king of France to the business of the conferences was read to the cardinals, as well as cardinal Torno's (Francois de Tournon) address on the occasion.

---

[*] "Le dit duc partist deux heures aprez que fust (fus) revenu [en mon logis] de sorte que ne luy ne sa compagne entre la quelle est le frere de la dame nont voulu retarder ung iour pour veoer le triomphe."

[†] "Et quelque marrison queust monstré [le roy, comme mavoit donné entendre le duc de Norphoc, que la barque de la royne eust esté prinse, toutesfois la dite dame sen est servie à ce triumphe, et la sest approprye. Dieu voulsist quelle se contentast de iouyr de la dite barque, des ioyaulx, et mary de la royne, sans comme lay çy deuant escript attenter aux personnes de mes dites dames royne et princesse.] "

[‡] "Le dit triomphe consista de tout a la multitude des gens que y estoint [mais tout le monde se monstrait tant triste quil sembloit que ce fussent execques.]"

1533.

Having received reliable information from certain quarters as to His Holiness having made up his mind with regard to the interview, he (Sylva) spoke to the cardinals about this, and tried all he could to prevent it.

His Holiness read to him [Sylva] the answer of the king of France, as well as the letter of credence sent to cardinal Tournon. The substance of which is that the king of France out of affection for His Holiness, and being in duty bound, as he is, to foster the welfare and peace of Christendom, is very desirous of an interview wherein the complete pacification of the Christian world, and especially of Italy, may for ever be settled in a definitive manner. This the King had not the least doubt could easily be accomplished, and he left entirely to His Holiness the choice of time and place. Respecting the Council, the King says that he has friends in Germany for whom it might perhaps be reckoned an advantage, inasmuch as the affairs of Luther might be settled thereat. As to the Turk, the expediency of waging war against him once settled and agreed upon, the welfare of the Christian commonwealth would be attended to as far as he himself was concerned. Should he come down, the means of defence ought to be preconcerted, &c.

To obviate the inconveniences of last year His Holiness might from this time decide on a line of conduct for the Christian princes, which line he of France would undertake to follow.

Besides this it appears that the Cardinal in his address said that his master, the king of France, would endeavour to settle the English cause, and even explained to the Pope in detail the manner in which he intended to proceed to attain that object.

As soon as His Holiness, and his master, the king of France, met, the latter (he said) would beg for a suspension of the proceedings against the king of England. His Holiness would no doubt reply that his conduct was so scandalous and so irreverent that he could not help making the declaration of his guilt, and depriving him of his kingdom. The King then would transmit to his brother of England this answer from the Pope telling him at the same time that he must know that once excommunicated by His Holiness all his friends and abetors would be equally so. And, therefore, that although he had sworn friendship to him, and promised to stand by him in all cases, this was not to be understood as holding good against the Church. There can be no doubt (added Tournon) that when the king of England sees himself deserted by his brother of France he will have recourse to a plan designed by him, which is that if His Holiness could be persuaded to fix a place secure and removed from suspicion where the case might be judged and determined, he (the king of England) would appear there to allege his rights, and in the meantime would separate from Anne, and cause the Queen to return to

1533.

his Palace, and live under the same roof as before,* though he would not share her bed.

To the above statement (the ambassador says) His Holiness replied that the King's answer had not been what he expected it to be; it was not more explicit than on a former occasion. The means which he proposed for putting an end to the English cause were far from being expedient he said, but on the contrary slow and subject to eventualities, nay, too injurious and dishonourable for the Queen to accept. I insisted on my former idea, namely, that if the French desired the interview it was only for their own advantage and political ends. The Pope answered: "And yet the means suggested by cardinal Tournon have already been discussed with your Emperor, who did not entirely disapprove of them;" which remark, besides others equally cunning, makes me suspect that this proposition of the Cardinal has been made with the consent and knowledge of the king of England.

About this time Your Majesty's answer about the interview arrived, and I failed not to communicate the same to the cardinal de Barry (Bari). Having agreed together before it came to hand that Your Majesty's letter to His Holiness should be a little sharp (*agra*), I asked the Cardinal whether he thought that it ought to be delivered into the Pope's hands just as it came, or whether it would be better not to say that they had received it and wait until they could consult the Emperor's Council. As the Cardinal, however, did not return a categorical answer to my question I decided to deliver the letter such as it was. I did so three days after and failed not on the occasion, as I have done ever since, to beg His Holiness well to consider the case. This step, I am glad to say, has succeeded as far, for the Pope said to me: "You are right, and I intend consulting my cardinals thereupon. We shall hear what the Congregation has to say; at any rate, should they decide that the interview is to take place I will not take my departure until the first rains in August."

I have since heard that the cardinals met, and decided that His Holiness ought to go, and that whilst Your Majesty's letter to the Pope was being read to the Congregation, almost all the cardinals there present observed that it was couched in such mild and considerate words that it could not possibly give rise to suspicion. Santa Croce then got up and said: "I can see nothing to wonder at, for it does not behove His Holiness to give his reasons for his going or remaining; nor does it suit the Emperor to take any notice of the Pope's actions."

Jacopo Salviati, to whom I read Your Majesty's answer before I delivered it to the Pope (and I have my reasons to believe he is very proud of this confidence), told me that the king of France was in secret and very close intelligence with the dukes of Bavaria, Sassa (Saxony), and Lorraine,* and that their mutual relations were of such a nature that he feared one of these days some harm might come to Your Majesty's brother, the king of the Romans.

---

* "Que si su S^{d} mandaba dar un lugar seguro y sin sospecha donde se declarasse esta causa, el rey de inglaterra comparesceria, y entre tanto apartaria la Anna y tomaria á la Reyna á su palacio como antes era, aunque no para dormir en una cama juntos."

I have also heard from a very reliable quarter that besides the above-mentioned proposition respecting the interview, the cardinal of Tournon had assured the Pope that the king of France would take to Nice with him his second son (the duke of Orleans). If the Pope brought his niece (Caterina) with him the marriage might be concluded and consummated. If, however, the Pope wished for the marriage to be effected before the interview he (the King) would at once send his son to Parma or Piacenza, if he wished.—Rome, 29th May 1533.

Signed : "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To His Most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed : "From count de Cifuentes. Abstract of his letters of the 29th May."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

14 June. **1079.** The CARDINAL of JAEN to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 157.
B.M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 270.

Will do his duty respecting the English business, and comply with the Emperor's commands as soon as Rodrigo Davalos and the ambassador (Sylva) will inform him of his wishes on that score. Thinks it was a good move to send a man expressly for the purpose, the matter being of the quality that it is. As far as he himself is concerned he has omitted none of the measures likely to ensure success, speaking to His Holiness, to the cardinals, and any other persons who have anything to do with the affair. More has been achieved in the few days he (Merino) has been at Rome than in several months before, for the Auditor has already perused the whole of the process, and reported on part of it to the Consistory as well as on certain appeals interposed by the English excusator (Karne), which have been declared null and void, a special decretal having been issued for the said excusator not to be heard, or his appeals and protests admitted. No exertions have been spared by him to procure a definitive sentence, notwithstanding the injunction which the Imperial ambassador in a very curt and dry manner laid upon him not to interfere in any business with the Pope, cardinals and others, which he (Merino) will continue to obey till he hears of His Majesty's wishes, save in this English affair owing to its great importance.

---

* "Le dixo que el Rey de Francia tenia muy estrechas intelligencias con los duques de Baviera, Jassa, (l. Sassa) y Goreina (*sic*)." This last name, however, must be a mistake for Lorrena or Lorraine, unless it be meant for the duke of Ghelders (Gueldres), who will be mentioned hereafter.

The auditor of the cause is Paolo Capisuciis, a person of sound doctrine, on whom the Emperor's favours would be well bestowed, for considering the many bribes which our opponents distribute, it is no small an advantage to find one not open to corruption. Dr. Ortiz works much, as also Dr. Colardi, the procurator from Flanders.—Rome, 14th June 1533.

Signed: "[G]abriel Card^l^ Merino."

16 June. **1080.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 157.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 270 *b*.

Has in previous despatches advised that His Holiness had in a confidential manner revealed to him (Merino) his idea about the French. He suspected what they were about, and was therefore thinking of undeceiving them and taking away all hopes they might have of establishing their domination in Italy. Their best way he would tell them was to keep on good terms with him and with Your Majesty. He might thus gain in other parts and kingdoms a good deal more than in Italy, with greater ease, and at less expense. He (Merino) concludes from this and other conversations to the same purpose that His Holiness' idea is to throw the King upon England.—Rome, 16th June 1533.

Signed: "G[abriel] Cardinalis Giennen[sis]."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

16 June. **1081.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228. No. 37.

Neither the haste in which the bearer of my despatch of the 7th departed, nor his quality and rank permitted my being as explicit as I might have desired, or giving a description of the entry of the Lady into this city, and the ceremony of her coronation, which has been altogether a cold, poor, and most unpleasing sight *to the great regret, annoyance, and disappointment not only of the common people but likewise of all the rest, so much so that public indignation has apparently increased by one half since the said coronation.* And inasmuch as I considered that it would not be very pleasing for Your Majesty to read in detail the form and order of the said ceremony, I have purposely abstained from further reference in my despatches to the said entry and coronation, though if Your Majesty has leisure and does not object to lose time over so insignificant a narrative, I can easily send all the particulars, as I had occasion to write to Mr. de Grandvelle the other day.

This king has given orders that the six ships of war which were manned and armed last year should be got ready for sea again. It is thought that they are meant to go as convoy (*en conserva*) and escort of a great number of other ships which are going to Island (Iceland) to fish, and buy fish, for

1533.

fear of the Scots who (notwithstanding the truce these people say has been concluded between the two nations) are continually capturing their vessels at sea. No later than three days ago the news came to this city that the Scots had taken one of them, and slain upwards of 60 of her crew, all able and experienced sailors, besides which it appears some suspicion is entertained of the Danes and Hamburghers, who last year did not treat the English vessels they happened to meet at sea particularly well. *And it is further stated that the King was about to send to Denmark and Hamburgh a certain doctor-at-law*—whether to ensure the safety of the said vessels, or for some other purpose it is not known. Should I hear I will not fail to apprize Your Majesty thereof.

(*Cipher:*) The earl of Wiltshire has quite recently told an Italian in the King's service, who has come to tell me of it, that besides the good intelligences which the king of France and these people had in Germany they hoped through the Pope's interference that within a very short time—nay, in a very few days—Messire Andrea Doria and Genoa would be at the devotion of France. The same report the Venetian ambassador tells me has been circulated at Court in places where he has heard of it, and the French ambassador, whom he has frequently accompanied during the coronation festivals, has fully confirmed it. I have considered it my duty to inform Your Majesty of the report, not that I believe in it, for I consider the thing as highly improbable, but in order to shew the simplicity of these people who attach faith to such malicious reports as the French are continually spreading to serve their own purpose.

There is nothing to report about the Queen's treatment, which continues the same as it was; nor do I think there will be any change until the return of the duke of Norfolk, who I suspect will come back soon considering the uncertainty (*doubte*) there is of the Pope's going to Nice. The Queen from the very day that the King signified to her that he expected her to reduce her establishment (*dresser son mesnage et trayn*), begged him to undertake the reform of it, leaving only her confessor, physician, and apothecary, besides three women, with sufficient provision for their maintenance, and then take the remainder of the rents appropriated to her. And this she did principally, as I have heard, in order that seeing her in such bad plight, Your Majesty out of pity and being in honour bound might the more effectually provide for her assistance; but since my having observed to her that by so doing she might prejudice even her claim to conjugal rights, she has refrained from such offers and overtures, and felt grateful for the efforts I have since made to have her condition and allowance improved, in the hope that Your Majesty will not for that relent in your kind exertions, but will take up her part as earnestly as if she had really experienced the worst treatment in the world, and I have not failed to assure her that it will be done as she wishes.

1533.

A French captain named Pitoz (Pithous ?) has been here recently, and on board of a gallion in very good trim (*tres bien en ordre*) is to sail for the coast of Africa and take a present from the Most Christian King, his master, to the king of Fees (Fez), from whom he is to have in return a number of Barbary horses. I cannot say whether the said captain has been thrown ashore here by contrary winds, or has come expressly to communicate the object of his mission, which might after all cover some secret overtures (*sourde pratique*) with the said king of Fez, now that those made to the Grand Turk have evidently failed.

The synod of York has been assembled for some time past by order of this king, that the clergy of that diocese also may decide in favour of the divorce, but the bishop of Durem (Durham), formerly of London (Tunstall), and who was once ambassador to Your Majesty, has manfully resisted it. Had it not been for the circumstance that the King could not find in his whole kingdom an abler and fitter man to govern a country so close to the frontier of Scotland, the Bishop would have been cast in prison as well as he of Rochester (Fisher), who was only set at liberty three days ago, and that at Cromwell's intercession.*

The enactment by the [dowager] queen [of Hungary], now governess of Flanders and the Low Countries, of the good order that the English merchants trading to those parts should be as well, and perhaps better treated than heretofore, and several kind words which I have had circulated among them, have been the cause that the merchants of this city have now sent thither more merchandize than they used to send in former times. The Privy Council, however, has taken advantage of this lenity and forbearance on our part to say and circulate everywhere about that it is beyond Your Majesty's power to oblige the Flemish to wage war upon this kingdom, or to suspend the traffic between the two countries.—London, 16th June 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received the 15th of July."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 3.

16 June. **1082.** COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 262 *b.*

The cardinal of Tournon still endeavours to persuade His Holiness to allow the marriage of his niece to the duke of Orleans to take place immediately before the interview. His master, he says, is ready to send his son to Nice, and if the Pope will also send his niece thither they may see each other

---

* "[Et neust este que le roy neust sçeu trouver au monde homme plus propice pour gouverner ce pays voysin a lescosse que le dit euesque, y eust aussy bien este jetté en prison que leuesque de Rochestre que na este en liberte jusques puis trois jours en ça, et ce encoures a l'intercession de cromuel.]"

1533.

and marry before they (the Pope and King) have their interview. I fancy that the Pope is half inclined to accept this proposal, at least so Jacopo Salviati assures me, saying that the Pope had spoken to him about it. I have declared to His Holiness that what the King is aiming at is nothing short of a revolution in Florence, for I have heard from a credible source that the marriage once accomplished the French will assert and prove that the Duchess* is legitimate, and the duke Alessandro a bastard, and that in this manner they will try to take possession of Florenee.

Apropos of this, I have been told that the father† of this niece of the Pope procured from the emperor Maximilian the confirmation of a deed appointing him vicar of Florence, owing to which the French will have it that he must have had some sort of right over Florence. Having heard as much, I failed not to inform His Holiness of these intrigues, which are in direct opposition to the treaty of Barcelona. If what the French say about that Medici be true it would not be amiss, in my opinion, to write to the keepers of archives all over Germany not to give transcripts of papers relating to that affair.

Advices lately come from Switzerland confirm the rumours of a secret alliance between the king of France and the dukes of Gueldres, Bavaria, and other German potentates, for the purpose of making a new league and confederation with those of the Suabian, and that they hope to accomplish their end, because they are prepared to give any money that may be wanted. The king of the Romans (I hear) has been informed of all this, and has written to Your Majesty, but notwithstanding that, I myself have communicated the intelligence to him, as well as to queen Mary [of Hungary]. I spoke to the Pope, but he said he knew nothing about it. Told him in plain words that if such a league was in contemplation, and in the meantime an interview between him and the King was held, it would greatly help to the conclusion of the said league, and that in the end everything would result in detriment of the Medicean family.

Your Majesty may be sure that were we to put continually and every day before His Holiness' eyes the many dangers and inconveniences by which this interview is beset, it would be indefinitely postponed or else abandoned altogether. But I apprehend that those who are in favour of it will defeat all our arguments, and give out that it will take place for certain.

The bishop of Faenza‡ was the man sent by the Pope to France and Nice to arrange this matter of the interview.

---

* *i.e.*, of Urbino. "Diciendole entre otras cosas que el Rey procura esto por inquietar las cosas de Florencia, porque segun he entendido, ya los franceses dizen que si se efectua [el casamiento] propornan que es *egitima* la Duquesa, y el duque Alexandro no."

† Caterina was the daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, whereas Alessandro, supposed to be her brother, was the natural son of pope Clement, formerly called Julio de' Medici.

‡ At this time Pietro Andrea Gambara was no longer bishop of Faenza. At his death, in 1528, Rodolfo Pio de Carpi, brother of the celebrated Alberto, was appointed, the same who in 1536 became cardinal.

1533.

The Imperial ambassador at Genoa will report his conversation with Andrea Doria respecting the loan of the galleys.—Rome, 16th June 1533.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

---

16 June. **1083.** RODRIGO DAVALOS to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 18.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 282.

Arrived in Rome on Saturday the 14th inst. Called immediately at the embassy, and was received by the Imperial ambassador, count de Cifuentes, who sent forthwith for the lawyer (*letrado*), proctor, and advocate of the Queen's matrimonial cause, to whom his arrival was announced, and he himself introduced. Explained the instructions, whereof he was the bearer and after some discussion it was resolved in what manner he (Davalos) was to carry them out. Having applied on Sunday for an audience from His Holiness, the Count and he (Davalos), accompanied by Dr. Ortiz, who was also present on the occasion, went to the Quirinale, when, after kissing His Holiness' feet, he (Davalos) proceeded to explain how closely this case of the English divorce concerned His Holiness, how little it redounded to his credit, and what scandal had been produced thereby throughout Christendom, and how all and everyone imputed to him the dilatory expedients resorted to by the opposite party, without which things would never have come to such extremities.

The Pope's answer was that he had been incriminated on both sides by the king of England and by His Imperial Majesty. He ended, however, by promising in most courteous phrase (*con dulces palabras*) that the affair should speedily be looked into, and stating that up to this time he had not failed to give his most serious attention to it. He (Davalos) then begged him in the Emperor's name to pronounce sentence before the holidays, because (said he) were there to be more delays serious inconveniences might arise for several reasons, which he proceeded to state. It was agreed that for today, Monday, the Pope would summon cardinals Monte, Campeggio, and Cesaris,* to whom the cause had been committed, to appear and discuss the matter before him, and that he (Davalos) might be present with the Imperial lawyers to hear what the decision was. Accordingly he (Davalos) and the lawyers went; the matter was fully discussed, and it was agreed that next Wednesday there should be a consistory, and a report of the principal cause read. In this way matters should be proceeded with until the whole of the report was read, which the lawyers assure me can easily be done in two or three consistories at the most. And yet all think that it will be impossible to pronounce sentence before the holidays, which begin on the 8th or 10th of next month: a very short time for what has to be done. After that business cannot be resumed

---

* "Que para lunes mandaria venir á los cardenales Monte y Campejo y Cesaris (Cesarino ?)."

1533.

until the end of September, at which time the Pope will be absent, and it is doubtful whether the trial can go on at all in his absence.

This is all he (Davalos) has to advise at present; perhaps by the next courier he will be able to say more about it. As far as he can gather from the persons he has spoken to, and who are desirous to serve the Emperor, the opposite party are spending large sums of money in bribes, and promising besides all sorts of rewards for the future, as though justice were on their side, altogether setting aside the fact that it is on His Majesty's. For this reason His Majesty ought to provide that the salaries of the lawyers employed on the Queen's side be punctually paid, for though it must be said that not one of them has yet neglected his duties, they will still work with better good-will, and not forget what is required of them. Has deemed it necessary to inform the Emperor thereof, because he (Davalos) considers it an important point.

These lawyers think that his (Davalos') arrival at the present juncture has been very opportune. May it produce the fruit wished for! They would also have wished that he (Davalos) had brought letters from the Emperor for the Consistory, and particularly for those cardinals to whom the report of the cause has been committed. Nothing would be lost if they came by the next post. He (Davalos) has given notice of the whole to the cardinal of Jaen (Estevan Gabriel Merino) as he was commanded in the instructions, and he has given him information on certain points that will be useful for the Imperial service.—Rome, 16th June 1533.

Signed: "Rodrigo Davalos."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

16 June. **1084.** The CARDINAL of JAEN (MERINO) to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 160.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 284.

As he (the Cardinal) considers it his duty to inform His Majesty of every incident in the negotiation entrusted to his care (*cipher:*) he must say that the Pope, among other overtures made in a most private and confidential manner, some days ago hinted at a certain plan which he said he intended to try with regard to the French. In order to make them lose all hope of acquiring territory and power in Italy he was about to propose to them to be on terms of friendship (*buena inteligencia*) with himself and with the Emperor, and look out for a compensation in other kingdoms, which might be more easily got. By these words His Holiness meant, if I am not mistaken, that the king of the French might perhaps be persuaded to turn his arms against England.*

Since then His Holiness has entered more openly upon this

---

* "Para quitarles [a los franceses] en todo las esperanzas delo de Italia, que se contentasen de hazer una buena inteligencia con él y con el Emperador, y que en los otros reinos se podria ganar mas que en lo de Italia, y con mas facilidad, y lo que yo pude comprehender era que los queria hechar (*sic*) sobre el rey de inglaterra."

1533.

subject by saying that the king of England deserves to be severely punished and ill-treated on account of his offences against God and the Apostolic See. That having fallen into heresy the King might be proceeded against with full rigour, &c.

This being a very delicate and important matter he (the Cardinal) refrained from giving assent to it before hearing from His Imperial Majesty, but as the overture, though somewhat veiled, required an answer, he said: that the king of England had certainly made himself subject to that and to a good deal more for his disobedience and his heresy; that the king of France, as most Christian, ought at once to part company with so infamous a prince, and that if any chance of gain in those parts was shewn to him, he had no doubt he himself and all the French would gladly help, for they have always been, and always will be, the natural enemies of the English. This, however, he (the Cardinal said) was a thing to be treated with dexterity and great secrecy for fear the French should think that the whole of it was planned to separate them from the English alliance. The negotiation to be conducted by the Pope himself through some person residing in France, who might broach the subject as if the idea came from himself. This was said with two objects: the first, that if the negotiations commenced they should be conducted with greater secrecy, and the second lest the Pope should make it a pretence and excuse for his interview at Nice.

His Holiness, however, approved the idea, promised to look out for the person most fit to carry on the negotiations, and said many other things to shew that the proposal was agreeable to him. Begs for instructions, and in case the idea is to be carried out, let nobody hear of it but the Imperial ambassador and himself. Thinks that the affair might have a good issue; first, on account of the many sins committed by that bad king, and secondly, because the French will always be glad of an opportunity to seize Calais and the whole of that frontier, and thus their ambition under the guise of Christianity might induce them to turn coat as they have done on many other occasions for less cause. To the Pope himself it might be most beneficial, for it would seem to him as if he might thus quench the fire in his own house (*que quitaba el fuego de su casa*), punish the King only, and retain the obedience of England. —Rome, 16th June 1533.

Signed: "G[abriel] Card^{l}. de Jahen."

Addressed: To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

17 June. **1085.** COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 50.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 288.

Wrote by the last courier dispatched by the viceroy of Naples, and answered the letters brought by Rodrigo Davalos, but as the courier had come expressly for the Coron affair, and

1533.

returned almost immediately [to Naples], there was no time then to enter into particulars.

With regard to the English business he (Sylva) reported what he knew then, but as he hears that Davalos himself has since written will only refer to his despatches. There is, however, a circumstance connected with that affair which Davalos has perhaps omitted, and is well worth the Emperor's consideration. Cardinal de Monte, on whom His Holiness places great trust owing to his authority and letters, was appointed with Cesarino and Campeggio to report upon the affair in general, and decide whether the principal cause was to be reported upon in the Rota as well as in Consistory. They met yesterday, His Holiness being present, and also the Imperial lawyers. These last were of opinion that in order not to lose time the cause ought not to be referred to the Rota, but only to the consistory of Cardinals. He (Sylva) thought it was advisable that the auditors of the Rota should also take cognizance of the affair, which could easily be accomplished by adopting the plan he had proposed, which was that the auditors should meet the cardinals, as has been practised at other times. As all the auditors of the Rota are lawyers (*letrados*) and so few of the cardinals are of that profession he (Sylva) thought the thing could be done, as the latter would undoubtedly profit by the learning and experience of the former. The Imperial lawyers, however, being of a different opinion, he (Sylva) desisted, and it was decided that the process should be examined and reported upon in consistory without the interference of the Rota.

The very same day that this decision was taken he (Sylva) was told that cardinal Monte was about to leave Rome for certain castles of his, and take mineral waters, as he does every year, for a certain chronic disease. As the said Monte is one of the principal cardinals, and if he goes out of Rome the thing cannot be done before the holidays, a certain archbishop in the kingdom of Naples and nephew of his has been requested to go to him, and if possible make him stop at Rome. He returned without success, upon which he (Sylva) determined to go to him in person and beg him in His Majesty's name to stay.

The day that Rodrigo Davalos and he (Sylva) called on His Holiness, and read to him the former's letters of credence, besides a good portion of the ciphered despatch written by the Imperial ambassador in England (Chapuys), their reception and answer could not have been more gratifying than it was. He positively told them that his intention was to do justice shortly (*cipher :*), and gave them to understand *what passed with His Majesty during the Bologna conferences,* and what had then been decided with regard to this matter of the divorce.* Yet all the time that Rodrigo Davalos was in the

---

* "Nos respondió de la voluntad que tenia de hazer brevemente justitia haziendonos entender [algunas cossas que con V M^t. havia passado en esta

1533.

room the Pope made no allusion to the point about which he had begged him (Sylva) to write home, namely, to inquire whether in case of his determining the case the Emperor was ready to have the sentence executed. *For this reason, and following their instructions, neither Davalos nor he (Sylva) touched on this matter all the time the conference lasted.* But the former having left the room, and he (Sylva) having had occasion to speak about the Swiss and other matters, which had nothing in common with the English business, he (the Pope) suddenly asked: "What is the Emperor's answer to the question I begged you to ask in my name respecting the execution of the sentence, which I am prepared to pronounce?" "The Emperor (said Sylva) has answered, but Rodrigo Davalos has carried away the copy which was brought for my inspection. What does it say?—I will bring it myself for Your Holiness' perusal, or send Davalos with it. As I myself copied it out to bring it here to Your Holiness, I neglected to learn it by heart, and although I know the substance thereof, I may possibly not recollect the exact words." The Pope then said: "Let me have it as soon as possible."

It is his (Sylva's) intention to insist upon the Emperor's declaration in this matter being such that he (the Pope) may without any risk determine the case and pronounce sentence.

Has since heard that after leaving the room *Jacopo Salviati* persuaded His Holiness to determine the cause and pronounce sentence at once. The latter declared that such was his wish and intention, only that he was afraid of being the first to move in the matter. Has also been told by *Capua* that the king of England is trying all he can to delay proceedings until this next interview with the king of France, on the plea that he will then propose some means of settling the question.

His Imperial Majesty cannot declare himself more fully than he has done. The Count is to insist upon the Pope's doing justice. The resolution was taken after mature deliberation, and previous to the advice of the Council. The declaration cannot possibly be more explicit, if the Emperor takes upon himself the execution of the sentence His Holiness may be sure that all that is needed will be done.

Having asked His Holiness whether he had any fresh news from England, he answered that he had none, but that an agent of the King had arrived, who, it was said, had brought certain overtures. "The agent has not yet applied for an audience (observed the Pope), but as he was bred and educated (*criado*) at this court, I will send for him at once, and ascertain what his errand is." He (Sylva) could very well have told His Holiness, for even before the man's

---

materia] y en quanto alli stovo Rodrigo Davalos no apuntó ninguna cosa de lo que me dixo que escriviesse á V. M^t^. acerca del determinar si se executaria la sentencia que él diesse [y por esto no le diximos ninguna cosa como V. M^t^. lo mandava por su instruction] acerca desta materia." The sentences between brackets are ciphered, and the translation in italics.

arrival in Rome he knew very well that the object for which he comes is to announce the King's marriage, and the subsequent coronation of the Lady Anne.

The Monferrato affair continues in the same state. The gentleman whom the marquis de Saluzzo sent to the Emperor could not help being a long time on his journey to Court and back, Antonio de Leyva having promised him that as soon as Your Majesty's wishes in this respect were made known the city of Alva would be restored to the Marquis; that is the reason why so much curiosity is felt here about him, on what day he reached the Imperial court, and when he left it to come back.

Respecting the "abbadia" vacant in that marquisate of (Monferrato) His Holiness tells him (Sylva) that part of it is in Savoy and part in Montferrato. That which is in the latter territory pope Innocent gave in patronage to a prince of the house of Savoy, about 30 years ago, and His Holiness says that this privilege can easily be revoked. For that reason he has now presented to it his nephew, cardinal Medici. As the duke of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) has likewise applied for the right of presentation to the abbey, it will be for His Majesty to decide which of the two cardinals, Medici or Mantua, is to get it under the presentation of the rightful heir of the marquisate of Monferrato.—Rome, 17th June 1533.

Signed: "Count Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Decipherings on the margin. pp. 4.

20 June. **1086.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, king of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 256 v°.

His Majesty's letter ordering him (Salinas) to attend the Emperor's court was duly received on the 5th inst. To prepare for so long a journey, the Imperial court being still at Barcelona he (Salinas) had to write to the agent of the Fucares (Fuggers) at Madrid to ask them for money towards his travelling expenses. The agent's answer was that he had no such order from his principals, though he had received letters from them on the 2nd.—Valladolid, 20th June 1533.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

20 June. **1087.** The SAME to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.

M. R. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71. f. 257.

Has answered all his letters, and has no doubt they have all reached. The present will be in reply to one dated Lintz, the 28th of February, and two more from Vienna, the 20th and 25th of April.

Bernaldino de Meneses and his uncle, Blas Caballero.

1533.

Their business in this city and Chancery has been satisfactorily settled.

Received also the letters that came for secretary Pedro Castillejo and the friars. They were forwarded to Ciudad Rodrigo through the bishop of this place* who happened to have acquaintances there.†

Mencia.—Albarez, (*sic*) &c.

Thanks him immensely for the care he is taking of his affairs, and for his good offices, especially since he heard the King say that he (Salinas) was to go to the Emperor's court. Had he not been present and interfered in his favour, shewing the necessity of a representative, treasurers and paymasters would have at once said that there was no necessity at present for such a mission, and that the cost of an embassy might be spared. Such people as Jotte and Jarrote‡ think more of wasting His Majesty's finances than of improving them and guarding his honour and state.

Is glad to hear of the Cardinal's§ intended journey to these parts.

Should have wished for more particulars respecting the occurrences of Hungary, and the terms agreed to [with the Vayvod]; but hopes that the next letter will be more explicit and fuller.

(*Cipher :*) Delighted to hear that Gabriel Sanchez has been sent to Rome as ambassador [in the room of Andrea del Burgo], for he will do his duty, the King will be served, and they themselves [Salinas and Castillejo] will profit by his stay at that court.

Respecting the fear of disturbances [in Castille] the truth of the case is that the Pope granted the Emperor, as you know, one half of the ecclesiastical fruits towards the Turkish war. As long as His Imperial Majesty was in Italy the clergy of this country complained loudly, petitioned His Holiness over and over again, and did not pay. The Emperor then landed at

---

* Salinas' last despatch (No. 652) is dated the 10th March, from Bologna. It is wrongly dated 1531, instead of 1530, which was the year of Charles' coronation in that city. But Salinas is somewhat confused in his dates; sometimes he begins the new year at Christmas, at other times in March, whence it follows that the greatest care should be taken about calendaring his despatches. No. 652, for instance, ought to have been placed in all probability after No. 281 in 1st Part, though in the original register of his correspondence at Madrid it is placed immediately after one of March 1531. At any rate, soon after the Emperor's departure from Bologna on the 22nd of March 1530, Salinas went to Spain, charged with a commission, which though not sufficiently specified in his despatches was no doubt connected with the raising of the subsidy voted by the Cortes of Toledo. That the operation was not an easy one, owing to the natural mistrust of the ratepayers, who saw their substance go out of the country, we are bound to conclude from the information contained in Salinas' own despatches. His commission at an end the Austrian ambassador returned to the Imperial court whereto he was accredited.

† Valladolid (Pincia), but as this town was not erected into a bishopric until 1595, the bishop of Palencia (Pedro Sarmiento), who filled that see from 1525 to 1534, must be meant, Valladolid being at the time within the bishopric of Palencia. Pedro de Castillejo, mentioned in this despatch, must have been the brother or nephew of secretary Christoval de Castillejo.

‡ Thus in the original. Who are they?

§ Most likely Loaysa, who returned to Spain about this time.

1533.

Barcelona,* and perceiving that notwithstanding the Pope's injunctions the Clergy did not open their purses, he sent his order to the secular judges at once to proceed against them, &c.

Don Juan Manuel has arrived [here] and says that he will no longer attend court. Don Garcia de Padilla† has asked for permission to go home, on account of his bad health, though it is rumoured that his departure has another cause. In his room Lic^{te} Aguirre has been sent for, who, they say, has already started to fill the Commander's place.

The cardinal archbishop of Toledo (Tavera) tried his utmost to accompany the Empress (Isabella) that he might be present at the Emperor's disembarkation, and in the meanwhile help the Empress in Government affairs; but he received all of a sudden an order to go to Madrid, and reside there as member of the Royal Council.

Covos, the high commander [of Leon], is still in as great favour as ever with the Emperor. Coaçola,‡ formerly secretary of war, has been appointed to the Treasury, and Juan Vasquez [de Molina], who lost his father-in-law only the other day, to the vacant secretaryship.§ Idiaquez‖ has obtained the knighthood of Calatrava, and besides the secretaryship of Naples which Valdés once had.—Valladolid, 20th June 1533.

Spanish. Original. pp. 6½.

24 June. **1088.** RODRIGO DAVALOS to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 860, f. 19.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 292.

I wrote on the 16th, announcing my arrival at Rome. Since then the report (*relacion*) of our proceedings in the matrimonial suit goes on in this Consistory, and most probably will be finished in the next. Have told the Pope that as soon as that is done he ought to pronounce sentence. His answer in a roundabout way came to this: that he did not think it possible the thing could be done before the holidays, though nothing would be omitted on his part to terminate the affair. Profiting, however, by the assurances he gave me the other day, I replied that for a case of this sort, in which the whole of Christendom was so much interested, there ought to be, in my opinion, no holidays at all. He replied that it was

---

* The Emperor did not land at Barcelona, but at Port Vendres on the 21st of April. He there took post horses with the duke of Alba, the count of Benavente, and other gentlemen of his suite, and rode to join the Empress Isabella at Barcelona.

† High Commander of Calatrava, and "primer referendario de Camara" to the Emperor. He was probably related to Gutierre Lopez de Padilla, about whom see Sandoval, *Hist del. Emper.*, tom. 11, p. 116.

‡ Sometimes written Çuaçola and Zuaçola.

§ Don Garcia was some time treasurer of his own Order, [Calatrava] and president of the Council of the Military Orders of Calatrava and Alcantara, in which office he was succeeded by Don Fernando de Cordova. The post which Lic^{te} Aguirre is here said to have filled must have been that of treasurer of Calatrava. Don Garcia died on the 16th of September 1542.

‖ Alonso Idiaquez, commander of Alcolea in the Order of Calatrava, and at this time one of the Emperor's secretaries. He was killed at the crossing of the Elbe in 1547, during the war against the Elector of Saxony.

1533.

an ancient custom which could not well be dispensed with, but that he would willingly do his best, since he himself was personally concerned in the affair. I need not say what my opinion is on the subject, the Count's letter will explain it sufficiently.* I believe it would be much better not to let the Pope know that we penetrate his intentions until we have more positive proofs of them. My idea is that he will want me to go [to Spain] with some brief or other, but I do not intend moving from hence until I hear from Your Majesty, and know what your wishes are. If the affair is to be suspended until it be time for its going back to the Rota and Consistory, it will be so dilatory a proceeding that what I have said above will turn out to be true; and if His Holiness goes away in September, as most people say, the term will be still longer, and it is impossible to say what he may bring back [from Nice]. I insist on no other thing but the sentence; that seems to me the best course to pursue under present circumstances; all the rest is perfectly useless and will not be obeyed in England. The Pope, however, makes great difficulty in granting the brief applied for by Dr. Ortiz, the draft of which was sent to Your Majesty; but I believe that the Pope's difficulty in granting it is more owing to the fact that he does not wish the sentence to be pronounced until after the holidays. He wants us to be contented with this at present; but we still insist, the Count and myself, upon the principal cause, and upon persuading His Holiness that when he has done his part Your Majesty, as an obedient son of the Church, will not fail in your obligations. This, or similar words, the Count said to him, because when it was asked in His Holiness' presence what security we gave for the sentence being executed, and what Your Majesty was disposed to do towards carrying it into effect, we could not do less than promise your co-operation in general terms.

I believe firmly that this affair will not be declared as soon as we imagine; whence the obstacle proceeds I need not point out, as it will be easily undertsood. At any rate I will not stir from hence until I hear from Your Majesty. I cannot enter into more details because the Count's ciphered letter will sufficiently explain what our misgivings are on this very important question. I beg to refer to it.

It would be desirable that Your Imperial Majesty sent me letters for some of the cardinals: we shall here write the superscriptions that they may be in proper form; though rather late they will still come in time and be of use. Doctor Ortiz is of opinion that the brief must be asked for, and published, if they will give it us, were it for no other purpose than to make it appear that the Church itself has made some sort of demonstration in an affair of this sort; it can be no impediment to the principal cause. If nothing else can be

---

* "Pero yo me atengo a lo que se le soltó (escapó?).

1533.

obtained at present the brief will be procured and sent [to England], provided these people raise no difficulties, which, if I am not mistaken, may spring from the brief itself, as will be seen by the minute.

I cannot help reminding Your Majesty that the proctors and advocates of the Queen must have their fees paid; it is in Your Majesty's interest that they should be kept content.—Rome, 23rd June 1533.

Signed: "Rodrigo Davalos."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

24 June. **1089.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER of LEON.

S. E. L. 860, f. 21.

By count of Cifuentes' despatch, and by my letter to the Emperor, Your Lordship cannot fail to have understood the state of affairs here at Rome. I will not trouble Your Lordship with a repetition of the same account, save to say that I wish to receive instructions as soon as possible of what I am to do, whether I am to remain here [at Rome] till after the holidays, or whether I am to go away and come back. In the former case I wish to know whether I am to take a house, and live as an Imperial envoy ought to live. Hitherto I have been the guest of count Cifuentes, who is a very amiable and polite gentleman, but Your Lordship knows very well that I prefer living by myself and not at another man's expense. I will, however, do nothing until I hear from Your Lordship. Meanwhile I am visiting the cardinals and the auditors of the Rota, one by one, accompanied by Dr. Ortiz, who is constantly by my side, and whose exertions for the Emperor's service cannot be sufficiently commended.

I have here received a letter from count La Novelara informing me that he had received those that had been written to him, and would answer by way of Genoa. He writes to say how anxiously I myself am expected there; please God I may pass in that port a night which I imagine will be a pleasant one.

I beg Your Lordship to think of my various memorials when the right time comes. At present a letter to the viceroy of Naples ordering him to pay me my salary would be most acceptable, &c.—Rome, 24th June 1533.

Signed: "Rodrigo Davalos."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious the High Commander of Leon, first secretary to the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

28 June. **1090.** ANDREA DORIA, prince of Melfi, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 860, f. 19.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 294.

All are waiting for the arrival of Aponte with the Emperor's orders. The garrison of Coron must needs be relieved; time presses and the place cannot hold out longer.

Has written to His Holiness as if coming from himself, that he must persuade the French to lend their galleys for

1533.

that service, not indeed as subject to, but in company with, the Imperial fleet. Both together might inflict serious loss on the Infidel in those parts. The Pope's answer, however, has been so preposterous (*tan fuera de proposito*), that in his opinion very little hope can be entertained of his ever joining in an enterprize of this sort, much less the French. Such being the case, if Coron is to be saved, it behoves His Majesty to adopt measures for the immediate relief of that fortress; though our forces may be inferior to those of the enemy, it is to be hoped that God will make his cause triumph over the Infidel.

The 19 galleys that remained in Spain, and the four of Antonio Doria, fitted out as they were to bring the Infanta [Margarita] to these parts, ought at once to sail for Messina. With these 23 galleys, 38 belonging to the Emperor, and four more of the Order of St. John, and if no more can be procured, a number of other vessels (*navios*) well manned with Spanish infantry, I propose going in search of the Turkish fleet, and though much inferior in number obliging them to raise the siege.

The measure, however, admits of no delay. 25,000 ducats must be remitted to the ambassador here for the first expenses, and if a paymaster be required, he (Doria) recommends the person of Francisco Duarte.

Hears from prisoners taken by captain Antonio Doria, and captain Diesse (*sic*) that one of the Turkish galleys had taken to Barbarossa his appointment of captain general of the sea, and the order to sail to the Levant. It will be better known there if the news deserves credit or not.—Genoa, 28th June 1533.*

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

28 June. **1091.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 40.

Having received Your Majesty's letter of the 31st of May, together with those addressed to the Queen, as well as the duplicate of the instructions forwarded to Rome, and the copies therein mentioned; having deciphered the letters written in cipher, and translated into Spanish the papers in Latin or French sent at the same time, I immediately forwarded the whole for the Queen's perusal, as it seemed to me a better plan than calling upon her myself, and losing many days in applying for permission to see her, which would have been inevitable. I might also through such an application have raised *the suspicion of the King and Privy Councillors, and lost perhaps the little credit I seem to enjoy just now with them. I was, moreover, afraid that if I applied*

---

* There is on the margin a note from one of the Imperial secretaries, thus worded: "To tell him (Doria) of the provision that has been made, and that his letter was received after the departure of Aponte. To recommend him to act according to instructions."

for and obtained a permission to see the Queen the King might again request me to speak to her, and use all my influence that she may submit to the sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury, a thing which I had already refused to do.

I, therefore, sent the letters and papers for the perusal of the Queen, *who has since written to express the incalculable consolation and relief she has experienced at reading the instructions sent to Your Majesty's ambassadors at Rome, as likewise the letter addressed to herself;* and I fancy that she will soon write to Your Majesty to thank you for your exertions in her behalf. She has also written to me, praising much the resolution of not *sending a person to her under present circumstances*, the reasons and considerations contained in Your Majesty's letter to me,* which she fully accepts, besides agreeing with me that the time and season for doing that will be *when the sentence on the principal cause is fairly given*, as I have had the honour of informing Your Majesty.

Should the case come to that Your Majesty will perhaps be pleased to consider that the more numerous the embassy, and the higher the rank and authority of its individual members, the more chance there will be of its producing the desired effect upon this king's mind, should God inspire him the least, and upon the minds of the people of this country, thus increasing their hopes, and fostering the incredible good-will and affection they bear to the Queen and to Your Imperial Majesty. It would be desirable, indeed, that in case of those, who may come here on such an errand, perceiving that all their remonstrances are of no use, they should be provided with a mandate and commission to bring the case before the Parliament that might be assembled at the time. Should the Queen consent to this last step, which I doubt, the King will place himself the more in fault with his own people, who, owing to his refusal, would naturally become more and more anxious of knowing what the motion was about, and what its import could be, when the motion might very easily for such a cause and occasion be published and circulated.†

Respecting *other points contained in the said instructions* the Queen writes to me, that for upwards of one year all those who used to advise her in these matters had scarcely dared give their opinion (as I know well), and, therefore, that *I had been, and was her only refuge for the direction of her*

---

* "Et ma escript auoir este tres bien aduisé de n'avoir içi envoyé personne pour ceste heure par les consideracions quil a pleu a vostre maieste me faire escripre, et que le temps et sayson pour ce fere sera de lors que la [*sentence* sera donnée] ainsy quai çi devant escript a vostre maiesté."

† "Et seroit bon que ceulx que viendront, voyant que les particulieres remonstrances faictes au roy seroint inutiles, eussent charge et commission de proposer le cas a oblie (*sic*) voire devant les estatz du pays que par auanture pour lors seroint assemblez. Et quant la royne vouldroit consentir a ce derrier poinct de se proposer deuant les dictz etatz quil est bien a doubter, tant plus se mectra il en la pressumpcion de son peuple, le quel pour le reffus du roy seroit tant plus curieux de vouloir entendre la proposicion que lon leur vouldroit fere, la quelle a ceste cause et occasion] se pourroit tres aysemant semer et publier."

1533.

affairs, for which reason she begged and entreated me to advise and counsel her, and write both to Your Majesty and to your ambassadors at Rome.

The contents of the instructions have been so wisely and admirably conceived and drawn out (*pourpensé*) that in my opinion there is nothing to add to or retrench in them; for certainly the path to justice which Your Majesty proposes to follow is the true, right, and impartial sentence of all this affair, the sole one which I myself did always follow and recommend before having recourse to other more rigorous measures. I was certain, after what Your Majesty *wrote to me before leaving Bologna the last time, that as soon as the Pope returned to Rome, if this king did not send his powers, he would proceed to the declaration and definitive sentence; but since that has not yet taken place, I see no other means of attaining our object than the one proposed: namely, for the princes to whom Your Majesty has written on this subject to interfere here with their solicitations and support. Which interference, besides helping to excuse Your Majesty with regard to this king—who complains that you alone among all the Queen's relatives oppose him in this matter—might also aid considerably towards persuading His Holiness to hasten with the sentence, moving this king to repentance, and increasing the number of those who hold for the Queen, and who indeed constitute the whole of this kingdom, for it may be confidently asserted that with the exception perhaps of one dozen men all the rest of the kingdom take her part.*

I believe, therefore, that for the above-named considerations there would be no great harm if *Monsieur de Savoie, who is closely allied to the Queen by marriage, should also interfere.**

As, moreover, this king has invaribly armed and strengthened himself with the consent, the will, and disposition of his Parliament, it would seem advisable for the above considerations that all the titled nobility of Aragon and Castille, or at least the grandees of Spain, should address a letter to His Holiness representing the case just as this king has by sheer force compelled his own Parliament to do. And it would be still better if the said nobility were pressingly to ask Your Majesty to remedy by all the means in your power the Queen's lamentable case, at the same time offering their persons and property in consideration of the Queen's many virtues, and of the immortal memory of the Catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain]. This no Spaniard would for a moment hesitate to do if they were privately assured first that they would not be taken at their word, whilst the offer only being made public would wonder-

---

* By Monsieur de Savoie Carlo, duke of Savoy, is meant, who was married to Beatrix, the daughter of king Emanuel of Portugal, and consequently Catharine's niece.

1533.

fully tell among other remedies towards the cure of *such an evil.*[*]

With regard to king Francis' favour and help in this affair I fancy that no great reliance can be placed on his words, for notwithstanding the promises he has made at various times he has always shewn partiality for this king, and tried to keep on good terms with the Lady, to whom within the last week he has sent by esquire St. Julien a handsome and richly decorated Sedan chair (*une belle et riche littiere*) and three mules with harness and accoutrements in very good order.

He (the king of France) will probably give as an excuse not to act that sentence has not yet been pronounced, but he might *very easily allow the Queen, his wife, to write secretly in favour of her Royal relative.*[†]

The *instructions* for Your Majesty's ambassadors at Rome being, as I said above, *so beautifully drawn up*, I might be excused adding any suggestions of my own, and thus making parade of my ignorance; yet in order the better to obey Your Majesty's commands, which is the thing in this world I most desire, *I have written to the count of Cyfuentes (Don Fernando de Sylva), Your Majesty's ambassador at Rome, a letter of which the enclosed is a copy* recommending the whole affair and adding a few observations. I will, therefore, forbear from saying anything more about it save *to remind Your Majesty that it would be advisable that the sentence should be pronounced some time before the Lady Anne is delivered of a child, for if this happened to be a son* the King would, as *I have written to the Count, immediately have him sworn heir to his crown by this Parliament, which is to meet again in October, and if so, the inconveniences* arising from the divorce *would be much greater even than at present.*

The rest of the news I have to report is that the truce with the Scots seems at last to have been made by sea as well as by land, and that its duration is to be one year, to count from this day.

The King's Privy Council have lately been trying to suppress and do away with the assemblies of armed men which always take place here on the eve of St. John and St. Peter. This is done, as I hear, to guard *against any popular riot or mutiny* (*mutinacion*), *of which the King and his Council are mightily afraid just now.* On the other hand the Council is about to make some arrangement for increasing the Queen's allowance beyond the sum she is entitled to as the widow of prince Arthur, that she may of herself, and without the daily allowance which the King has hitherto made her, keep up suitable

---

[*] Et que pour ce cas ils offrissent personne et biens, ce que ne croy ne reffuseront, leur donant apart lexempcion de telle offre et promesse, le quel offre yçi publié joinct les autres remedes serviroit inextimablement."

[†] "Il peult en tout pretendre quelque excuse jusques la [sentencc soit donnee] ce que pour maintenant il pourroit fere seroit de permectre secretement que la [royne madame sa famme en escriqvisse]."

K 89.

1533.

state.* Nothing, however, has as yet been decided on this point, but I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty of the result, and will try my utmost that no diminution of the Queen's usual income take place.

It would be advisable, if possible, that should Your Majesty *send an embassy to this country with the Papal sentence, there should be ambassadors from all the princes above named, and likewise from your two sisters, the Most Christian queen [of France] and the queen [dowager] of Hungary.*

After writing the above the members of the King's Privy Council sent a polite message requesting me to take the trouble of going to them, to which I willingly acceded. Having accordingly gone thither they announced to me in the King's name and by his commands that having always found in me a very strong, praiseworthy, and complete inclination towards the maintenance of peace and friendship between the Empire and England, and also towards the transaction of business amicably; considering me, as the King and they were glad to acknowledge, a prudent, discreet, and experienced councillor, they had orders to notify to me that their master having, after due declaration from the Church, taken a legitimate wife, and caused her to be crowned as queen, as I must know, and it being impossible that there should be two queens of the same kingdom, the King had resolved for certain considerations, and in order to avoid inconveniences of all sorts, that queen Katharine should henceforwards relinquish that title.† For that very reason the King would no longer in future make for the Queen's maintenance such provision as he had made up to this day; though having regard to her many good qualities and virtues, and to the rank and position of her kinsmen and relations, he would treat her with kindly consideration (*humainement*) and guide himself entirely by my counsel and advice in the matter, this being (they said) the principal reason for which I had been summoned.

Many other gracious words of the same kind did the members of the King's Privy Council address to me on this occasion, which I answered by first thanking the King for the good opinion which they said he had of me, and then telling the councillors that they must and ought to know that the King's act and the archbishop of Canterbury's sentence were things which could in nowise affect the Queen's real position, the determination and declaration of which depended entirely on the sentence of His Holiness, the Pope, the sole competent judge in an affair of this kind. And that although I had no mandate to speak on the subject, yet in order to shew my constant attachment to the King's service, I would, since I was so invited, make a slight remark or two. It seemed to me (I said) with regard to the title and appellation of Queen, which they wished to take away, that since the King himself confessed that queen Katharine had been once his legitimate wife and queen (the Princess being born of that true and perfectly legal marriage); since the Queen herself had done nothing to forfeit that name, and was herself issued from Royal blood; since her using such a title could in nowise prejudice the King, for women in general were fond and proud of such names, she ought to retain it as a consolation and comfort in her misfortunes, were it for no other reason than to preserve the rank she once had, as was the case with the duchess of Suffort (Suffolk), here commonly called queen of France, and especially as king Francis, who was in such credit and on such good terms with them, did not take offence at the king of England entitling himself king of France. Besides which, as I had stated some time before to the duke of Norfolk and to Cromwell, since the King had coloured his divorce under the scruple of conscience—without which, as he asserted, he would not for anything in this world have taken another wife—what other scruple could the King now find to justify him in taking away her title, and otherwise not improving upon his ordinary treatment of her? It could not be a matter of great importance and cost for a king, so opulent as he was, to insure to the Queen a proper allowance when he knew that the money he furnished her with was not sent out of the country, to Your Majesty or to other princes. The Queen did not build towers, castles, or fortresses with it, or raise armies against him; the whole was spent paying the gentlemen of her household and in providing marriage portions for her gentlewomen, a custom which the King himself was bound to observe.[*]

---

* "Le tout semployoit a entretenir gentilhommes et marrier gentilles femmes ce que le roy mesme seroit tenu de faire."

† "Quayant par la declaracion de leglise prinse (*sic*) une legitime femme et layant faite, comme je pouvoes sçavoer, couronner royne de ce royaulme, au quel ne povoint convenablement estre deux roynes, il desliberoit que le royne desormays soy despourtast de tel tictre."

It seemed to me quite unnecessary to ask my counsel and advice as to the way in which the Queen was to be treated, for so generous, prudent, liberal, and magnanimous a king, as he was, knew far better than I could the requirements of a lady of the same Royal degree as himself. Indeed, one might answer such a question as the King had asked in the words of king Porus of India to Alexander the Great, when he became his prisoner: "Basilice siue regaliter," which was as much as he could ask from a prince.[†] As to my mixing myself up any further with the settlement of the said allowance, or attempting to persuade the Queen to do that which might possibly turn out to the prejudice of her just rights,

---

[*] "Le dit conseyl est apres pour regarder de augmenter les assignaulx du douayre que la royne eust du prince Artuz affin que delle meme sans la cotidienne provision que le roy jusques içy luy a subministré dresse et tienne son estatz."

[†] Pasilice says the text: "Quenportoit tout ce quil en sçauroit demander a ung prince."

I would guard against such a step, for my mandate was principally to work for the maintenance of peace, and the preservation of friendship between Your Majesty and this king in the first place, and after that (*secondemant*) do my best for the upholding of the Queen's just and due rights. I took the King, moreover, to be so virtuous a prince that he would not willingly require me to do that which was contrary to my instructions. I could not do less than praise and thank him for his kindness and benevolence in thus communicating to me his plans and ideas on the subject, which I should not fail to report to Your Majesty.

My peroration at an end the Privy Councillors retired into an adjoining room, and after some discussion came into the hall again and began at once to praise the zeal I had shewn for the preservation of the mutual peace and the King's service; but they said they could not well without first consulting the King, their master, reply to the arguments I had made use of in my speech; they would report and then ascertain His Highness' pleasure. Upon which, after many compliments, *and having filled their ears with protests of my desire and good intentions respecting the Queen's treatment, for which I did my best to persuade them of the necessity, at least outwardly and in appearance, I left them and returned home.*

On my way back I met both the French ambassador and Esquire St. Jullien coming back from Greenwich, whither they had gone to present the Sedan chair to the Lady Anne, of which she immediately made use to go to a place 3 miles off. I talked a good while with them, but was unable to hear any news of importance.

The Princess has been unwell of late, but thank God she has now recovered, and went yesterday from a house of the archbishop of Canterbury, where she had been staying nearly a year, to another belonging to the King about 40 miles from this city. During her late illness she applied to the King, her father, for permission to have the Queen's physician and apothecary in attendance upon her, which permission the King gladly granted, and the Queen herself has been allowed to send her messages whenever she liked, and might, I dare say, have visited her if she had chosen.*

I have just been told that the duchess of Suffolk, the late queen dowager of France, is dead,† in consequence of which the king of France will gain the 30,000 crs. a year, which he paid for her dower.

Having already received so many proofs of Your Majesty's liberality without any particular merits of my own, but

---

* "Estant ainsy indispose elle demanda licence au roy davoer le medecin et apothicayre de la royne, dont le roy fust tres contenct, et y a mande la royne a son playsir quantesfoys yl luy a pleu, et cuyde quil ne luy seroyt nye de lenboyer visiter."

† "Lon me vient dire pour vray que le duchesse de Suffocq, jadis royne de France, estoit trespassee."

1533.

merely through your generosity and munificence, I feel ashamed to beg for further reward, and yet Your Majesty's clemency and magnanimity, as well as my wish to have more power and ability to serve you—which is the constant aim of my wishes—emboldens and almost compels me to beg Your Majesty as humbly as I possibly can to bear me in mind in the next distribution of ecclesiastical benefices, and I hope to fulfil my several duties in such a manner for the above considerations as well as for the service of God, that Your Majesty may not consider your favours badly employed.—London, 28th June 1533.

Signed: "Eusthace (*sic*) Chapuys."

French. Original partly in cipher. pp. 8.

30 June. **1092.** RODRIGO DAVALOS to the HIGH COMMANDER of LEON.

S. E. L. 860, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 296.

I have written to the Emperor and to yourself about the state of the matrimonial cause. Since then, on Friday last, the reading of the report in Consistory was finished, and I obtained from His Holiness an order for the auditors of the Rota to meet on Monday next without fail, and take cognizance of the report, that they may afterwards give their opinion and vote. Such is the arrangement, and if the auditors think that the evidence adduced is sufficient for a determination there is a chance of sentence being pronounced before the holidays; but as far as I can gather from people's conversations I very much fear that our proofs will not be deemed sufficiently strong. If so, it must be Miçer Mai's fault, who had care of this negotiation, that the remissory letters were not presented. Yet, nevertheless, hopes are still entertained that the evidence adduced will be ample. The remissory letters will not be presented because time is short, and we want to see whether the evidence brought forward will be sufficient to get what we want. If not, it will be necessary to present the other remissories when the time comes, that is to say, in ten weeks, or perhaps more, if His Holiness, as announced, goes to have his interview with the king of France.

Your Lordship may believe me when I say that this suit has been carried on as if it were that of the poorest woman in the world; since the count of Cifuentes came and I have been here the proceedings have been pushed on, but the advocates and proctors have not received one real. I venture to mention these facts that Your Lordship may be aware of the state of things here, and decide what is to be done. At this present juncture it would be advisable to fill the hands of these people freely (*untarles las manos á estos*), that they may take up this affair exclusively and leave others by which they can earn a livelihood. I am convinced that however strenuous our efforts the Pope will not make a declaration either this next week, or the one after. As I have already said all business is at an end,

1533.

although the Count and I are determined to pray His Holiness to take the unusual step of proroguing the holidays, the case being so important, affecting in such a manner the whole of Christendom, and being the first of this nature ever brought before the Rota. Cannot say what effect our entreaties will have. Should the Pope accede to our request there is still a hope left, because, as I say, the remissories will be presented, examined and perhaps found sufficient. Otherwise it is to be feared that this affair will end as Dr. Ortiz prognosticates; the theologians will lose courage,* and if we once enter upon such road as this four months will not be sufficient to bring matters round, although it must be said that the Doctor has been sufficiently warned, and he tells me that even if that step is taken the whole will be successfully carried out with God's help. These are matters which I shall not attempt to describe in writing.†

I therefore beg Your Lordship to send me your instructions. As to the cardinal of Jaen (Estevan Gabriel Merino) I should like to be able to say what I think of him and of his plans, but it is out of the scope of my official duties. All I can say for the present is that his scheme seems to me good enough under present circumstances, especially until a remedy comes from thence.

Nothing would be more advantageous for the Emperor's service than unanimity among these ministers, as Your Lordship knows, and yet I can assure you that of nothing that is done in this business is the Cardinal informed unless it be what I myself tell him.‡ I have endeavoured to make these gentlemen pull together because I considered it so much for the Emperor's service, but all in vain. I find the Count so hard and so determined not to give the Cardinal a voice in this affair, but to keep him in perfect ignorance of what is being done, and so jealous of the Emperor's writing to him and listening to his advice, that I fear things cannot go on in this way. The Cardinal, on the other hand, protests that he cannot guess what has given the Count such a bad opinion of him and of the zeal he displays in this negotiation. Your Lordship knows well how careful the Cardinal is in all the transactions entrusted to him, how active and earnest. This is what I think has made the Count jealous of him. The Cardinal tells me that it was never his intention, nay, it never crossed his mind, to employ the means that were used in former times, but only to conduct and direct matters for the Emperor's best service, and then leave the affair in the hands of the Count for him to carry out and complete. And it must be granted, that if such be the Cardinal's views—and there

---

* "Temese que ha de venir este negocio á lo que toca el Dr. Ortiz, que es desanimar[se] lo que los teologos en este caso contradizen."

† "Y tiene por averiguado que quando vengan en esto, que se llevará todo con ayuda de Dios: son puntos que yo no sabria escribir."

‡ "Y, tambien sé certificar á V. S. que de nada no se le da parte sy[no] la que yo le doy."

1533.

is no reason for me to doubt his word—his opinion in these matters is of some authority, and that were his advice followed things would go on better than they do. I cannot be more explicit, and I give you my word of honour as a gentleman that neither the Cardinal nor the Count knows what I am now writing to Your Lordship, and, therefore, I beg you not to make me the author of this report, unless it be to His Imperial Majesty. My only object in thus speaking from the bottom of my heart is that Your Lordship may be apprized of the real state of affairs here and adopt such measures as may be most conducive to the Imperial service.—Rome, 30th June 1533.

Signed: "Rodrigo Davalos."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

2 July. **1093.** The CARDINAL of JAEN to the SAME.

S. E. Rom, L. 860, f. 163.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 299.

(*Cipher:*) I am anxiously expecting an answer from His Imperial Majesty to my ciphered despatch of the 16th ult^{o}. Will not say a word about it to the ambassador until that answer comes. According as this may be, permission will be obtained from the Pope for the ambassador (Sylva) to treat of the affair.*

I perceive that His Holiness is so bent upon this journey to Nice that it is a useless task to try and dissuade him from it. It only remains for us to consider what can come out of the interview. The more I think of it the more persuaded I am that the result can only be that His Holiness will eventually succeed in making king Francis desist from his projects in Italy, if not for ever, at least for a few years; or else that not choosing to grant what the French ask, and the latter being disappointed, they will possibly come to a rupture, and prevent His Holiness from returning to Rome; or, again that the French may induce the Pope by promises and political considerations to forsake the Emperor, make alliance with them, and thus open to them the gates of Italy. It is, therefore, urgent well to consider this matter and prepare instructions for all of us, that we may do our master's service in each of the above-mentioned eventualities. And I do not say this because I mistrust the Pope, but that I think it well to be prepared for all emergencies. If the whole business can be put in the direction which I pointed to Your Lordship in my last ciphered letter I dare say it will be.—Rome, 2nd July 1533.

Indorsed: "Paragraph of a letter from the cardinal of Jaen to the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 2.

---

* "Porque conforme á ella (la respuesta) se pueda tomar licencia del Papa para platicar con el Embaxador, y lo mismo deben de hazer de allá por la misma causa."

1533.

4 July. **1094.** The EMPEROR to JOHN FREDERIC, duke elector of Saxony.

S. E. L. 860, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 300.

Articuli ad instituendum concilium pertinentes et a potentissimo domino Cæsare Carolo V. et papa Clemente [Septimo] duci Joanni Friderico, a Saxonia, principi electori transmissi.

Signed: Hugo, count of Rangone, bishop of Reggio, prince and Papal Nuncio.—Lampertus Apriarde, president of the Imperial Council.*

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

5 July. **1095.** RODRIGO DAVALOS to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 860, f. 24.
B. M. *Add* 28,585, f. 306.

The Consistory, as well as the Rota, have heard the principal cause of the queen of England so quickly and in such a manner that it is a sort of miracle (*cosa milagrosa*) how in so short a time the thing has been brought to an end. Not only all the cardinals and auditors of that ecclesiastical court have been duly informed, both as to its judicial and canonical bearings, but likewise with regard to theological points; no easy undertaking, if we consider that the holidays are at hand. All this being accomplished there remains nothing to do but to determine and sentence the case. The cardinals have already met in consistory once, but have not come to any decision, and there will be only one more meeting before the holidays, though the Count and I have decided to ask the Pope to hold two or three more, if necessary, that the affair may be concluded and sentenced.

The Pope, however, has been and is so importuned by the ambassadors of England and France to suspend the sentence till after the interview at Nice that I really cannot say whether we shall gain our object in the end, though both the Count and I conjointly, and separately, cease not to urge him not to allow such an injury to the Queen, to the Holy Apostolic See, and to Your Imperial Majesty, begging him at once to determine and sentence the cause since all the legal terms have been fully complied with. We have given him to understand in the best manner possible how much Your Majesty would resent the outrage, since having informed the cardinals and auditors according to his own wishes, and shewn the weapons with which the adversaries could assail us, His Holiness could not do less than sentence the case; otherwise it would be a matter of suspicion before the whole world.

The Pope has hitherto shewn full determination to do justice. He tells us that he will now hesitate no longer, and that should the case not be decided in this next consistory—which is to

---

* Ego, Hugo Comes de Rangonibus, Episcopus Rhegiensis, Princeps et Papæ Nuntius, et Ego Lampertus Apriarde (*sic*), Cæsareæ et sacratissimæ Majestatis summi Consilii præsidens, obtulimus et dedimus, &c. The document is followed in the volume (f. 302 *b*) by the answer of the duke of Saxony to the said articles, dated Wymariæ (Weimar), the 4th of June: "Responsio Ducis Joannis Friderici a Saxonia, principis Electoris, ad supradictos articulos die iv Junii 1533, legatis Papæ data."

1533.

be held on Wednesday next—he will cause another, and if necessary two more sittings to be held before the holidays; so that unless some new impediment comes in the way—and where good-will is wanting the least trifle may become a great obstacle—we are pretty sure now that the affair will be settled before the holidays.

I can certify to Your Majesty that had the Pope known that this matter would have been pushed on in the manner it has been he would have sought the means of delaying it till the holidays; but luckily for us God has permitted that the justice of the Queen's cause should be made manifest in such a way that all those, who have hitherto tried to postpone or embarrass it, will be detected and exposed. May God touch the Pope's heart and make him pronounce sentence, for among the lawyers residing here there is only one sentiment, viz., the injustice that is being done to us.

The Count and the Cardinal of Jaen, as well as all the Imperia lawyers here, have been of opinion that I should speak to the Pope in Your Majesty's name, and say some words expressive of your disappointment and the ground of complaint you had against him: words that would throw His Holiness into some confusion, though uttered with all possible respect to his person and dignity, so as to make him feel how offended and hurt you were at his conduct in this affair. I have done so, and my words, though uttered with all due regard to his person and Apostolic dignity, have made such an impression upon him that he has solemnly promised me to do justice. I must say, however, that I have no faith in his promises; I do not think that he will ever make up his mind owing perhaps to certain briefs, which he must have issued secretly, and which will be the cause of his refusing to comply with our request, and keeping us in suspense until he has actually held his interview with king Francis, because our opponents have made him understand that the king of that country is such a friend and ally of the king of England that he will make him do whatever he likes in that respect, provided some fair means of compromise be found. This much I believe, and I am the more convinced of it, that the other day, as I was coming out of His Holiness' cabinet, I met the archbishop of Capua, who advanced towards me. Entering into conversation and touching on the subject, he made great difficulties about the sentence, saying to me that as a true servant of Your Imperial Majesty he could not but advise a different course from the one we were pursuing. He thought that a system of ecclesiastical censures, excommunications, interdicts, or some similar measures ought to be tried before coming to a definitive sentence, for the king of England (he said) seeing himself assailed on all sides might perhaps propose some acceptable compromise. My answer, after thanking him in Your Majesty's name for the interest he had shewn, was that the king of England had gone so far in his disobedience to the Church that nothing we could

1533.

do or think of would make him change his purpose, and behave towards the Queen as he ought, and that the only true remedy in this affair was the sentence of the principal cause. It was for that exclusive purpose that I (Davalos) had been sent to Rome. If His Holiness, in virtue of his office and as Father of the Faithful, thought that the king of England had made himself liable to excommunication through his disobedience to the Church he could at any time fulminate the said censures; I, therefore insisted upon the trial being ended and sentence pronounced. When the Capuan saw me so determined he observed: "The sentence in my opinion will not be better obeyed than the brief itself has been; besides, how is it to be executed?" "On that point," I replied, "His Holiness knows full well what the Emperor's wishes and intentions are; there is no need of my explaining them now, nor is it for me to point out what His Holiness' duty in this respect is; it is for you to advise him on matters which sound so badly in the ears of the Faithful."

This last remark of mine elicited no answer from the Archbishop, and yet this conversation and certain expressions of the French cardinals to Dr. Ortiz, when he called to inform them one by one of the various incidents of the matrimonial cause, make me fear that His Holiness will *not* fulfil his promise. For having called on them, as he had on the others, and explained that the cause was not *de jure Divino*, but *de jure canonico*, and that this promise once granted His Holiness the Pope had perfect right to dispense; that even if it were *de jure Divino* the Pope could also dispense on sufficient ground as stated in the brief of dispensation itself, the cardinals told him (Ortiz) that they saw the justice of the Queen's cause, and that the King, their master, was very sorry at what the king of England had done; but that, nevertheless, king Francis was about to hold an interview with His Holiness, where, it was to be hoped, some good arrangement might be thought of, he being such a friend of the king of England. Why, said one of the French cardinals [to Ortiz] do you insist so much upon the sentence? The doctor did his duty and replied: "We only ask His Holiness to do justice and nothing more."

The above will be sufficient to prove what I have stated, namely, that His Holiness will do everything in his power to delay this business till after his interview with the French king, and that he is either looking out for the means of keeping the briefs above alluded to secret, or else dislikes attending the conferences for fear of being asked to do what might be considered unpleasant and disagreeable to the king of England.—Rome, 5th July 1533.

Signed: "Rodrigo Davalos."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

1533.

5 July. **1096.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER of LEON.

S. E. L. 860, f. 24.

I have already advised what had been done in the English business; will now report upon its present state. It has gone both through Consistory and the Rota so completely and in such a manner that it is really wonderful how it could be brought to this point in so short a time. All cardinals and auditors of the Rota have individually, one by one, been informed of the circumstances of the case, not only with reference to judicial or canonical points, but likewise to those appertaining to Theology. This I may confidently state has been no small achievement considering that the holidays were close at hand. This being done, there only remains for the cardinals to take a resolution (*resolverse*). They have already met once, but have not yet come to a decision. Only one meeting now remains before the vacations, but we intend, should the case not be determined at it, to apply for a prorogation of the Consistory until a final decision be obtained.

Meanwhile I hear that the Pope is very much importuned by the ambassadors of England and France to have all proceedings suspended until the interview of His Holiness and the king of France takes place. The Count and myself on the other hand together and separately, cease not to represent the great injury done to the Queen, to His Majesty the Emperor, and also to the Holy Apostolic See by not sentencing a case which has already been judged in Consistory, as well as in the Rota, giving His Holiness to understand, as plainly as it is in our power to do, that His Majesty the Emperor will be very much offended, &c.

I must say that the Pope shews good-will, and acknowledges the truth of what I say. He has promised that at Wednesday's consistory every effort shall be made to appoint one or two more sittings until the cause is definitively determined, so that if no unforeseen incident intervenes—which may possibly be the case, for when the will is not strong the slightest thing is sufficient to offer an impediment—the thing will be done.

I must not conceal from Your Lordship that the quarrel between the Cardinal and the Count still continues to the serious inconvenience of all the Imperial servants in this city, and perhaps too to the great detriment of our master's interests. Each of those ministers sees the Pope separately* and without previously informing his colleague; and one of two things must happen, either the instructions jar with each other, or else one of the two assumes more authority than is his due. The consequence is that they do not see or communicate with each other, and in my opinion orders ought to come from Court defining their individual functions, and what the Emperor, our master, expects from each. As to myself,

---

* See above, No. 1095 p. 726.

1533.

I have no complaint to make of either; both treat me well and kindly.

But to return to the matrimonial cause. I can assure Your Lordship that had the Pope been aware that this business was to be so far advanced in so short a time he would willingly have looked out for some excuse to delay the whole matter until the holidays; but it seems as if God Almighty had ordained that the manifest justice of the Queen's cause and the practices of those who will not allow this justice to shine forth should be made public before the world! May God inspire the Pope to put an end to this business at once, for there is not a lawyer here at Rome who does not see the injustice of his behaviour!

The count [of Cifuentes] and the cardinal [of Jaen] having been of opinion that I ought myself to go to the Pope, and speak to him words expressive of sorrow and regret (*sentimiento y quexa*) at his conduct, thereby throwing him into some confusion, I have done so, and addressed him in the most suitable though respectful manner, and I flatter myself that I have made an impression on him for he has promised to do justice. Yet, whatever his promises may be, I am still very much afraid that the Pope will never make up his mind to pronounce sentence in this case, and that owing to certain briefs, which he must have issued secretly, he will do his utmost to delay it. This, in my opinion, will be the cause of his deferring sentence until he has actually held his interview with the king of France, for they have made him believe that Francis is such a friend of the English that he will not allow any harm to be done to him in consequence of this divorce, which he has actually carried into effect. I am the more inclined to believe this, that the other day, as I was coming out of the Quirinale, I met the Capuan (Schomberg) who told me that he could not do less, as a faithful servant of His Majesty, the Emperor, than say that this English business was a most perplexing one. In his opinion some other way ought to be tried by means of censures, excommunications, and so forth to bring the matter to an end. The King seeing himself threatened on all sides might find some good means for getting out of the difficulty. I thanked him in the Emperor's name for his good offices and excellent advice, but told him that the king of England had gone so far in his disobedience to the Church, that whatever means were employed would be of no avail to bring him back to the Queen; that the only remedy for such an evil was the sentence, &c. For no other purpose had I been sent to Rome. If the Pope, as Father of the Church, chose to excommunicate the King, and place his kingdom under interdict, well and good; I (Davalos) only asked for the sentence. Perceiving my resolution the Capuan said: "I very much fear that the sentence will not be obeyed any better than the brief itself has been."

1533.

I must add that Dr. Ortiz, who has visited all the cardinals one by one, has heard those of the French party say: "That they were convinced of the justice of the Queen's cause; that the king of France was sorry at what his brother of England had done, and had no doubt that some expedient might be found at this interview with His Holiness to settle the whole question, king Francis being such a friend of the English. Why do you and your colleagues (said they to him) insist so much on the sentence being pronounced?" The Doctor did his duty on this occasion as he has always done; he told them that he asked for justice, and nothing but justice.*

The Queen's lawyers and proctors have not received a farthing for several months, &c. I beg leave to inform Your Lordship of it, because on such occasions as this it will not do to neglect the Emperor's faithful servants.—Rome, 5th July 1533.

Signed: "Rodrigo Davalos."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious, the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

5 July. **1097.** The COUNT of CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 860, f. 6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 309.

Very well, and let him go on with the negotiation, for letters have been lately received from the dean of Besançon announcing that in all probability the league would soon be concluded.†

The king of France has promised 6,000 ducats to each of the Swiss cantons. The dean of Besançon and the Verulan write that the Pope and His Imperial Majesty ought to contribute 3,000 each. Spoke about it to His Holiness, who gave his consent, and promised his share.

The Pope seems to persevere in his idea of holding an interview with the king of France and marrying his niece (Catarine) to the duke of Orleans. Perceiving that he is quite determined to carry out his plans he (Sylva) has taken upon himself to remind His Holiness of the treaty of Barcelona, and His Holiness has answered that he will do nothing in the matter without first consulting the Emperor.

The English business is being attended to, and every effort made to obtain a sentence.

---

* With the exception of the paragraphs relating to the disputes between cardinal Merino and count de Cifuentes—which are private and confidential—the remainder of this despatch is substantially the same as the preceding one to th Emperor; yet it is remarkable that in some places the words differ enough to make it worth while to reproduce them here. See above, No. 1095, p. 730.

† In the handwriting of secretary Covos.

It is reported that the Papal Nuncio in England having told the King that His Holiness wished for the Council to meet, and expected that he (the King) would assist in this object,* the latter replied that his wishes in that respect were the same as those of the king of France, and that he neither would nor could differ from him.

Were the Pope's idea in this matter to be entertained we might run the risk of the English thinking that we are ready to make war upon them. The king of France on the other hand would not fail for his own particular advantage to circulate the rumour, and exaggerate the favour he does the King. As to Calais it is much better, as it is now, in the hands of the English as far as the security of the Low Countries is concerned. For this reason and others it is not prudent to listen to such overtures, much less make promises, &c.

The Pope himself said to him with great oaths that the idea was entirely his, and had not been suggested by anyone. "Since the king of England has behaved in such a disgraceful manner, do you not think that I might and ought to punish him by entering into some sort of agreement with the king of France? This, in my opinion, might be accomplished; we should thus separate him at once from the king of England, and likewise from Italy, over which he [Francis] has had his eye fixed for some time; we might promise him Calais and help him to get possession of it, which would be far better for him than any precarious acquisition in Italy." At first the Pope said to him (count Cifuentes) that he might inform the Emperor of all this, provided, however, he did not mention in his despatch that the idea came from him; but some days after he sent for him, spoke again, and more clearly on the subject, and said that he (the Pope) might be named as the originator of the whole plan. Suspecting, however, that this and other matters of equal importance had been communicated beforehand to cardinal de Tournon, he (Sylva) answered that the plan seemed to him excellent, but that he could not say whether the Emperor would approve of it or not. If the matter was to be discussed it ought to be so at once, and not left for the interview, because in his opinion nothing good could come out of it. His Holiness replied that he was prepared to make the overtures immediately, and would select for that purpose a person now residing in France, in whom he trusted implicity. "I will not (he added) say anything about it either to Tournon, nor even to Jacopo Salviati."

---

* "Que el Nuncio que su S^{d} tiene en Inglaterra dixo al Rei que su S^{d} deseava el Concilio, y que él por su parte diesse el favor necessario para ello; respuesta fue que él havia de querer y hacer lo que el rey de Francia."

The Emperor is unwilling to treat of this affair before the divorce case is fairly determined. Had the Duke's marriage been only a betrothal with a promise to marry (*con palabras de futuro*) the matter might be taken into consideration.

The Count may go with his family and servants without incurring extraordinary expenses, for after all the Duke goes to France to represent his master and give him authority. The Emperor does not care for this sort of thing.

The Pope also asked whether Your Majesty would consent to marry the princess of England (Mary) to the duke of Norfolk,* because (said he) though he has already been betrothed to another, this was enforced through fear, and the marriage might after all never take place. The said duke is by this time in France, whither he has gone with a numerous train of followers for the purpose of attending these conferences; should they take place Your Majesty will let him know whether he is also to go and with what suit of retainers.

Most of the Imperialists here think that under present circumstances the queen of England ought to leave that country owing to her being in danger of her life.

Having read to His Holiness the article of Davalos' instructions relating to the part Your Imperial Majesty was prepared to take in the execution of the sentence, he said that it was most wisely worded, but still not sufficiently explicit. Replied that Your Majesty could not for the moment make further declarations, but yet on no account would you swerve from your duty as the obedient son of the Church.

His Imperial Majesty will be glad to see him at his court, for he seems friendly and trustworthy, but let His Holiness do his pleasure in this respect.

Has asked for [cardinal] Salviati to go as legate to Your Majesty. He and his father [Jacopo] have no objection, and there can be no doubt

---

* "Que tambien le dixo el Papa si vernia V. Md. en casar á la princesa de Inglaterra con el duque de Nofolch, porque aunque está desposado en inglaterra lo hizo por miedo y por palabra de futuro, y podria no haver lugar."

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

1533.

that when the latter recovers from a certain illness (*cierta enfermedad*) for which he is now going to take the waters, he will accept the charge if proposed to him. Encloses the bull and briefs for the Crusade.—Rome, 5th July 1533.

Signed: "Count Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

---

8 July. **1098.** Rodrigo Davalos to the high commander of Leon.

S.E.L., 860, f. 23.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, 306.

My letter of the 5th inst. must have informed Your Lordship of the state of things between the count [of Cifuentes] and the cardinal of Jaen. I again beg that the affair may be speedily looked into, and some remedy applied to the evil, for I can assure Your Lordship the Emperor's service cannot be done in this manner. I have likewise given full notice of the English business in my despatch to His Imperial Majesty, I wish to know what I am to do in case of my misgivings being realized.

I beg to recommend my brother, Martin de Ayala, and that his faults should he have committed any, may be overlooked.—Rome, 8th July 1533.

Signed: "Rodrigo Davalos."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

---

8 July. **1099.** Count of Cifuentes to the Emperor.

S. E. L., 860, f. 24.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 308.

The queen of England has refused to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, as she was cited to do, notwithstanding which the cause has been proceeded with in her absence, though it is not known yet what declaration has been made.

In the opinion of many people it would be necessary that the said queen should quit the kingdom if her life is to be preserved.

The King's mistress has been crowned queen with great splendour and rejoicings, and Jacopo Salviati tells him (the Count) that she has been in the family way for the last five months.

Has read to the Pope the paragraph of the instructions brought by Rodrigo Davalos upon the determination of the cause, and invocation of the secular arm for the execution of the sentence. His Holiness and Jacopo Salviati, who was present on the occasion, both said that the paragraph was no doubt wisely worded, but that nevertheless it did not appear as if His Imperial Majesty was determined to have the sentence which His Holiness might give executed. His (the Count's) answer was that for the present the declaration made in the instructions to Rodrigo Davalos was quite sufficient, nothing more was required, considering the condition and character of His Imperial Majesty and his general regard for truth; he (the Pope) might be sure that the Emperor, as the first prince in Christendom, and so obedient a son of the Church, and the personal friend of His Holiness, would fulfil the duties imposed upon him should he do justice in the case and pronounce sentence.

Indorsed: "Abstract from a letter of count de Cifuentes, the ambassador at Rome.—8th July 1533."

Spanish. Contemporary copy for the Emperor's inspection. pp. 2.

11 July. **1100.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch, Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 43.

Considering, as I presume, that it would be a useless task to try and persuade me to consent expressly or tacitly to the overtures made by those of his Privy Council—as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in my last despatch—this king has not communicated with me on the subject, although his Privy Councillors fully promised to let me hear his pleasure in that affair. Instead, however, of an answer, five days after my visit to the Council, the King sent orders and instructions to the Chamberlain, Chancellor, Almoner, and Grand Squire of the Queen's household, as well as to her Secretary and Purveyor, to address to her several and various representations, among the rest that it could only be arrogance, selfishness, or inordinate vain glory that could induce her now to assume or usurp the title of queen, she could not allege ignorance, inasmuch as she must have known before this,* that according to the decision of the principal universities in Christendom, and by the authority of the Church, he (the King) was legitimately divorced from her, and married to another who has since been crowned with due solemnity. And, moreover, that she was singularly mistaken if she thought that he could, as long as he lived, ever go back to her. That he never would do on any consideration; but if she would, as was but wise and reasonable, acquiesce in his will, and consent to what had been done and could not be undone, he would ensure her honourable treatment; otherwise he would have published throughout his Kingdom all that he had done towards ensuring her such treatment, and her own unreasonable and obstinate refusal, after which he would have her punished as his subject, which she was.† And that by persevering in her obstinate refusal she would cause dissension

---

* "Poure fayre plusieurs et diverses remonstrances a la dite royne speciallemant que ce luy procedoit de tres grande arrogance et oultrecuydance et desordonne vayne gloyre de soy attribuer et usurper tiltre (*sic*) de royne sans lestre."

† "Et sinon quil feroit publier generallemant par tout son royaulme le debuoer ou il sestoit mis pour bien la traytter, et le reffus et desraysonable obstination delle, et successivemant quil la pugniroit comme sa subiecte quelle estoit."

1533.

and civil war in the kingdom and disputes as to the succession, the consequence of which would be that much blood would be spilt, the kingdom totally destroyed, and his own conscience greatly troubled. Should she (the Queen) persist in her obstinate refusal the King would be compelled to manifest his displeasure towards her and the Princess, and also towards all those who dared speak about him and the divorce, whereby all her servants and friends would fall under his Royal indignation.

To all these adjurations, which, as Your Majesty may judge, are urgent and weighty enough, especially when addressed to a person whose mind is naturally somewhat perplexed, the Queen has answered boldly and openly that knowing for certain that she is the true and legitimate wife of the King, she will never as long as she lives, on any consideration, take any other title but that of Queen, and if addressed by any other will not answer to it. Which determination of hers was not to be imputed to arrogance or desire of vain glory, for she would certainly take greater glory in being called the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella [of Spain] than the greatest queen in the world against her own conscience, if she knew that she really had no claim to that title. With regard to the iniquitous sentence pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, to the corrupt practices employed in order to obtain the opinions of the Universities, and the form of this clandestine and accursed marriage, she spoke fully enough touching upon the mysterious event and other circumstances connected with it.* As to the King never coming back to her, as the speakers supposed, she said that she hoped and confidently trusted that He, who in one moment worked the conversion of St. Paul, and from a persecutor of Christianity turned him into an apostle, would enlighten and inspire the King's conscience, and not allow such a virtuous prince to remain so long in error to the great scandal of Christendom and contempt of Papal authority.

Touching divisions in the kingdom and the disputes as to the succession, the Queen said that was a thing for which she could not be made responsible, but rather the counsellors and advisers of this second marriage, the King having already legitimate succession acknowledged by all the kingdom; besides which no issue could come from such an abominable marriage but some *lignee perverse,* who would throw the kingdom into confusion if allowed to reign.

Of the publication alluded to by the said speakers the Queen said that she wished extremely that not only the kingdom of England, but also the whole of the world at large should become aware of the fact that she would never, as long as she lived, consent to such an unjust and iniquitous act, or

---

* "De la sentence inique de larchesveque de Canturbery, des practiques et sobornemans pour achatter (*sic*) et gaigner les opinions des universites, de la forme de ce clandestin et maudit marriage elle en declayra et particulierement le mystere et toutes les demennez."

1533.

willingly accept other treatment but that befitting a Queen; such she was and would remain.

As to the punishment with which she was threatened, if she had in any way offended the King (she said) he could punish her as his own wife, not otherwise, except by sheer force; if she were not his wife, all the world might know what amount of authority he could claim over her.* With regard to the Princess, her daughter, the King who was her father could dispose of her at pleasure, though she could not help saying that any bad treatment of her, or of the servants of her household, would affect her very much. Yet neither for that nor for a thousand deaths would she consent to damn her soul, or that of the King, her lord and husband.† Many other things did the Queen say on this occasion which would take too much time to relate.

As soon as the King heard that the Queen would not comply with his demands, without waiting for a full report from the speakers, he caused the enclosed edict which I have had translated into French, to be printed and proclaimed throughout the City, to the sound of trumpets. After that he summoned to his presence the individuals named in the said edict, to give them, as it is thought, new commands respecting the Queen's service, or to suborn them entirely, or for some other unknown purpose. *Until now nothing has been said to them, except that Cromwell in the King's name has gratefully thanked them all for their services to the Queen, and told them that they must wait a little time until it shall be decided what order is to be established in her household. And I am told that the said Cromwell could not help saying that it was impossible for a human creature to have given utterance to a more wise or courageous answer than that which the Queen made to the deputies,* and that God and Nature had done great injury to the said queen in not making her a man, for she might have surpassed in glory and fame almost all the princes whose heroic deeds are recorded in history. Many other things did this Cromwell say in praise of the Queen. God grant that the treatment in store for her may be in accordance with that minister's words! For my part I will do my best in every possible way that she is honourably treated, and as befits her rank.

About eight days ago a courier from Rome arrived in this city, who was no doubt bearer of despatches for this king, announcing, as far as I can guess, that his excusator at Rome had been precluded from any further intervention in the pro-

---

* "Que ayant elle offencé, le dict seigneur roy la pourroit chastier comme sa femme, et non autremant sinon de voulenté et force, car sans estre sa femme tout le monde sçavoit assez quelle subiection yl pouvoit pretendre sur elle."

† "Touchant ce que concernoit la princesse que en estant le roy le pere, yl en pouvoit fere et dispösser a son playsir et voulenté. Vray estoit quil luy deplayroit de son mal trayttemant, et aussy que ses serviteurs encourrussent lindignation du dit seigneur roy, touttesffoys que ne pour cela, ne pour mille morts elle ne vouldroit damner son ame, ne celle du roy son seigneur, et mary."

1533.

ceedings; which intelligence has been the cause of this king's dispatching couriers to Rome on two consecutive days, *and it is said that these couriers are now taking thither the original determination of the various Universities in the King's favour, as well as the sentence pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, and also a protest and appeal to the General Council against the expulsion of his excusator from Rome, thinking by these means to retard, if not to prevent altogether, the effect of the Papal sentence.*

I hear that even now the Lady [Anne] complains to the king of the Easterlings, who (she says) on the coronation day, put the Imperial eagle over the arms of England and her own, a thing which she (the Lady) considers a great insult to her, and which she would willingly punish if she could. She has likewise complained to the King that in the villages through which the Princess had the other day to pass as much rejoicing went *on as if God Almighty had come down from Heaven; at which the Lady has been very much offended, and intends giving the inhabitants of these districts a proof of her resentment.*[*]

I am aware that these are not things to trouble Your Majesty with, yet I have done so that I might convey some idea *of the perversity and wickedness of the personage to whom I have alluded.*[†]

Respecting other news, I must say that up to the present moment, notwithstanding the rumours sedulously circulated, the truce with the Scots has not been signed; indeed on the 13th ult^o they made a foray, and penetrated far into this kingdom, where besides much plundering and devastation, they set fire to two small towns (*villettes*).

The Pope has written to his Nuncio, who was here,[‡] that since affairs were so much out of order in this country, and he (the Nuncio) wished to go back to Rome, he could do so under colour of meeting him (the Pope) at Nice, or on any other plausible excuse he might think of, and thus take leave of this king, which he has since done. The King made him a very handsome present and was well pleased at his departure for that meeting, owing to the trust these people have in him,[§] of which I have had the honour to inform Your Majesty.

---

[*] "Se plaint journellemant des Austerlins les quels le jour de son entree auoient mis laigle Imperial predominante aux armes du Roy et siennes, et les vouldroit bien faire contraindre a regarder telle mesprison, et pareillement sest yl (elle) plaincte de ce que par les villages ou lautre jour passa la princesse lon luy fist aussy grande feste et chiere quest (que) si Dieu fut descendu des cieulx, dont elle a eu merveilleux despit, et a si bien lintencion de le faire sentir aux dits subjects."

[†] "Je lay faict pour donner à icelle (vostre maiesté) ung peu de indice de [la perverse et maligne nature du personage]."

[‡] "A escript au Nonce quil tenoit içy," from which it would appear that on the 11th, which is the date of Chapuys' letter, the baron del Burgo, or Borgho, had already left.

[§] "Pour la bonne confidance que ceulxçy ont en luy, comme naguieres escripvis a vostre maiesté."

The King, on the requisition of an Irish lord named Macllie,* who is at war with one of his neighbours, is now sending him some ordnance and ammunition.

About eight months ago the King, as I informed Your Majesty, thought of having a good many pieces of ordnance of different calibres cast, to which end the necessary preparations were made in the shape of metal and casting moulds, &c., but only one piece has yet been cast, and the operatives themselves tell me that there is no talk of casting any more.

I have this very moment received Your Majesty's letters of the 29th ult^{o}, together with the enclosures, of the contents of which I took care to apprize the Queen immediately, as they will no doubt prove to be a most singular consolation in her present affliction. I will not fail to conduct myself in this case according to the orders contained in the said and preceding letters, as I have already tried to do.—London, 11th July 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received the 7th of August."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 5.

16 July. **1101.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. Guer. Mar. y Tier L. 4.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 311.

Having pressed the Pope to pay us the 25,000 or 30,000 ducats lately borrowed for the relief of Coron, he has consented to pay one third of that sum, besides sending his galleys thither, adding that the many expenses he has had to attend to have prevented his doing more for the present. Should the danger continue, and he be in better circumstances, he will assist with all his power, &c. He has already despatched the whole of his artillery to Ostia for Doria to take it up and carry to Mesina, where he believes the Papal galleys are now at anchor.

His Holiness has issued a second brief for the Grand Master of Rhodes to give up his galleys. The bearer of it was Aponte, who took also letters for the viceroys of Naples and Sicily. If by giving 10,000 ducats and lending his three galleys for the relief of Coron His Holiness thinks that he is dispensed from giving any more money, he is very much mistaken; he (Silva) will not cease to importune him until he has paid up the whole of what he promised, or has imposed a tithe on the lands of the Church for that purpose.

With the information which he (Silva) received that His Holiness' departure had been fixed for the end of August, and that the French ambassadors had called on him and on Jacopo Salviati often and at unusual hours, he hastened to the

---

* "Requis dung seigneur dYrlande nomme M.aellie(O'maeilly)."

1533.

Palace and reminded the Pope himself of the clauses of the Barcelona convention, and how much he (the Emperor) would be disappointed and grieved at seeing any of them infringed. His answer was the same as at other times, viz., that he would not forsake the Emperor's friendship and alliance, and would conclude nothing with the king of France, or with any other potentate, without consulting the Emperor first. He had (he said) written to the king of France on the subject, and was about to write again.

With regard to the conferences he (Silva) has been told as a fact that no definitive agreement has yet been signed owing to His Holiness having asked as a condition that no matters relating to Italy or Milan be discussed thereat.

Has, however, every reason to suppose that the marriage is a settled thing because the Duchessina's departure is now being talked of.

Cardinal Pistoia,* has already taken his departure for Nice by land. In the last consistory, when the matrimonial cause of England was discussed that cardinal spoke very warmly in favour of the Queen.

Both the Papal Nuncios in France and England write that the King of the latter country does not feel quite at ease at the prospect of this interview. At first he approved of it, but he has since expressed a fear that something may be treated of at the conferences not quite favourable to himself.

According to Jacopo Salviati, the duke of Norfolk was not well received by the Parisians (*el pueblo de Paris*), owing to their thinking that the King, his master, was about to disregard the commands of the Church. King Francis, however, had made him a most splendid and flattering reception.

The last news from France is that the King is ill with fever; nevertheless the Pope is making preparations.

Wishes to know whether in case of the interview taking place, and his (Silva's) attendance being required, one of the Imperial galleys can call for him at Ostia.

The "fuorusciti" of Lucca have made an inroad, and caused some damage. The Luquese have come to complain to His Holiness and to him (Silva) as Imperial ambassador. Went to the Pope and interceded for the latter, though the "fuorusciti" pretend that the Signory is in treaty with France, and have sent ambassadors to the King.

A conspiracy, at the head of which is Leonelo, the brother of Alberto da Carpi, has been discovered in that town [Lucca] for the purpose, as it is asserted, of depriving the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) of its possession.

The Swiss, &c.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

---

* Antonio Pucci or Puggi, as in Gams, p. 750.

1533.

17 July. **1102.** Pope Clement to the Same.

S. E. L. 860, f. 135.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 316.

Just as Rodrigo Davalos was about to leave and be the bearer of his answer to the Emperor's holograph letter of the other day, another one brought by captain Aponte reached him. Congratulates him upon the recovery of the Empress from her past illness.* Cannot but applaud his brave determination to relieve Coron besieged by the Turks. Has no doubt that the undertaking will be crowned with success like other similar enterprizes of the Emperor. Though he (the Pope) has not helped to the extent that was expected, he has done as much as his present resources would allow.

With regard to the English divorce suit, on the arrival here of Rodrigo Davalos the trial was prosecuted with fresh vigour. It had already been brought to closer terms by certain judicial acts considered necessary in so grave and important a cause for the honour of this Apostolic See and of His Majesty. No further pressure is required in the matter as both count de Cifuentes and Rodrigo Davalos will write, who in this affair have certainly not failed to do their duty.† For his own part he (the Pope) can only say that the reason of the principal cause not having yet been finished, and of his having only provided against an attempted fact (*super attentatis*) has not been any backwardness on his own part; he was most ready, but the fault lay in the process itself, and in the difficulties raised by the Queen's lawyers. When the Emperor comes to be informed of this he cannot fail to acknowledge that everything which the circumstances required has been done, specially as there is every reason to believe that when the time comes the principal cause will be proceeded with in a manner suitable, first, to the honour of God and the upholding of justice, and secondly, to the confidence which His Majesty deservingly has placed in him, provided, however, such aid and assistance is afforded him, as he (the Pope) may want in this matter for the better issue of the affair, and which he fully expects to receive from the Emperor's known zeal for the said cause and the honour of this Apostolic See, which is thus placed in his hands. Begs to recommend this last as much as he can, under the belief, as he has already had occasion to say many times, that without his (the Emperor's) powerful co-operation all efforts on his part would be useless.‡

---

* According to Florez' *Reynas Catolicas de España*, tom ii., p. 858, the Empress Isabella had been dangerously ill during the months of May and June of this year.

† "Maximamente potendosi credere certo che anchor in la causa principale, quum sara tempo non si manchara di provedere expeditioni, che dove sinterpone il respecto della iustitia [erano necessarie], maximamente in causa tanto pia e di tanta importantia al honor di questa sede et della Maesta V.; non aspetto altro stimulo. Quel che siia (si a) fatto quella potrá intenderlo particularmente per lettere del conte di Cyfuentes et per il medesimo Rodrigo a bocca."

‡ "No si mancharà di procedere con li termini debiti et convenienti prima al honor di dio et alla iustitia, poi a la fede que meritamente ha in me la M^ta^ V.

1533.

With regard to his interview with the Most Christian King he (the Pope) has read the very prudent remarks the Emperor has been pleased to make in his last holograph letter. The Emperor continuing as hitherto to give him daily proofs of friendship and affection, he (the Pope) has not the least doubt that the most advantageous results for Christendom will ensue, and sincerely hopes there will be no occasion for him ever to repent having seized this opportunity of working that good, and accepted the proposed interview. To avoid any imputation of the evil that might possibly ensue, were he to refuse the invitation, he (the Pope) has decided to go to Nice next autumn. Even if the interview did not bring about the good that is expected therefrom, and he and His Majesty desire, there would be no more harm done than the trouble and fatigue of his courtiers in this journey, and his own personal danger owing to the delicate state of his health.[*]—Rome, 17th July 1533.

Indorsed: "From the Pope to the Emperor. On the matrimonial cause. Rodrigo Davalos bearer."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 3.

17 July. **1103.** Count Cifuentes to the Same.

S. Sd. Guer.M. y T. No. 4.,
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 314 *b.*

Recommends auditor Luis Gomez, who, owing to an oversight (*descuido*) of the solicitors had the Romaricomonte case taken out of his hands, and given to Paolo Capisuccis.[†] Margaret's right, however, is quite clear.

Luis Gomez has still another affair in hand, that of the parish of Isaba, in Pampluna.

Enclosed is a letter from him (Gomez) explaining the incidents of both cases.—Rome, 17th July [1533].

Indorsed: "Relacion de cartas del conde de Cifuentes y cardenal de Jaen de 16, 17, y 18 de Jullio."

---

promittendomi io chella al rincontro sia per prestarmi quella assistentia che in cio si ricerca et si convenne al zelo, che oltre l'interesse tien in la predetta causa, ha V. M^{ta} del honor di questa sede, il quale io li racommando quanto posso, affirmandole como gia piu volte li ho significato che senza laiuto suo ogni sforzo dal canto nostro seria vano."

[*] " Vedendo io quanto prudentemente m'en scrive V. M^{ta} per questa ultima sua, et continuando quella M^{ta} in promettermi ogni di piu amplamente che di çio habbino a resultare effecti molto profittevoli alla Christianità, per non haver mai a pentirmi d'haver pretermisso una occasione di far tanto ben quanto pur si puo ragionavelmente sperar, accettando io tal vista, et per non poter esser mai imputato dal male, che, como si puo dubitar, potria seguirsene fuggendola, mi son resoluto di transferirmi al tempo fresco a Niza dove irò con speranza evidente di guadagno, senza periculo alguno di perdita, conciosia che quum pur questa gita non parturessi qual fructo, si spera et da V. M^{t} et da me parimente si desidera, non havia fatto altro danno que dato a la corte mia questo disaggio, con tal periculo della mia persona, di che mi consolero facilmente con la conscientia della mia oltima volunta et ententione."

[†] " Quan servidor de V. M^{ta} sea el auditor Luis Gomez, el qual por descuido de solicitadores la causa Tullerin (*sic*) de la abbadia de remarica (Romaricomonte ?) fue sacada de sus manos y cometida à Paulo Capisuchis, y la justicia de Margarita ? està clara."

1533.

17 July. **1104.** The CARDINAL of JAEN to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 202.
B. M. *Add.* 58,585, f. 319.

It is but just that I should give Your Majesty some account of what has lately happened with regard to the matrimonial cause of England, for besides being aware of certain facts and circumstances not generally known, I have found myself as member of the Sacred College of Cardinals in the midst, as it were, of the deliberations which have taken place at various times. To be able to do so without scruple of conscience I have procured and obtained permission from Him who alone could grant it to me. Had this cause been of an ordinary kind I would gladly have referred, as I have done at other times, on almost every point to Your Majesty's ambassador; but the affair being of the quality and importance that it is, I consider that I should not satisfy my conscience, or fulfill my duty towards Your Majesty, were I to conceal what has come to my knowledge.

I will begin by stating that the appointment of an express agent and fit lawyer* was very opportune, for ever since his arrival at Rome the Imperial ambassador (Sylva) has taken steps and done things which he would never otherwise have thought of, not indeed from lack of zeal and good-will, but from fear of losing reputation in the attempt, and because he considered the measure derogatory to his authority. Many steps indeed has Rodrigo Davalos taken to bring the affair to its present state, which the ambassador himself would never have taken. Leaving on one side the many and various efforts which I myself have made to persuade His Holiness of the necessity of a sentence, representing to him what justice and the honour of the Holy Apostolic See demanded, unti the force of my reasoning actually inclined him to pronounce the same, it must be owned that the services of the said Rodrigo Davalos upon this occasion have been of great value; for no sooner had His Holiness resolved to have the case decided than he (Davalos) set about his work, and more was actually done in a very short time by the auditors of the Rota and the College of Cardinals than would otherwise have been accomplished in many months. Besides, the Queen's "proceso" being evidently faulty and deficient in many of its parts, as Your Majesty may judge by the enclosed copy of the summary instruction, no more could be done. Indeed, not to cause Your Majesty unnecessary annoyance with such minute details, and make the matter short, I do not hesitate to say that notwithstanding the many flaws of the process, which if submitted to any lawyers in that country can be easily detected, a way was found of proceeding "super attemptatis." I need scarcely add that to accomplish this by means of a Papal brief or sentence was no easy business, and that it led to much preliminary altercation, some of the cardinals pretending that a Papal brief was quite sufficient,

---

* Rodrigo Davalos.

1533.

whereas others maintained that a sentence would be required. It was at last decided that it should be done by sentence with all the solemn formalities used in such cases. Even the "proceso" which we had to take by way of "attemptatis" was defective and faulty (*errado y defectuoso*) as I can assure Your Majesty. That Your Majesty may estimate the amount of good-will which His Holiness has shewn upon this occasion, I must declare that had not the terms whereof I spoke in my last despatch been tried we should not so soon have obtained the sentence in a judicial form as Your Majesty will be able to judge by the enclosed transcript. It now remains to have it printed, and circulated here and in Flanders, some copies of which might also be sent to England.

It must be said that as far as the Queen herself is concerned the sentence gives her all that the sentence of the principal case could give, it has besides this advantage upon the other side that there is no point in it subject to doubt or disputation, save obeying or disobeying it. So, though we could not obtain sentence upon the principal cause it is a matter of consolation to me that much has been gained for Your Majesty's honour and reputation, for everyone is waiting to see how Your Majesty takes this, and what measures are to be adopted for the preservation of the Queen, to whom Your Majesty and all your subjects are so indebted; for had sentence on the principal point been issued it seems as if Your Majesty would from that very moment have had to undertake the defence of spiritual justice with the secular arm, and to have seen that the said sentence was executed and carried into effect. In the meantime we shall see what comes out of these conferences between His Holiness and the king of France, when such preparations can be made as befit the honour and interests of Your Majesty, with that mature reflexion, prudent and honest determination required in cases of this magnitude. Should, however, Your Majesty feel inclined just at present, circumstances allowing it, to take any measures thereupon (*hacer algun effecto sobre lo susodicho*), the sentence now issued will be more than a sufficient excuse to raise your standard on high, and at the expiration of the three months mentioned in the brief act in so just a cause as may seem most convenient.

With regard to the prosecution of the terms in the principal cause there will be time enough during these holidays for the Imperial lawyers to remove the above-mentioned flaws, and prepare all that may be wanted for the proceedings, because considering the many alterations and doubts to which their acts have been submitted,* they (the lawyers) will be enlightened how to proceed. As to the principal and most

---

* "Y preparar lo que conviene al processo por que segun las alteraciones y dudas que han visto por lo passado ternan lumbre para lo venidero."

1533.

difficult points all are in fair way as Your Majesty has no doubt heard from Rodrigo Davalos.

I have often had occasion to remonstrate against the conduct of this ambassador (Sylva), who in all matters, great or small, relating to Your Majesty's service, has invariably kept silence. How far this may be advantageous to the duties of my charge I leave it to Your Majesty's prudence to determine. As Rodrigo Davalos has no doubt written home how matters stand between me and the ambassador, I need not trouble Your Majesty further than to say that whatever you decide on this point Your Majesty's commands shall be fulfilled, for my greatest glory is to obey and do service.—Rome, 17th July 1533.

Signed: "G[abriel] Cardinalis Gienen[sis]."

17 July. **1105.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 860, f. 224.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 322.

Notwithstanding the many persuasions addressed to His Holiness in my own name—and I can assure Your Lordship that they have been both strong and frequent—to deter him from his intended journey to Nice for the purpose of holding an interview with the Most Christian king of France, he seems quite determined to undertake the journey. His object, he avows, is to make the king of France desist from his plans about Milan, and deprive him of all hope in that direction for the future, thus ensuring the peace of Christendom. This (the Pope says) is the sole and exclusive object of the proposed interview. He will try at the same time to stimulate French ambition and persuade them that it is much better and much easier for them to increase their territory by seizing Calais and turning their arms against England than to assist the King in his disobedience to the Holy See. On this point, however, which I discussed at length in my despatch to the Emperor of the 16th ult°, let not the ambassador be written to, unless he himself alludes to it first, for the Pope unbosomed himself to me, begging that I would not mention the thing.

With regard to his (the Pope's) journey I have nothing new to communicate. It appears that he had at first thought of sending his niece to Nice, before he himself started for that town; but I have persuaded him to do no such thing, for it would be highly discreditable for him (*infamia*) to shew that this journey was undertaken for his own private views, not for the general interest of Christendom. I did more, I told him: "Should Your Holiness go first, there will be an opportunity to discover how the field lies, and then you may resolve about the marriage." I fancy the Pope will follow my advice. The duke Alessandro [de' Medici], to whom I have described in most vivid colours the grievous inconvenience which a journey of this sort might cause him and his projects, the natural affection of the Florentines for the French, the legitimacy of Caterina, and other things, has worked and

1533.

will work, most efficaciously in that direction. This, notwithstanding, His Holiness has lately remitted a sum of money to Florence for her outfit, and Philippo Strozzi is to leave this very soon to accompany and escort her. I fancy that they will make her leave Florence about the same time that the Pope quits Rome, and that she will be made to travel by short stages, perhaps also stay some time on the road until the Pope himself has arrived at Nice and more fully ascertained how he is to act with regard to the proposed marriage (*y alcançado allá mas lo que convenga en este negocio*).

With respect to Coron and what is being done for its relief I know nothing at all, for the count (Sylva) does not communicate with me on this subject any more than he does on any other. I should have thought that having been, as I was at one time, purveyor general to the Imperial fleet, and knowing something of this business of Coron—since it was mentioned in my instructions and I was referred to the ambassador—there would have been no harm in telling me something about it, especially as I was the first to remind the Pope and beg him to send his nephew, the Cardinal, to France to borrow the King's galleys, &c.—Rome, 17th July 1533.

Signed : "G[abrielis] Card[inalis] Giennen[sis]."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

---

18 July. **1106.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Mar y Tierra*, L. 4.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 311.

Relates his conversation with the Pope after his sentence in the English matrimonial cause. His Holiness gave him to understand that such was the opposition offered [by the cardinals] that it would never have been pronounced had it not been for him (the Pope). Told him that the greatest consideration and regard had been shewn for him (the Emperor). There can be no doubt that His Holiness has on this occasion shewn his desire for justice. He keeps saying that he wishes to preserve friendship and close alliance (*deudo*) with the Emperor, and do his pleasure in all things, preserving, however, if possible, at the same time, the friendship of France.

Commends the services of Davalos and Ortiz, as well as those of doctors Aragonia and Anguiano.

The sentence will be printed and circulated.

In consequence of this the Pope s advice is that unless the Queen has a great number of trusty and devoted servants about her person, she ought to quit England at once lest they should administer poison to her. If, on the contrary, she was so guarded as to have nothing to fear on that score, she might remain.

Does his best to assure His Holiness that on no account will the Emperor forget his engagements. Let His Holiness pronounce sentence and fulminate the ecclesiastical censures, and His Majesty is sure that the English will rise at once in favour

1533.

of the Queen, so that any measure adopted may easily be carried into execution. If more were wanted His Majesty will not fail to do his part.

Yet Jacopo Salviati still insists on His Imperial Majesty declaring in a more explicit manner his intentions with regard to the execution of the sentence, which His Holiness is prepared to pronounce in the principal cause. Should no answer come from the Imperial Court (says Salviati) it is very doubtful whether His Holiness will resolve to give such a sentence as is required of him.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

30 July. **1107.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien.*Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 46.

After the answer which the Queen made to the King's deputation, as I had the honour to advise by my last despatch,* the King sent me word by Master Cremuel (Cromwell) that it was not his fault that the Queen had not out of regard for her own relatives, and in virtue of my representations, obtained from him the treatment she wished for; but that since she was inexorable, and persisted in her obstinacy without accepting the terms offered to her, however gracious or reasonable, he (the King) considered it his duty to reduce her establishment, so that she should no longer have in future a Royal suite, as well as to spare him the tremendous expense of about 40,000 ducats every year, which expense he (the King) could not very well sustain considering the many other intolerable charges imposed upon him. Whereof, Cremuel added, the King, owing to certain considerations, thought fit to inform me, that I myself might know and bear testimony, in the event of its being needed, that it was not really through hatred or malignity that the King acted in this manner, but merely not to contravene or prejudice former acts of his own, and above all, as he said, at first, to relieve himself from such heavy charge. "Nevertheless (said Cremuel), the reform which the King, my master, contemplates in the Queen's establishment will be such that all parties will know that in so doing he has had due regard not only to her quality and birth, but likewise to the Emperor, and the rest of her Royal relatives."

Having thanked the King for his humanity and courtesy, and also commended the very courteous and highly benevolent manner in which he had been pleased to inform me of the Queen's affairs†—an evident proof to me that he (the King) was desirous of maintaining the old and sincere friendship between the two nations—I did not hesitate to lay before the said Cremuel some of the very persuasive arguments, of which I had previously made use before the Privy Council, as I have had the honour to inform Your Majesty, and several more besides. *Cremuel, however, knew not how to reply, except giving me indirectly to understand that the King himself had taken in good part the remonstrances, which I had addressed to the Council in the first instance, and that he would willingly have abstained from reforming the Queen's household had it not been for the sake of the ladies-in-waiting, and the inconveniences likely to arise therefrom, with which I had threatened him. This and no other had been the cause of the measures the King had taken respecting the Queen, as otherwise he could have no peace at home.**

---

* See above, No. 1100, p. 738.

† "Ayant mercie le roy de l'humanite et cortoysie, et [apres] avoer aussy loue le train et façon de fere quil pregnoit de maduertir des affaires."

Cremuel went on to say that I might believe and be persuaded that notwithstanding all these things the King, his master, had intrinsically as much good-will and affection towards Your Majesty as before. On the other hand, he thought that you were so noble and so virtuous a prince that you would not willingly forget the many and cordial services received at the hands of his master, the King. He thought, as did also the King, his master, that had this affair concerned no one else but Your Majesty, instead of affecting as it were so many of the Queen's relatives, no very great pressure would have been put on him, and the affair would have been easily settled.

My answer to the first point was that I imagined Your Majesty was of the same mode of thinking, since you had done nothing to lose the said affection, which, he said, his master bore Your Majesty. On your side I did not hesitate to say the affection and good-will were reciprocated, notwithstanding all that had happened, for until now you could not, and would not, be persuaded that this new marriage had been attempted out of hatred of you or for the sole purpose of inflicting an injury upon you, but solely from scruples of conscience suggested by people opposed to the peace and repose of Christendom, and envious of such good and necessary friendship. Your Majesty had always cherished the hope that after hearing the declaration made [by His Holiness] that his scruples were wholly groundless, the King would ultimately follow the example of Lotharius, the Emperor, of Philippes (Philippe IV.), the king of France, and other princes whom I named.

Respecting the second point I told Cremuel in plain terms that far from being ungrateful for the attentions and favours of which he spoke, there was nothing Your Majesty desired so much as to reciprocate them in every way, and that whenever his master should ask what was compatible with your con-

---

* “Aux quelles remonstrances il (Crumuel) ne sçeut que respondre ne dire synon de me donner entendre par motz covertz que le roy de soy mesmes auroit prins de bonne parte les premieres remonstrances que auoys faictes au dict conseyl, et quil se fust bien voulu passer de faire plusieurs nouuelletez a la royne, mais il a pite (*sic* pitie?) des damns (*sic*) que [je] lui auoye predict et tres bien divine.” All this paragraph is in cipher.

1533.

science and honour he would find that you did not deserve in the least the charge of ingratitude.

With regard to the third, I owned that in my opinion the number and quality of the Queen's relatives had somewhat stirred Your Majesty on her behalf; but the principal motives, I asserted, were the glory of God, desire for the peace of England, and the King's own welfare and prosperity, besides the repose of Christianity, so much assailed of late on many sides, as he could well see. The pursuit and instance which Your Majesty had lately caused to be made through the last gentleman sent to Rome, of which the King, his master, had been informed, could not be more modest, civil, and judicial.

To this last observation Cromwell made no reply, but after some time said to me: "The King has been informed that before and after the beginning of the divorce suit, you (Chapuys) did and have done good offices towards the queen of England, as appears from the good treatment of the [English] merchants, and other like measures, for which service the King is really very thankful."

After a good deal of talking on these matters Cromwell again offered me, as he had done on a previous occasion, the King's permission to hunt in any of the Royal parks, I might select, assuring me that if I only named the place the King would go thither with his dogs, and keep me company as often as I pleased. He likewise importuned me to accept a horse, which had been offered to me on another occasion, and which he (Cromwell) praised as the finest and the best in all England.* He had (he said) already told the King of it; but no entreaties of his could persuade me to accept the present for many considerations. I, therefore, made my excuses, which he (Cromwell) took in good part, telling him at the same time that instead of the horse offered I should be glad to accept the King's invitation to the chase, and would willingly spend one whole day with him in hunting, wherever he pleased. I thanked him most cordially for the venison sent to me by the King's orders, upon which he said to me: "If the venison was good as I imagine, the King's intention, I assure you is still better, and therefore the meal must have tasted delicious to you."

These trifles are certainly not worthy of Your Majesty's perusal, yet as they are fresh occurrences, and convey some meaning of the good-will these people affect to entertain, I have considered it important to record them here.

Before Cromwell left the room, and by way of repaying in some manner the trouble he had taken in coming to me, I begged him again to consider that no friendship and alliance was as advantageous for this kingdom of England as that of Your Majesty, not only as regarded his master, but as far as he himself was concerned, since he had in his hands the entire management of affairs. He ought to consider (said I to him) that as long as the Cardinal (Wolsey) held for Your Majesty, his own affairs had turned out prosperously, but that the moment he turned coat (*depuis quil eust tourne bride*) everything had gone wrong with him. Cromwell thanked me for the warning and owned that my words were true, and that it would not be his fault if the affairs were not settled to my complete satisfaction.

---

* "Il me tourna offrir, comme yl avoit fayt le derniere foys, quil estoit venu porte[r] a moy license de part le Roy d'aller chasser en quelque parc que vouldroye, et quil my viendroit tenir compagne avec ses chiens quantesfoys il me playroit. Pareillement m'importuna fort de vouloer accepter ung cheval que pieça mavoit offert, le quel yl louayt de meilleur et plus beau d'Angleterre."

I have not dared at this stage of the negotiation to throw out hints to him of another sort; but should I perceive the least sign of his choosing to follow the right path, I shall not fail to do so, and make him feel how much he would gain in personal safety, and increase his power and reputation, if he would help in the Queen's restoration. Cromwell is a man of wit, well versed in Government affairs, and reasonable enough to judge correctly of them. In short, I intend speaking to him in such terms that should my words make no impression on him, and lead to no good, at least they will do no harm, and nothing will be lost in the attempt, as the common saying goes.[*]

The ambassador sent by the king of France to Scotland for the purpose of concluding peace, or at least a suspension of hostilities between the Scotch and these people, returned here a week ago without having achieved anything except a truce of 20 days' duration to discuss the terms thereof. I hear, however, that even during the said short truce, and since my despatch of the 11th ult^{o}[†] the Scots have made serious invasions and inflicted enormous losses upon these people. Indeed, it would seem as if the Scots were not very much inclined to treat just now, and that they find an advantage in war, though in order to justify themselves in the eyes of the king of France, and in order to shew that they are willing to do something for him, they sedulously spread the rumour that they are ready to treat of peace or truce. And yet on the opening of the negotiations the Scotch, I am told, have declared that they will not consent to a longer truce unless certain strong castles on the English border—which are so many obstacles to their own incursions—be dismantled beforehand, and likewise that the earl of Angus, and his brother, and the other Scotch refugees, who are with the English, quit that

---

[*] "Je ne luy [ai] encoires ouse taster plus auant pour le commencement, mais apperceuant quil veuille y marcher droit, je le luy remonstreray bien amplement en lui faisant toucher au doy (*sic*) de combien il asseureroyt sa personne, son credict, et laugmentaroit, retournant la royne au credict. Il est homme desprit que cognoit les affaires et la rayson. Du moins je luy parlerey de sorte que si les propoz ne prouffitent yl[s] ne dammageront, et ne sy pourront perdre que les barriez (*sic*, batteries?) comme lon dit."

[†] See above, No. 1100, p. 740.

1533.

frontier. Which conditions and others the French ambassador hopes will be accepted by these people, and for this reason he is now waiting here to see whether the terms demanded by the Scotch are granted, and he himself can go back to France in fulfilment of his commission. It is, however, very probable that when the English have acceded to the terms demanded of them the Scotch will immediately ask for new concessions, if it were for no other purpose than to embarrass and prevent the conclusion of the peace, the more so that, if we are to believe the French ambassador, the Scotch are nowadays better prepared and in better condition, as far as ammunition and stores for war are concerned, than ever they were. Indeed, the ambassador assures me that he has never seen in the Italian campaigns or elsewhere a finer set of men, or more formidable soldiers than the Scotch. Perhaps the Frenchman exaggerates his description in order to obtain that for which he went to Scotland, and induce these people to conclude a peace with their neighbours.

With regard to the personal qualities of the Scottish King the ambassador cannot speak in greater praise. He says also that a conspiracy, at the head of which was the archbishop of St. Andrew, has lately been discovered, and that the said archbishop was keeping up intelligence with the English. The King, as a Catholic prince, was unwilling to proceed against the Archbishop unless the Pope took cognizance of the affair. He had, therefore, sent one of his courtiers to Rome to beg for the appointment of certain Scottish prelates, or Papal legates, to try the case. In my humble opinion it would have been preferable to send at once to Rome for two Papal legates, men of wisdom and experience, capable of conducting the political affairs of that kingdom, and helping at the same time in any legal executions that may be necessary in the Queen's case. Such is my opinion, and I have written in this sense to Your Majesty's ambassador at the Papal court that he may ask for the said two legates.

As I have already had the honour to inform Your Majesty, it would seem as if *in this present Scottish affair, as well as in many others, God Almighty had taken away the senses, the judgment, and the hearts of these people, for they do not know what to do therein, hesitating whether to decide for peace or war. I will go still farther; it is incredible to any one who has not witnessed it what public opinion is on this matter. It is a fact that both nobles and commons in this particular instance are not only averse from peace with the Scots, but would wish them to penetrate far into this kingdom* that they *may punish* this king and *make him reform his government of the country,* since they see no other one disposed to take a hand in it.* *Indeed, several worthy and distinguished personages have said so to me, or sent messages to that effect.*

---

* "Puis quils ne voyent autres que y veuillent metre la main."

*As to the people of this city they cannot disguise their sentiments in this respect, for the moment that information is received of some advantage gained by the Scots, the news is announced and spreads like fire among the masses, even among those who may have lost merchandize or cattle by the Scottish foray, as though it were good public news. By which facts and others equally significant Your Majesty may judge to what terms things have been reduced in this kingdom, and what little reliance this king can place on his subjects if attacked by a foreign power. According to reports received by me from every part of this country, every day the English are praying God to inspire Your Majesty with some means of putting a speedy end to this evil state of things. Indeed such are the importunities of people of all classes who daily come to me on similar errands that I could not well conceal from Your Majesty the encouraging messages received from several quarters.**

Two days ago this king, hearing that the affairs of Germany were in a troubled state, sent thither two of Cromwell's secretaries—gentlemen of intelligence and ability—one of whom happens to be an English Lutheran and the other a German. They were to be attended by eight servants on horseback. Of the nature of their charge I have as yet been unable to obtain any particulars, but it is highly probable that once in Germany they will gain over and enlist as many men as they can.†

Nor have I been able to ascertain the cause of Rochefort's sudden arrival in this city; he came in great haste the day before yesterday from a place in the country where he was staying with the duke of Norfolk, and having dispatched the business which brought him here, is about to return this very day to the Duke's.

Some days ago, as the Queen was about to remove by the King's commands to a house of the bishop of Lincoln, distant 20 miles from her own residence, all the people of the neighbourhood collected to witness her departure, and shew her all possible honour and respect. Incredible are the marks of affection she received on the road; though it has been expressly forbidden to call her queen, yet the people on her passage failed not to give her that title, filling the air with their acclamations, wishing her joy, comfort, and all manner of prosperity, as well as mishap to her enemies, begging her with tears in their eyes to accept their services and make use of them, since they were ready to die for her sake. Which demonstration on the part of the people has naturally roused the jealousy of the courtiers, and no wonder, for the people's feeling shews itself daily in things of less importance. Indeed, I am told that the Lady herself was singularly displeased of late at the Easterlings and others of the German nation not having come to see the English fleet—the largest and best appointed they have had here for some time—and not having had any State ceremony on that occasion, whilst the ships were making wonderful salvoes of artillery. And the more offended was the Lady at this apparent negligence of the Easterlings that the pageant was held in this river not far from Grenuyche (Greenwich), which brought fresh to her memory the slight received at her entry into this city when the said Easterlings triumphantly raised the Austrian eagle.

---

* "Que nay peu obmectre descripre presentement pour limportunation que men a este faicte de bonne part."

† "Il est a croire que en la dite allemaigne ils ordiront (?) et brasseront tous les hommes quils pourront."

However this may be, it is probable that for fear of such popular demonstrations the King in future will not allow the Queen or the Princess to travel about the kingdom.

The last news received from Rome has not been very agreeable to the King. No one knows yet what its substance may be, for they keep the matter a profound secret *that the Lady may be spared any sorrow and disappointment likely to endanger the life of the child she bears in her womb.* The better to conceal from her the disagreeable intelligence from Rome, the King, under plea of going to the chase, left Windsor the other day and went to Guillefort (Guildford), whither he has summoned his Privy Councillors and several doctors and canonists, who are by this time hard at work, so much so that having applied for an audience for Master Jehan de la Sauch and myself to ask for the re-opening of the staple of Calais, we have been, owing to the above occurrence, put off as usual until three days after the date of this despatch.

There can be no doubt that people here are in great perplexity, and that if the Pope only does his duty and keeps them well in check (*leur tient la bride royde*) they will be at their wit's end, not knowing to which side to turn. As a beginning His Holiness ought not to suffer the duke of Norfolk, or any of his suite, to make part of the assembly [at Marseilles]. I have written to the count of Cyfuentes (Don Fernando de Sylva) that if he sees any appearance or sign of the Duke being invited to the conferences, he (the Count) is to make every effort to prevent it. I have also suggested that if the Pope wishes to gain over the king of France to his opinion, and make an auxiliary of him for this English affair, he might easily represent that this king by his new marriage has infringed, as is manifest, all the treaties existing between them, and at the same time set forth the great advantages to be gained by the Most Christian King in point of debts due by him to England, pensions or otherwise.*

On the day that I went to inspect the fleet of the Easterlings, the governor of that nation shewed me a copy of the letter which the Polish ambassador at Constantinople had written to the king [Sigismond] of Poland, his master Among other news contained in the letter dated the 1st of March, there was this, that his master had just made a league with the Turk, in virtue of which the Infidel had engaged to defend the king of Poland in any event. This fact is well known, but I had no notion that in the said league with the Turk the duchy of Bari had been included, as I have since been told, the circumstance being expressly named and specified in the treaty. Still more strange is the fact that in the words of the document the king of Poland declares that he has been induced to make league with the Infidel in consequence of his having perceived that no other prince in Christendom wished to make war on the Turk, all of them having publicly their ambassadors at Constantinople, either openly and recognized, as the king of the Romans, the king of France, and the Italian powers, or secretly as Your Majesty and the Pope. According to the said Polish ambassador, the Turk has engaged that the Muscovite, as his vassal, shall not stir against his master, the king of Poland. I presume that Your Majesty has already been fully informed of all these particulars; in case you have not I have deemed it necessary to communicate the information received.

---

* The passage has: "Et dauantage le prouffit quen pourroit resulter au dict tres chrestien de ce que luy pourroit estre deu ou pour pension ou autrement;" but there must be an error, for Henry could nowise be Francis' debtor; on the contrary, the latter owed still considerable sums to Henry.

The Lady [Anne], not satisfied with what has already been done, has lately importuned the King to ask the Queen for a very rich and gorgeous piece of cloth, which she herself brought from Spain, as an ornamental robe for a christening, and of which the Lady is very desirous, and as it appears, may be very soon in want.* But the Queen's answer has been: "God forbid that I should ever be so badly advised as to give help, assistance, or favour, directly or indirectly, in a case so horrible and abominable as this." Such has been her answer to the King's own request, but whether the thing will stop there or not remains to be seen.

These people are very desirous to hear Your Majesty's answer to the overtures which the duke of Norfolk made to me some time ago, and on which I have reported in previous despatches. They keep continually asking me if I have heard from Your Majesty, and what your pleasure is; the last time I saw Cromwell he earnestly inquired of me whether an answer had come, *and I have been told that this king, suspecting the delay not to be of good omen, had secretly sent into Spain some spies with a view to inquire and ascertain if there was a stir in that country, or any chance of revolution, and also to hear how Spaniards took this affair and what they thought about it.*†

---

* "La dame non contente du surplus a ces jours [çi] sollicite le roy de fere demander a la royne ung drap fort riche et triomphant quelle appourta dyspagne pour couvrir et adorner les enfans au temps du batesme, du quel la dicte dame se vouldroit servir bien tost."

† "Avoit envoye quelque espie en espagne pour sçauoir sil éstoit quelque bruyt et question de emotion, et aussy pour entendre que (comment?) le peuple de par dela prenoit les afferes."

1533.

The Scottish ambassador, who was in France, has lately passed through this city on his way back to Scotland. He has spent three days at Court well feasted and entertained as by men who desire peace at any cost. I am told that the said ambassador had almost made up a marriage between his master [king James] with the daughter of Vandosme, and that king Francis has offered to increase that lady's dowry to the sum he would himself give to one of his own daughters. Your Majesty, no doubt, knows by this time whether the intelligence is correct or not.

The French ambassador received some days ago letters from his master, which, as I am informed, contained no news of any kind, save the offensive treatment offered by the duke of Milan[*] to an ambassador of king Francis. The moment the ambassador received the letter he started post haste to acquaint this king with the fact, and most probably, as I imagine, to ask his assistance to revenge the pretended outrage of which his master complains.[†] According to the ambassador's asseverations the King shews every disposition to assist, and promises to do all he can, considering this the best opportunity that could offer itself.[‡] Should the king of France take up the matter as warmly and briskly as his ambassador says he will, there is some likelihood that the fire of war will be rekindled throughout Christendom, to extinguish which Your Majesty has had so much trouble, though with such great honour and glory to yourself.—London, 30th July 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor. Received on the 27th of August."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 9.

---

3 Aug. **1108.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 48.

On Sunday the 4th inst., being the day appointed by this king to receive Master Jehan [Le Sauch] and myself, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty, we received a message by one of the King's gentlemen to the effect that owing to the sudden illness of his own physician and other officers of his household, who had suddenly been taken with the sweating sickness,[§] the King had been obliged to remove to a Royal seat (*une mayson prince*) with only a few of the most private

---

[*] The affair Meraveglia. See No. 1109.

[†] "Non contenant oultre sinon lexces que le duc de Millan avoit faict fere a ung ambassadeur du dict seigneur roy."

[‡] "Selon quaffirme le dict ambassador icelluy seigneur roy y veult le sec et le vert plus tost que pour chose que luy fust (eust) peu advenir au monde."

[§] "Qui avoint este suprins du suettin (*sic.*)"

1533

gentlemen of his chamber. For that reason he could not receive us then, and the audience had to be put off. Unless, therefore, our commission was of such a nature that it could not be delivered to anyone but himself, we might, if we chose, communicate it to the members of his Privy Council, who would in return report it to him. If so, the same gentleman who had brought us the message would take care to conduct us thither.

In order to gain time, and for various other considerations Master Jehan [Le Sauch] and I decided to go immediately to the house where the councillors were assembled, which was one belonging to the King, in the midst of a park, 20 miles from this city. Nothing could be better than the reception and entertainment we met with at the place, in the midst of the pleasures of a chase to which we were invited by the King's express commands. There were only the following members of the Council present: the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), the King's first secretary, Cromwell, and the dean of the Chapel, who upon our arrival said to us that the King was exceedingly sorry that owing to the event above mentioned he was unable to give us audience then, as promised, fully intending to entertain us both and give us the pleasures of the chase in the park adjoining the Royal manor. After the usual courtesies and grateful acknowledgments my colleague and I began to explain the object of our charge, which was merely to inquire the cause and occasion of the innovation lately made in the Staple of Calais, which had been for the last eight months closed for the customary wool trade. If the measure had been adopted in consequence of the King's orders, whether it was to be lasting or only temporary. The answer was that the King had never positively forbidden the intercourse of trade at Calais, but that owing to certain arrears (*arrerages*) and other differences between him and the merchants of the said staple, the King had caused it be suspended for a few months. Now that the said differences were nearly settled, matters would return to the old groove, although the Staple of Calais was generally considered to cause the destruction and ruin of several ports in England, which had no other export than that of wool. This was not a final answer the councillors observed, for the King himself would soon explain to us his motives.

Accordingly, on the day appointed for the King's audience we received a message from Cromwell telling us to get ready for a certain hour, as he intended to conduct us to Court, but somehow or other the appointment did not take place, for it appears that in consequence of a servant of the duke of Norfolk having arrived from Lyons with despatches for the King the said Cromwell was obliged to depart at midnight, after sending us word not to move from London until we had heard from him.

1533.

Following[*] the plan, of which I wrote lately to Your Majesty, and finding frequently occasion to talk to Cromwell, who evidently was on his side looking out for opportunities to talk to me in private, I resolved, after some familiar sentences which passed between us, the better to gain him to our side, to pay him the compliment of saying that I had often regretted he did not come under his master's knowledge and favour at the same time as the Cardinal (Wolsey), for being, as he was, a more able and talented man than the latter, and there being now so many opportunities to gain credit and power, he might undoubtedly have become a greater man than the Cardinal, whilst the King's affairs would have gone on much better. Commenting on this theme I went on comparing past times with the present, as well as the means that the Cardinal and himself had each at their command. I told him that I considered the King, his master, very lucky in possessing such a man as himself under present circumstances and in these troubled times, and I thus began again to speak with him in the manner specified in my last despatch, till perceiving by his mien that the subject was agreeable to him, I went on to say: "Now is the time for you to render your master greater service than ever man did before, for sentence having already been pronounced at Rome in favour of the Queen (*as he himself had owned to me*), there remains no longer the chance that Your Majesty and the Pope may at last consent to the divorce,[†] which was the way some of the courtiers had suggested for removing all the King's difficulties. It was to be presumed (said I) that the King, being so reasonable, virtuous, and humane a prince, would not persist in such error, thus blemishing with a most infamous act the many gifts of grace, nature, and fortune which God had so abundantly bestowed on him,[‡] having too been previously warned and advised by men of sense and virtue in whom he trusted. I therefore entreated him for the love of God, for the King's welfare, the security and tranquillity of his state, the peace and welfare of the kingdom, and of the whole of Christendom, to try and persuade the King, his master, to return to the right path. This [I maintained] he could do better, and more boldly than any other member of the Privy Council, considering that his

---

[*] "Suyvant les brisees dont dernierement rescriviz a vostre maieste, trouvant grande commodite de parler au dict Cremuel, le quel alloit cherchant de deviser avec moy particulierement, apres aucungs familieres devises pour mieulx le gaigner gentre (j'entrai) a luy donne[r] du vent et de la gloyre, luy disant que regrettoye souvantesfoys quil nestoit venu en cognaissance de son maistre en telle sayçon questoit arrive le Cardinal, car estant son esperit et habilete plus grande que du cardinal, regnant lors mille occasions plus que maintenant de soy aggrandir et gagner credit yl eust este plus grande chose que nauroit este le dict Cardinal, et les affaires du roy son maistre sen fussent tropt mieulx portes."

[†] "Car puysque la sentence estoit donne en faueur de la royne (comme il mavoit dit en confession) il nestoit plus question davoer lespoer que aucungs sans avoer compte a lhoste avoint suggere au roy son maistre, a sçavoer que vostre maieste et le pape condescendroint a ce diuorce."

[‡] "Et falloit que le roy estant prince de sens, vertu et si grande humanité ne vouldroit persiste[r] en ceste erreur veullant macule[r] dune telle infamie tant de dons de grace, nature et fortune que dieu luy a donne."

1533.

credit, his reputation, and his authority were much greater than those of any other man in England. He also could the more easily make use of his influence that he was not in the Privy Council at the time that this wretched affair began (*ce maudit affere fust inuente*); nor did he join it until long after. It was principally on him that the Queen trusted for the settlement of her own affairs; he might be sure that the Queen once reinstated (*raccointee*), he (Cromwell) would find her both kind and grateful, and much better disposed to favour him than I could say. This was a matter for him to consider and weigh, &c.

This speech of mine Cromwell took in very good part. He thanked me immensely for the good advice tendered, as well as for the affection shewn by me to the King and to himself, and he assured me that not only he but all the rest of the Privy Councillors were more anxious than ever to maintain Your Majesty's friendship, and *he promised me over and over again that as regarded himself he would do his best, and that he hoped everything would turn out well in the end. He did not on that occasion hold the usual language respecting Your Majesty and the Queen, nor did he advise, as at other times, that you should both yield and consent to the King's marriage. And certainly if any faith is to be attached to Cromwell's words,* and the King's present absence from *the Lady be taken into consideration, one might say that there is some shew of repentance in that quarter.*

Cromwell said on taking leave of me that I was to expect him back [in London] in two or three days, and that we should then go together to the chase or wherever I liked; but I have just received a message from him to say that two couriers from Rome and three from France have arrived, and that as many have been dispatched with an answer to those countries, in consequence of which he might perhaps be unable to keep his engagement. *When he does I shall do my best again to set the net, and see if I cannot catch him;* I will nevertheless keep *a good look-out ahead and risk nothing without being well prepared, knowing, as I do, that in these matters one cannot be too cautious.*[*]

Taking for granted that the signs of repentance above alluded to are true and sincere, there is reason to believe that should His Holiness keep firm, and refuse to listen to the duke of Norfolk and other English ambassadors, unless the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of those who have helped on the sentence [in England] be delivered into his hands, the King will considerably lower his tone.[†] Indeed I am told that he is already in great perplexity in consequence of the

---

[*] ["Venant a ce je tendray plustost les filletz pour le prendre et gaigner, sil est possible, que a autre proye, ayant toutesfoys bon pied et bon oeul (*sic*) sans madventurer que bien appoint, sachant que ny a que trop fier."]

[†] "Que si le Pape tient bon et reffuse de ouiyr (*sic*) le duc de Norphorc et autres ambassadeurs sans que premierement il naye entre les mains larcheuesque de Canterbury, et autres quont assiste en la sentence, ce roy mectra de leau dans son vin," &c.

1533.

decision taken at Rome. His Privy Council, on the other hand, are sorry at what has happened, and much concerned at the Papal censures likely to follow. To meet which they are now dispatching daily couriers to Rome. Indeed, I am told that the King has already made another appeal to the future Council. This interview, however, of the Pope and king of France makes him rather uneasy, for though he was at first in favour of it, now, as I learn from a very good source, he is trying to prevent it for fear the Pope should thereat tamper with (*suborner*) the French king.[*]

With regard to the Scotch I must say that this king being very desirous of peace or truce has readily consented to the terms mentioned to Your Majesty in one of my last despatches, as demanded by them.[†] To that end the King sent the other day one of his courtiers, the sieur de Beauvois,[‡] to Scotland that he might inform the king of that country of his wishes. He returned yesterday, but it is not known yet whether he has been successful or not. On the return of Beauvoir from Court, whither he went immediately after his arrival here, accompanied by the resident French ambassador, we shall perhaps hear the truth.

The Scotch, however, have not taken in good part or approved of this French interference in their affairs, as appears from the report made to this king by the Scottish ambassador lately returning from France. Indeed he complained of both this king and the Most Christian having published and circulated everywhere, nay, having insinuated or written to Your Majesty that the peace between Scotland and England had been concluded long before the negotiations for it had really commenced, or before there was any probability of its being effected. For this (the ambassador added) was equivalent to publishing to the world that the King, his master, was, as it were, under the guardianship of one or other of the two kings, France or England,[§] a thing which in my opinion is enough to make the Scotch turn restive, they being somewhat lawless.[‖]

The King, on the other hand, complained of the Scotch having in their raids across the borders circulated writings to

---

[*] "Pour le quel effect il a desia de nouveaul yectee (*sic*) une appellacion au futur concile. Une autre chose le picque bien en loreille, assauoir lentreueue du Pape et roy de France, de la quelle yl estoit autresfoys desireux ; mais maintenant a ce que lon ma dit de bonne lieu, il tasche de lempescher maintenant, doubtant que le Pape ne luy suborne le roy de France."

[†] That of the 30th of July, No. 1107, p. 751.

[‡] "Et sur ce despescha le seigneur de Beavoys, ung sien homme, pour en aduerty (*sic*) le roy descosse, le quel homme revint hier ; ne sçay sil aura riens esploytte. Au retourd de lambassadeur de France icy resident, et du dit seigneur de Beauvoix (*sic*) que incontinent aprez larrivee du dict homme allerent en la court, l'on en sçaura la verité." The name of this ambassador is variously written Beauvoir, Beauvoys, and Bauvois ; in English papers, Beawys or Bewis.

[§] "Que le roy descosse estoyt en la manche ou tutelle de lung des autres."

[‖] "Questoit assez pour rendre retifz les ditz escossoys, que tiennent ung peu du sauvaige."

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

1533.

the discredit of himself and his subjects, calling them infidels and schismatics.*—London, 13th August 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

---

5 Aug. **1109.** COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. *Rom* L. 860, f. 7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 325.

In this matter there is nothing to say, except to refer him to former instructions.†

Has seen the notes to the memorandum on Swiss affairs. The agreement made with the delegates from the cantons only differs from it in one thing, which is that they do not engage to furnish men for service in Italy. This, however, has since been remedied by a letter to the Verulan and another to the prior of Besançon, begging them to do in this respect what they considered most conducive to the conclusion of the league.

The copy has been received as well as the answer made to the proposition by Verulano, and the officer (Besançon).

The said Verulan and Besançon have advised the arrival in Switzerland of Lamberg‡ with 100,000 crs.; he had concluded his embassy, as appears from a copy of the agreement which he sent, but in the opinion of the Verulan and of his colleague, Lamberg's presence on the spot will be rather an obstacle to the speedy conclusion of the league, as it is proposed, yet they had not lost all hope of succeeding. They write for the "apuntamientos," which have been since forwarded to prothonotary Caracciolo, and by him sent to Besançon by express messenger.

Has written to the prothonotary advising the remittance of the 4,000 ducats, that he may inform the Verulan and Besançon of the fact, and say that the money is ready.

---

* "Et [sur] ce se plaignist [le roy] au dict ambassadeur de ce que les escossoys aux correries quils avoint [faict sur ce royaulme avoint seme des escripteaux en disfamation de luy et de ses subjects les intitulant de temeraire infidelite, et schismatiquerie."

† Idiaquez's note.

‡ "Que los dichos Verulano y Besançon han scripto la llegada del amerg (*sic* (de Lamberg?) con C.^{m}) ducados y habia hecho su embaxada segund parece por una copia que de la proposicion embia."

The approval has already been sent to the Ferrarese ambassador, who has promised that his master will offer no difficulty.

The ambassadors of Milan and Siena have not yet made the deposit of their respective contingents, but will, they say, make it very shortly. The duke of Ferrara is delaying it as much as he can, but promises to make it, averring that neither the depository appointed by His Holiness has been approved by the Emperor, nor has this letter been authorised by the Pope. This difficulty has been obviated by his (Sylva's) inducing the Pope to approve the nomination of Ansalde Grimaldo, and having besides an act drawn by notary to that effect. If a similar act could be drawn up approving the nomination by the Pope of Philippo Strozzi, the Duke and the rest will deposit their contingents. Should this payment not be made at the conclusion of the league, the sum to be taken out of the 108,000 ducats.

Let him ask Jacopo Salviati, as if it came from himself, how it is that the Pope is going to the interview without knowing first what is to be discussed therein, or why he takes his niece with him before the marriage settlements have been agreed upon and prepared. These are things not to be believed of the Pope.

The interview (*vistas*) is considered certain, and it is thought that His Holiness will take his departure on the 3rd or 4th of September. Until then the galleys will not be ready. On this occasion the Pope made a joke about the little alacrity shewn by the French in this affair, and the time they required to arm a few ships, and upon his (the Count) observing that he wondered much why they made such a fuss last May, when they pressed him so hard to go to France, he exclaimed: "I wish to God that I had known beforehand what was going to happen. I would have written to the King that I wanted to see him immediately, and as the galleys could not have been got ready in time I should have had a very good excuse for not attending the interview." This the Pope said as if he were really sorry to have to undertake this journey. Until now he has seemed rejoiced at the prospect of it, but for some time

1533.

people have noticed a certain shyness about it, which is chiefly attributed to the King having refused to treat for the marriage of his son, the duke of Orleans, unless the Pope himself went to France, a thing which the Pope's natural timidity must have exaggerated into a fear of his wishing to play him some trick or affront him in some way or other.

Let him be on the alert and advise the Pope and Salviati what may be most convenient for their interest and our own.

Is very much afraid that, desirous as the king of France is of acquiring dominion in Italy, something may be concluded at the interview likely to endanger the peace thereof, though both His Holiness and Jacopo Salviati assure him that if the conferences take place we may all go to sleep without fear of being disturbed.

The Pope has decided to embark at La Spezia, not pass through Florence or Siena, nor touch at Genoa or Savona. He has forbidden the "Duchessina" to depart until he hears that the galleys have left the coast of France.

That he must have received our letter, telling him how the matter stands. He did well in speaking to His Holiness as he did. Let him continue and do what he thinks most fit for the good of the affair.

He (the Pope) said the other day that the French ambassadors had come to him and represented that their master was exceedingly angry at the death of Scudier Maraveglia, who had been executed by order of the duke [of Milan]. Maraveglia was his ambassador, and as such his person ought to have been sacred. He would write a circular letter to all the Christian princes about it, and ask the Duke for satisfaction; if refused, he would take revenge for the affront. Hearing this, he (Sylva) observed that the Milanese agent at Rome had told him as a fact that Maraveglia was no such ambassador. Had he been properly accredited at the court of Milan the Duke would never have dared sentence him to death. The Pope has written to the Duke to know the truth of

1533.

this, and is expecting an answer, which he (Sylva) believes will be affirmative, for everyone here says that Maraveglia was no ambassador of the King.

Has refused to receive the discharges offered for the payment of the Neapolitan tribute, and yearly gift of the white steed, owing to their having inserted the words: "without prejudice of His Holiness' right."* Having inquired the reason of this, he has been told in a confidential way that the Pope intends to claim the rent of the three years for which he gave a receipt after his captivity.

That has been done, and the nomination sent to the viceroy of Naples to put into the Duke's hands.

Both the duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere), and the ambassador he has here at Rome, have written to inquire what His Imperial Majesty's views and intentions were respecting the duchy of Sora. Has got rid of them by saying that he will make inquiries and ascertain. The Duke, moreover, makes all manner of offers, &c.

Let a paragraph be made out in this sense, that the ambassador may shew it to him.

Jacopo Salviati has fulfilled the promise he once made at Bologna of doing service. It would not be amiss by way of acknowledgment to insert a paragraph in the Emperor's despatches, that he (Sylva) may read it to him. There is nothing Salviati values as much as the approbation of his services by the Emperor.

Indorsed: "Abstract of despatches from Rome to be submitted to the Emperor, and minutes of answers thereto."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 5.

5 Aug. **1110.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. *Roma* L. 860, f. 57.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 330.

(*Cipher:*) His Holiness has had an answer from the man he sent to England for the purpose of negotiating about the Council as far as he himself is concerned. The auditor says, as I have had the honour to inform the Emperor in my despatch of this date, that the king of England referred him

---

* "Que es por haver de dar la quitança de los tres años que quando estuvo preso hizo."

1533.

entirely to the king of France, saying that he would do in this affair as his brother the Most Christian king of France did.

He has likewise heard from the other man he sent to Germany, who tells him, as far as I can learn, that the Lutherans say that it is for them to choose the place of meeting; that they intend it to be on German territory, and not in one of the towns of Italy as proposed. As to the time they say "immediately." This intelligence the agent of the king of the Romans considers as certain. He himself has spoken to His Holiness in that sense, remarking that there is no other way of settling these Lutheran affairs unless by force of arms, especially since peace has been concluded with the Turk. His Holiness, it appears, approved the idea, and was glad to hear it. For my own part I will say nothing one way or the other until we hear what comes out of this interview, and receive Your Majesty's instructions.—Rome, 5th August 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed; "Paragraph of letter in cipher from count de Cifuentes to the High Commander (Covos). Received at Monçon. Answered on the 30th."

Spanish. Original in cipher. p. 1.

---

5 Aug. **1111.** The Same to the Emperor.

S. E. *Roma* L. 860, f. 60.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585. f. 331.

After obtaining the sentence on the 11th ult^{o} we asked to have it in due and authentic form. This, however, could not be done until now, and moreover a decretal has been issued fixing a term till the end of September next during which the king of England may present any process made "in partibus," if there be any, and he (the King) wishes to avail himself of it.

In the meantime, and whilst the decretal was being procured, commission was given to auditor Paolo Capisucci to have the sentence intimated to the king of England, as well as a notice of the time fixed for the execution. That requisite has already been complied with by means of edicts (*edicta*) affixed here [at Rome] as well as at Bruges and Dunquerque (Dunkerk), which are the places designated for such like intimations to the King. This intimation, it is true, binds the parties as much as if it were personally made to them; but still the decretal obtained, and the commission given to Capisucci in consequence were indispensable, as without them the intimation of the sentence and fixing of the time could not possibly have taken place.

As the time within which an appeal can be made from any Papal sentence has already elapsed we have now applied for letters of execution (*executoriales*), but they have not yet been

1533.

granted, because it is necessary for His Holiness to decree them in consistory: but as he has had the gout lately the cardinals have not met. I hear, however, that a consistory is to be held next Friday; an application for the "executoriales" will then be made, and we hope that they will be granted.

Meanwhile there is no want of malicious working on the part of the English, for they are at present trying, as I am informed, to find a justification for their king to disobey this sentence on the plea that it was pronounced "super attentatis." Their king, they say, will be ready to prove that before the suit began he was already married to Anne, and it is rumoured here at Rome that the sentence will not be complied with. Many sufficient answers might be given to such assertions by the Queen's advocates, and I have mentioned the rumour merely to convince Your Majesty of the enormous falsehoods which these people are daily inventing for their wicked purposes.

I have this very day received from England from Your Majesty's ambassador (Chapuys) in that country, a copy of the sentence pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), and also of a certain proclamation made in London. The ambassador encloses them to me that I may inquire among the lawyers and counsel of this cause whether it will be opportune and convenient to apply to His Holiness for a revocation of the said sentence of the Archbishop, as well as for a declaration that on no account will the Queen be obliged to desist from her application (*á desistir á esta causa*), and if she does so that her desistance be considered null and void, since the Pope has advoked the cause to himself. The Pope at the same time ought to revoke and annul any writ (*pragmatica*), order, or law that the king of England or his councillors or prelates may have made in this case, &c.

It has also been the subject of deliberation whether it would not be advisable, for the reasons specified in the enclosed memorandum, to summon also that Anne to appear. The majority of the lawyers, however, are of opinion that not to delay the sentence in the principal matter it would be better not to intimate the brief in question.*—Rome, 5th August 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

---

5 Aug. **1112.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. *Roma* L. 860, f. 60.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 331.

After the sentence in the matrimonial cause of England was pronounced we tried to have it put into authentic form; a decretal has since been made out granting the English King

---

* "Por un memorial que con esta embio en caso que [asi se determine] aunque a los mas paresce que no seria bien intentar intimar esto por no dilatar la sentencie."

1533.

all September to exhibit whatever proceedings "in partibus" may have been instituted, or he may like to bring forward.

A commission has also been obtained for Paolo Capisuccis to intimate the sentence to the King by means of an edict to be published at Rome, Bruges, and Dunquerque, the places designated for such intimations; by which edict the King will be as much bound as if the intimation had been made personally. The decretal and the commission were equally required, as without them the sentence and the appointment of time could not be made. The term for appealing having expired, though there is no appeal from a Papal sentence, the Imperial lawyers applied for "executoriales," which have not yet been granted because they must be first decreed in a consistory of Cardinals, and these have not met owing to the sudden illness of the Pope, who the other day had a fit of the gout. It is expected, however, that next Wednesday they will meet, and the application be renewed.

The English allege that their king is not obliged to obey this sentence, inasmuch as it was pronounced *sobre lo atentado,* pretending that before the suit was instituted he (the King) was already married to Anne [Boleyn]; but such arguments on the part of the English may be victoriously answered on the Queen's behalf, and I only mention the fact to shew the many cunning devices of these people to carry out their wicked plans.*

The Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) has sent the enclosed copies of the sentence pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, as well as of the proclamation posted up in the streets of London. In the opinion of the lawyers engaged for the Queen it would be advisable to obtain a brief from the Pope revoking and annulling the Archbishop's sentence, also whatever mandate or statute the King or his councillors or prelates may have made, or caused to be made, in this cause, since His Holiness advoked it to himself.

Some are also of opinion that Anne (*la Anna*) ought to be summoned for the reasons pointed out in the enclosed memorandum, though others think that it would not be prudent to do so, for fear of delaying sentence in the principal cause.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

---

14 Aug. **1113.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. *Roma* L. 860, f. 7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,555, f. 333.

Has duly received the despatch brought by Don Diego [de] Osorio, and will answer by the next post.

---

* "Como no faltan malicias, principalmente en este negocio, he sabido que por parte de los angleses se platica, para que el Rey de anglaterra no tenga causa de obedescer esta sententia, que se dio 'super attentatis,' y que provaran que antes que la lite se començasse estava cassado con la Anna, y ansi dizen que no havra lugar la sententia. En esto ay buenas respuestas por parte de la serenissima señora Reyna, y no lo he dicho sino por las invenciones que estos (*sic*) hazen á proposito de su dañado fin."

1533.

He did well in letting the Emperor know; let him continue in future advising news from England.*

When the king of England heard of the sentence he ordered his ambassadors to quit Rome immediately. The same orders were sent to the duke of Norfolk, who with a small retinue had gone to France to see the King; he was told to return forthwith to England.

Though the King had written to his ambassadors as above, he had addressed no letter to the Pope, as is customary in such cases. His Holiness had brought the matter forward in a consistory of Cardinals, when it was resolved that he (the Pope) was in the right in what he had done, and that the King had no reason whatever to complain, or act as he was doing.

His Imperial Majesty is glad to hear it.

It was likewise discussed in Consistory whether it would not be advisable for His Holiness to recall his Nuncio at once. The resolution was to wait and see what the king [of England] would say to the Nuncio, and do whatever the Imperial ambassador (Chapuys) himself did.

The ambassador is quite right in letting us know what he hears, but our news here is that the king of France continues his journey southwards, that he is making preparations, and his galleys are about to leave.

His Holiness appears in public to be much affected by the King's resolution, though secretly he is rather glad than otherwise, as it may be the cause of the interview with the king of France not taking place, without his appearing as if he himself had refused it. For some time past he (the Count) has been made aware that the Pope shuns the proposed conferences; in fact there is so little talk of them just now that some people think there will be none held, inasmuch as the king of France has not written about them for nearly 30 days.

Indorsed: "Paragraphs from a letter of count de Cifuentes of the 5th of August 1533. Answered at Monçon on the 30th."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract for the Emperor's inspection. pp. 2.

---

* In the handwriting of Covos.

1533.

14 Aug. **1114.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Roma* L. 860, f. 62.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 335.

Wrote on the 5th inst., but not having yet deciphered the letter of the 29th ult° brought by Don Diego Ossorio, nor delivered to the Pope the one that came for him, and not wishing moreover to delay this courier who is leaving for Naples, he (Sylva) will postpone until next week the answer to the points contained therein.

The Emperor has no doubt been informed by way of England that when the King of that country heard of the Papal sentence in the divorce trial he recalled his ambassadors at this Court, and wrote besides to the duke of Norfolk to come back from France immediately. As the latter, however, had not yet reached his destination, orders were despatched for all his carriages and the greater part of his horses to return to England, he, himself, intending to visit the French king with a small retinue and then return home. (*Cipher:*) Some people imagine that the sudden recall of the Duke is not so much owing to any suspicion the King may have of his fidelity as to the anger caused by the Papal sentence. (*Common writing:*) The king of England, however, has not written to the Pope, but only to his ambassadors recalling them. The Pope brought the affair into Consistory, and it was resolved that he had acted aright and that the King had no reason to complain, nor do what he was doing. There was also a question in Consistory as to whether it would be wise for the Pope to recall his Nuncio at the English court, and it was resolved to be the better course to wait and see what Your Majesty would do.

This news about the English ambassadors and the duke of Norfolk the Pope sent to him by his secretary [Sanga]. He (Sylva) called next day on him and said: "Your Holiness has only done justice in this case, which is what all good Popes are bound to do, and after the great regards paid to the king of England, he certainly has no cause or reason for complaint; the Queen, on the contrary, has suffered much injury by the delays in the principal cause, which after all has not yet been determined. What Your Holiness is now doing against the king of England ought to have been done long ago, from the very moment that his marriage with his mistress became known.

(*Cipher:*) Publicly His Holiness seems affected by this order of the King to his ambassadors, but in private he is rather, as they say, glad, inasmuch as he thinks that thereby the proposed interview may be hindered without his appearing to decline it. For, as His Majesty has been informed, for some time back His Holiness has seemed to dislike the interview, and the whole thing is nowadays so unsettled that people begin to think there will be none. No letters from the king of France have come for the last month, and it is publicly asserted that the Privy Council is unwilling that the marriage between the duke of Orleans and the Pope's niece be now made, but they want him to be betrothed and marry a year after, for they say he is too young yet. Such is the common report among ambassadors and courtiers in this city. Will try to ascertain the truth the better to inform the Emperor, &c.—Rome, 14th August 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 3.

14 Aug. **1115.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. *Roma* L. 860, f. 7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 327 *b*.

It is well; let him do in all this affair what is proper.*

On the 30th ultº a gentleman of the chamber to Ferdinand, king of the Romans, came here with instructions to promote this business of the Queen of England. Though when he arrived the sentence had already been pronounced and made public, he, nevertheless, obtained an audience from His Holiness, thanked him in his master's name, and begged that the principal cause should also be determined.

Whatever reliable information we possess on this subject has already been forwarded to him (Soria).

Letters received from Lope de Soria and the cardinal of Trent [Clesi] report that a peace has been concluded between the king of the Romans and the Turk on condition of Strigonia (Gran) being restored to the Vayvod (Zapolsky).—Rome, 14th August 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

18 Aug. **1116.** The CARDINAL of JAEN to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Roma* L. 860, f. 167.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 339.

The Emperor's letter of the 19th ultº† came duly to hand. With regard to events [at Rome] and the ordinary transaction of business, he (Merino) can give no news at all, for the count de Cifuentes (Sylva) never by any chance tells him what he is doing. Will, therefore, refer to the despatches of that ambassador.

Respecting *the English business* he (Merino) wrote at length on the 17th of July and 14th instant. Will now follow the Emperor's late instructions, especially with regard to the Pope's overtures about France and England. Must, however, observe that inasmuch as the proposition originated *entirely with the Pope,* he himself offering to make the attempt, there can be no danger whatever in undertaking the negotiation, because even if the project should be bruited about it might still be beneficial, and if nothing else was gained through it than arousing the jealousy between France and England, that much would be secured; for the English being naturally suspicious some dissension could easily be got up between them and the French.* But since His Majesty positively commands him not to speak any more about this he (Merino) will be silent on the subject. Ever since the Pope first mentioned the thing to him he (Merino) has purposely avoided all conversation, waiting to hear His Majesty's pleasure about it, &c.

---

* Note by Idiaquez.

† The original has xixix (xix–ix), which is evidently a mistake. The endorsement says xviii.

His Majesty has no doubt heard from Eustace Chapuys the English news. The very moment the king of that country heard of the sentence, he wrote to his ambassadors here to take leave of His Holiness and go back; at which he (Merino) hears His Holiness has shewn much disappointment and grief, saying to his most intimate courtiers: "I consider that I have now entirely lost the obedience of England." Needs scarcely say that when he (Merino) heard of this he went up to the Pope, and tried to console and comfort him by saying that although the King for his manifold sins fully deserved to lose his kingdom should the Papal censures be carried into execution, the Holy Apostolic See would not lose for that cause the obedience of England; even if it should be for some short time alienated from the Church it would be after all only an island, otherwise unfruitful for the Roman See, whereas by administering justice and performing the office of a good shepherd His Holiness would certainly secure the good-will and love of other more important kingdoms.†

His Holiness further remarked to him (Merino) that it was necessary, nay, indispensable, as he had on many occasions told the ambassador (Sylva), that during these three months granted to the King for amending his conduct, His Imperial Majesty should inform him (the Pope) what his views and intentions were respecting the execution of the sentence, and subsequent deprivation of kingdom. Considers it his duty to apprize His Majesty of this, because though the step seems very advisable, it might be convenient to delay the answer until

---

* Yo hare lo que V. Mt. me manda, aunque aquella platica no salió de mi, como escriví, antes fue motivo dél, *proprio del Papa,* y pues él lo queria mover e intentar de suyo no me parece que se aventuraua mucho en la negociacion, porque si salia á luz era provechosa, y quando no se ganara otra cosa se pudiera facilmente poner *celos entre Francia e Inglaterra, y como los Ingleses son sospechosos de su natura* pudiera ser que entre ellos viniera alguna disension." The words in italics are in cipher.

† "Y que si la perdiese por algun tiempo seria una ysla infructuosa á la Sede Apostolica, y con hauer administrado justicia y hecho officio de buen pastor adqui[ri]ria benibolencia (*sic*) y mucho amor de otros reynos."

1533.

His Holiness comes back from the conferences for fear that he and the king of France, knowing what the Emperor's intentions in this particular are, should turn the intelligence to account for other purposes.

On the other hand, if His Holiness' timid and vacillating nature be taken into consideration, he (Merino) thinks that much encouragement will be required to make him take the necessary steps, &c.—Rome, 18th August 1533.

Signed: " G[abriel] Card^{lis} Giennen[sis]."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty, from the cardinal of Jaen, viii. (*sic*) of August."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 3.

23 Aug. **1117.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 49.

On Sunday last Master Jehan de la Saulx and I were summoned to Windsor, where the Court at present is, that we might hear the King's answer to our petition about the Staple of Calais. On our arrival there the King ordered the Dean of the Chapel to invite us to dinner, which he did, the other guests being the duke of Suffolk, the bishop of Vuincestre (Winchester), Cromuel, the Grand Chamberlain, and other members of the Privy Council. After dinner Cromwell introduced us to the King, who received us very well. After offering his excuses for not granting us audience sooner, owing as he said to his own physician's illness, as he had previously informed us through his Privy Council, we began to explain the nature of our charge, the substance of which was as follows: That considering the Staple of Calais had always been in times of old the mart where the merchants of Flanders and the Low Countries bought their wools, it was a strange measure and one much open to suspicion in these present times to cause it to be closed (*l'avoer faict serrer*), thus introducing an innovation in the intercourse of trade (*contractation*), which, independently of the advantages and profit resulting therefrom to both parties, was a true bond of mutual friendship and good neighbourhood between the said Low Countries and this kingdom. On these grounds we earnestly requested him to allow the wool staple to go on at Calais as before, or if that should be impossible either at present or for the future, to make a formal declaration of the prohibition and its causes, that the merchants of the said Low Countries might look out for other marts whereat to buy their wools.

The King's answer was: that certain differences which had arisen between himself and the merchants of Calais had been the cause of the trade with foreigners being for a time suspended. It was not (he said) a formal prohibition, as we had been wrongly informed, but only a momentary

1533.

suspension of commercial intercourse, which did not interfere in the least with the existing treaties, as what he (the King) had done was only intended to punish his own subjects for their misdemeanours, and that he (the King) might so recover from them certain moneys due to him.* The merchants of the Low Countries had, therefore, no ground of complaint for his (the King's) having forbidden for a time the usual intercourse of trade, which after all had only been suspended at Calais. That was not a stoppage of commerce (he said) since the subjects of Your Majesty might come here [to London], and provide themselves with merchandize as easily and on the same terms as at Calais. And since the dowager queen of Hungary, your sister, wished to hear from him what his decision was in these matters, and whether he intended to re-establish the said staple as it was formerly, or accept, if offered, her mediation between him and the merchants of Calais, that was a matter on which he might well be excused from giving a cathegorical answer, for whether the queen of Hungary offered to mediate or not, he should certainly act all the same at her pleasure and to the satisfaction of the merchants. Respecting the first point, namely: whether he intended to re-establish matters as they were before, or insist on the prohibition, he did not consider himself in any way obliged to declare his intentions for the future.†

After which, addressing himself to the said Master Jehan [de la Sauch], the King added: "If you have no other commission or business in this country I must say that you have come on a very trivial errand (*bien legierement*) and insufficient ground. For if it be true that your merchants wish to purchase our wools, without which they certainly cannot get on (for I am told that the late closing of the staple has already made them cry out murder!), the proper thing for you would be to hold a different language, and own at once without dissimulation the immense damage which your merchants must sustain through the measure. Should, however, the application be made in another form, and should the merchants of the Low Countries request the trade in that commodity to go on as before, my answer would be such as to give Madame, the dowager queen of Hungary, and the whole of that country, complete satisfaction. They might then have as much wool as they pleased, provided I could be sure that the merchants of this country experienced no bad treatment abroad in the Emperor's dominions."

Our reply was that he was greatly mistaken if he thought that the Low Countries could not dispense with English wool: they might have plenty from Spain, besides which he could very well see that the French, who manufactured more cloth even than the people of the Low Countries, did not care a straw for the Staple of Calais nor for its wools, and wove very fine and admirable cloth without, however, possessing as fine wool as the Spaniards, and that for this reason the people of the Netherlands could very well do without the English wools.* Already several merchants of those countries had proposed to send for Spanish wools and give up entirely that of other countries, but the queen of Hungary, fearing lest a measure of that kind should be interpreted as a commencement of any alienation of that friendship which existed between the Low Countries and England, and which she wished to foster as long as possible, had sent to inquire what were His Highness' views on the subject. Not that she presumed in the least, as he had hinted, to meddle between him and his subjects, or say that he was bound to repeal the measure, but merely on account of the above considerations of friendship and good neighbourhood. We fancied that the Flemish and the Dutch, who had greater interest in the woollen trade, would be glad to be deprived of that English commodity that they might oblige the people of Brabant to provide themselves with cloth elsewhere than in England. With regard to the treatment of the English frequenting or residing in the ports of the Low Countries, we firmly believed (said I) that there was no cause for complaint.

---

* "Car puis ce quil faysoit concernoit tant seullement luy et ses subiectz et pour juste cause a sçauoer pour la recouvrance de son deu."

† "Et quant au premier quil nestoit tenu ne avoit pu faire de desclayrer ne descouvrir sa voulente ou intention."

Upon which the King repeated his former answer, adding that he knew well that had Spanish wool been better and cheaper than English the merchants of the Low Countries would not have hesitated one moment in procuring it, and, moreover, that the people of Brabant would neither at the solicitation of the Flemish and Hollanders, nor of any other nation, deprive themselves of English cloth. He knew that his subjects had hitherto been well treated in the Low Countries, but was not so sure as to the future. No doubt the King fears that the interdict, and other Apostolic censures which he has incurred, may be proclaimed one of these days in Flanders, and that steps will be taken for their execution, to avoid which he is evidently looking out for a capitulation.

Perceiving that the King, as above stated, stopped at certain points, of which some had no foundation, and others were by far too metaphysical for the occasion, not to engage in useless debate, and that he might not presume our need of the English wools to be greater than it really is, I cut him short in his arguments declaring that our mission was not to dispute the measure, but merely to request an answer in writing. This the King promised to do, and to-day the 22nd of August Cromwell has put into the hands of Master Jehan [Le Sauch] a letter for the dowager queen of Hungary, besides a gilt

---

* "Et quil[s] pouvoint bien veoer que les françoys, que drappoint beaucoupt plus que ceulx des dicts pais denbas ne se soucioint pas ung grain de son stapple de Callaix ne de ses laynes, si faysoint ilz de tres singuliers draps, combien quilz neussent si fines laynes que les hyspagnolles, dont pour la dicte rayson beaucoupt mieulx les dits des pays dembaz se pouvoint passer des laynes dicy."

1533.

cup presented to him by the King, telling him verbally that he hoped in two or three days at the latest the differences between the King, his master, and the merchants of Calais, would be settled, and the wool trade replaced on the old footing.

About 10 days ago there came from Lubeck to the Downs, at Dover, seven ships perfectly armed and equipped, having on board, as I am told, 2,200 men, all fine and well appointed fellows.* The King allowed them to take provisions on that coast on condition of their paying for them, and sailing off as soon as the wind was favourable, without attempting to do any harm on the coast of Flanders, sending them a message at the same time, that owing to the alliance existing between Your Majesty and himself, and the friendly relations of this kingdom with the Low Countries, he neither could nor would allow of their remaining longer on the coast of England. At least, such were, as Cromwell informs me, the words of the message. Since then news has been received that they had captured two small vessels going out of this river, one a Galician, the other a Biscayan, of which as well as of the long stay of the Lubeckians on this coast I have since officially complained. The King has shewn so much displeasure at this seizure of the two aforesaid ships that he has issued orders to the governor (consul) and principal merchants of the Easterlings (*la nation Austerline*) to go at once on board the said Lubeckian ships, and make them restore their prizes, and quit this coast immediately, as otherwise he will make the nation responsible for it, make them pay for the damage, and deprive them of their privileges, which are very great in this city. I fancy that the said Easterling merchants will do everything in their power to compose this matter considering the enormous quantity of merchandize they have in store, amounting, they say, to upwards of 500,000 ducats.† Indeed, I have been promised by the members of the King's Privy Council that nothing shall be forgotten likely to bring about the restoration of the said prizes, the departure of the Lubeckians, and the prevention of the evils that might come hereafter. And at my solicitation a message has been sent to a port of this neighbourhood, wherein 15 hulks from Holland had lately anchored with a cargo of salt, commanding the inhabitants of the said port and town to give the Dutch all manner of help and assistance against the Lubeckians in case of their being attacked. These last, as I am informed, give out that their principal object in coming to the Downs is to seize the Dutch fleet on its return from this country after unloading the salt. They had no particular grudge against us, but only against the people of

---

* "Dans les quelles a ce que lon ma dit y a passe deux mille et deux cents hommes de fort beaux rustres et bien en ordre."

† "Veu les grandes arres (*sic*) de marchandises quilz ont içy que lon extime passer v^{c} mille ducatz et davantage."

Holland, Zeeland, and Brabant, alleging that the capture of the two Spanish ships was only a retaliation for injuries which certain Spaniards had inflicted on the master and crew of one of their ships, and for which they had been unable to obtain satisfaction or redress at Antwerp.* As soon as the governor (consul) and others of the Easterling nation return with the answer of the Lubeckians I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty thereof, and in the meantime will do my best to get proper provision on the whole.

There was last week some appearance, as I informed Your Majesty, that owing to the news received from Rome, and the late decision of the Rota in the divorce case, the King's great affection and passionate love for the Lady had greatly diminished, and that he was beginning somewhat to acknowledge his error; but now, after holding a conference with his doctors and canonists, he is again more persistent than ever, the latter having given him to understand that the Pope has done him great injury; that the sentence declaring his second marriage illegal nowise binds him to the first; and, moreover, that the appeal he has addressed to the future Council will have the effect of protecting him against all censures and acts emanating from the Apostolic See of whatever kind they may be. In consequence of this advice the King has now turned coat (*changé voyle*) and resumed his former course, inasmuch as I hear that he has lately been encouraged by a letter received from the duke of Norfolk telling him *that he ought not to care a straw whether the Pope issues sentence or not in this affair of his, since there would not be wanting people willing to defend his right at the point of the sword. That the best and surest means of obviating his present difficulty was to allow all the English emigrants to return home and restore them their property and lands. Which piece of advice, on the part of the Duke, has been so much to the King's taste that he keeps repeating it at all hours of the day to the gentlemen of his chamber.*†

The Duke's letter has also had another effect on the King. Ever since its receipt he has commenced re-arranging the Queen's household, changing the officers who had taken the oath to her as Princess Dowager, and allowing her about 30,000 crs. a year for her maintenance, out of which 12,000 will be pocket money for her wherewith to pay the ladies of her chamber. The rest to be administered by a royal

---

* "Coulourant la prinse des dictes navieres hyspagnolle [s] pour quel que tord que certains hyspagnols avoint faict a ung de la bande, dont en envers nen peust avoeir rayson."

† "Sur ce que le duc de Norpholc luy a dernierement escript contenant en substance quil ne se debvoit soucier dung botton de la dicte sentence car il ne luy fauldroit qui deffendra son bon droit a la pointe de lespee, et que le meiu (*sic*) et plus sehur quil sçauroit pourveoer pour maintenant seroit de fere retourner en ce royaulme les subiects quen sont dehors, ensemble tous leurs biens, les quelx propos et les precedens le dict seignieur Roy a repete plusieurs foys ces jours devant tous ceulx de sa chambre priuee."

1533.

deputy who will attend to the table and pay the servants, wages, &c.

The Queen, as may be presumed, is very discontented at this arrangement, and has written to me that she would rather die or go out begging for a charity than consent to it, even if they offered her seven millions of ducats every year. This she says under the impression that if she ever consents to any innovation or reform of her usual household it will be a burden upon her conscience; which she would rather suffer 1,000 deaths than do. I have written to her that considering the many protests already entered in good and sufficient force, and considering that she is bound to have patience, the repetition of the said protests can in no manner prejudice her right, and that I was of opinion that if she could not attain her object, rather than proceed to the extremities of which she spoke, she had better tacitly accept the terms offered to her. I will do my best to persuade the Queen to this course as more convenient *and at the same time more comformable with Your Majesty's wishes and instructions*, and if anything should happen in the meantime shall not fail to write.—London, 23rd August 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. pp. 9.

---

27 Aug. **1118.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 259.

In compliance with Your Majesty's orders I came to this court on the 6th inst., and was well received by the Emperor and the members of his Privy Council. Met Luis de Tobar, who gave me full information of the state of affairs.

Bavaria and Wurtenberg.

Doctor Juan de Sustfringen* and his appointment to a place in the Royal Council. I have spoken about it to Granvelle, who finds some difficulties in the way.

With regard to the bishop of Trent, Luis de Tobar sent home a copy of Granvelle's answer, stating what could be done for him at present. A similar answer was given to me by High Commander Covos. Will not cease to solicit the reward due to the many services rendered to Your Majesty by that prelate. Neither has there been an opportunity yet of speaking about Castelalto (*sic*), the captain of Trent.

Respecting the knighthood of Santiago for His Holiness' Nuncio, the High Commander (Covos) has been spoken to, and made fair promises.

I have also spoken to the Emperor himself concerning Gonçalo de Guzman's liberation; he referred me to Covos, who shewed much good-will, and will, I think, do everything in his power to please Your Majesty.

---

* Sustfringier in the original.

Both the High Commander Covos and Monsieur de Granvelle have confidentially told me that Your Majesty's interference in the small affairs of Italy, as well as in the business of the duke of Sassa (Saxony) had caused the Emperor some uneasiness, and to a certain extent displeasure. It would appear that the Imperial ambassador in Rome [count Cifuentes] has written that in his conferences with the Pope and cardinals respecting the future Council His Holiness, who has always shewn very little disposition towards it, said that the fit time had come to punish the Lutherans, and that such was also the advice of Your Majesty, as he had heard from your own ambassador. If so, Your Majesty must know how unprepared the Emperor is for an undertaking of that sort, and how he still insists on the Council being convoked, having sent instructions to his ambassador to press the Pope thereupon. However, as both Granvelle and Covos intend writing about these matters I will say no more at present. Meanwhile Your Majesty will receive copies of the French king's letter and the Emperor's answer.

The news from this court are that the Emperor is still holding "Cortes" here. He is in very good health, and works very hard. It is not known yet how long the "Cortes" will last, nor what will be resolved upon therein, but this I can say of them that our purses will be exhausted and our health completely ruined before they come to a decision, and grant the service demanded by the nation, or do any other good.* The Empress is in good health now, but owing to the severe illness she underwent last spring, and to the fatigues of so long a journey as she had to make, she was obliged to stop at Marturas (Martorell), four leagues from Barcelona until the 25th [of May], when she started to come to this place.

During my stay at Barbastro, where I had to spend some days before lodgings were prepared for me in this town of Monçon, I caused two fine cross-bows (*ballestas*) to be made for Your Majesty. When at Saragossa, whither the Emperor and suite intend stopping 10 or 12 days, I intend ordering two more from Master Miguel, who is in competition with the Barbastro maker.—Monçon, 27th August 1533.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

27 Aug. **1119.** The Same to secretary Castillejo.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 261 *b*.

Gives an account of his journey to Monçon where he (Salinas) arrived on the 6th. Would not have started for that town notwithstanding the King's orders, had he not considered it his duty to obey, for he had no money at the time, and could not well leave Valladolid without first paying his debts.

---

* "Las quales son mas parte de acortar nuestras bolsas y salud que de otro buen servycio que se le [h]aga."

1533.

The Fuggers having refused to send him funds, and having no great trust in Grospain's promises, it was not until Tobar's letter came to hand that he could leave Valladolid, having first borrowed money from the merchants of that place.

However, as no lodgings had been provided for him at Monçon, he (Salinas) was obliged to fix his quarters at Barbastro, three leagues off, until notice came that those which Dr. Escoriaza, the Emperor's physician, had formerly occupied were at his disposal.

Respecting the news of this court, refers him to his despatch to the King. Will only add that Luis de Tobar has obtained his knighthood of Santiago, and that Pedro Diaz de Mendoza, to whom he has spoken in the King's name, making him the offers contained in His Majesty's last letter, has accepted them with very good-will, promising to serve his place faithfully, &c.

Worms.—Secretary Brabo.—Letter from the bishop of Astorga, whom he (Salinas) met at Valladolid.

Juan Aramendez* and Mencia Albarez.—Secretary Pedro de Castro.

Granvela says that the commission entrusted to Pedro Gonçalez [de Mendoza] has given no satisfaction here. They say that it will cause jealousy, since he will naturally conclude that he (Castillejo) wants to deprive him of what appertains to him by right of his office (*despojarle del negocio*). Granvelle adds that it is entirely the King's fault and his (Castillejo's) own.—Monçon, 27th August 1533.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

29 Aug. **1120.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. *Roma* L. 860, f. 32.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 341.

Congratulations upon the victory gained by the Imperial fleet over the Turkish in sight of Coron.

His Holiness leaves next week, though it is not yet stated where he is going, since he (Ortiz) hears that Nice is no longer to be the place of his meeting with the king of France. However this may be, he (Ortiz) is very sorry for the Queen, persuaded as he is that nothing will be done out of Rome or during the Pope's absence. So convinced is he of this that he begins to fear that the delay already caused by His Holiness in the declaration of the censures incurred by the king of England, and the postponement of those censures till the end of September, may be still further extended, and that the executorial letters now being taken out will not be intimated till after the interview with the French king.

The Count [of Cifuentes] has forwarded a copy of the sentence to Naples there to be printed and circulated. It would have been desirable that the Papal brief of the year 1531, issued by the consistory of Cardinals, in virtue of which

---

* *Sic*, but perhaps it is an error of the copyist for Aramendi, or Armendariz, both Basque names.

1533.

this last sentence was pronounced, should also have been printed along with it, for then all good people [in England] who are in favour of the Queen might take courage, perceiving that for a long time previously everything done or attempted by the King in this case had been declared null and void (*estaba irritado y anulado*), and how all those who have assisted or given him favour are actually excommunicated and deprived of their offices. These last could but experience great confusion at hearing that the Pope's sentence had become public, &c. However, as the Count is naturally such a moderate man, he has not considered it necessary to push things to extremities, and would not have it printed without the Emperor's express orders.

It is also very desirable that the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) in consequence of the iniquitous and schismatic sentence he once pronounced against the Queen, should be at once deprived of his archbishopric. The abominable proclamation (*nefando pregon*) which in consequence of that sentence was fixed in the streets of London ought to be torn off and burnt by the hand of the hangsman, and pain of excommunication declared against all those who should dare give that Anne the title of queen, or try through threats to prevent the Queen from prosecuting her right. But inasmuch as no application of the sort has been made, owing, no doubt, to the multifarious business with which the Count has been, and is still, surrounded, and because he perceives that the Pope will not move a step, even if he is urged, and that his departure [for France] prevents any measure of the kind, he (Ortiz) will no longer dwell on this subject, but only refer to the Count's despatches, &c.—Rome, 29th August 1533.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

29 Aug. **1121.** JEAN DE LE SAUCH to MADAME MARGARET, the dowager queen of Hungary.

Ar. d. Ro^{me} d. Belg. Negot. d' Angl. Tom. I.

In pursuance of the instructions which Your Majesty was pleased to give me on the 12th July ult^{o}, and of which a copy is enclosed, I, Jean de le Sauch, beg leave to report my doings at this court of England as follows:

1st. On the receipt of the said instructions and mandate from Your Majesty, I immediately set about crossing the Channel, and arrived in London on Monday the 28th ult^{o}, having alighted at the hotel of the Imperial ambassador, Monseigneur Eustache Chappuys (*sic*).

On Tuesday the 29th the Imperial ambassador and I (de le Sauch) sent to Master Crommovel (Cromwell), one of this king's Principal Secretaries of State, then in attendance on the Royal person at the country residence of a gentleman 23 miles from London, a message announcing my arrival in England with letters and credentials from Your Majesty, and also requesting him to apprize the King thereof, and be so kind as

1533.

to inform us [Chappuys and myself] on what day and at what hour it would please the King to give us audience.

On Thursday, the last day of July, we both received an answer from Master Cromwell, saying that on the ensuing Sunday, the 3rd of August, the King would grant us audience, and that on the previous Saturday a gentleman [of the Royal household] would call to conduct us to the place where the King was staying at the time.

Accordingly, when Sunday came, we were conducted by the said gentleman to a place called Ockin ( ), 20 miles distant from London, where we found the bishop of Wincestre [Gardyner], the dean of the Chapel (Sampson), and Master Crommovel (Cromwell), who told us that the King had not yet arrived. He had (they said) fully intended to come and receive us both, as agreed, but owing to a very disagreeable incident which had occurred the day before in his own household, he had been prevented. The Royal physician himself (they said) had been suddenly taken with the sweating sickness (*suerye*); two officers of the household had died of it, and the King in consequence had moved to another place in the neighbourhood, not far from the rest of the household. We, accordingly, were desired to declare our charge unless it was so important that it could not be communicated to anyone else but himself (the King).

Upon which, considering the time and circumstances, and that the King evidently wished to hear the nature of my commission before giving us audience, for fear I might be the bearer of some disagreeable message, we agreed, the Imperial ambassador and I (De le Sauch), to comply at once with the Royal request, in order to save time and remove any bad impression he might have. Master Chappuys, therefore, proceeded to set forth the summary of our charge, which the above-mentioned councillors took down in writing, promising at the same time to report to the King thereon, and see that a prompt answer was returned. They would let us know (they said) as soon as possible the King's pleasure; we might return to London forthwith, and wait there until we heard from them when and where the King would see us. Not to trouble the King we went away and came back to London.

The whole of that week and part of the following one passed away without our receiving any intimation of the King's pleasure, until on the 14th inst. we got a message from Master Crommovel saying that the King had ordered our presence at Windesore (Windsor) for the following Sunday, the 17th of August. We, therefore, repaired thither and were conducted to the Royal presence by two gentlemen of his bed chamber. We found that he had just finished his dinner and was waiting for us. After the usual observances and compliments on your part, the King said to us that although he had been informed by his Privy Council of the nature and purport of our charge, yet he wished to hear it again from our own lips;

upon which the Imperial ambassador (Chapuys) proceeded to state what your instructions were.

The King's answer was: that with regard to the exportation of English wool there had been no prohibition whatever. No such measure (said he) had been decreed. Your Imperial Majesty must have been misinformed on that point.

Touching the Staple of Calais it was perfectly true that for some months past, as we had stated, there had been no dealings, but that, he added, did not concern us in the least* inasmuch as in all his treaties with the Emperor, your brother, no express mention had been made of such a case.

The King declined giving us any answer as to whether the said Staple would again be opened or not. He was (he said) in nowise obliged to tell us how he would act in future in a matter exclusively concerning himself and the merchants of Calais. They (the merchants) had farmed it out for a period of years which had not yet expired, under certain conditions which had not been fulfilled; they had, therefore, forfeited all their privileges if they had any.† Yet they were in communication with the Government in England, and it was now under deliberation whether the Staple would again be opened or not. What might come of it he could not tell, but should not the mart be opened again Your Majesty's subjects might do what they pleased thereupon, as it was quite allowable for everyone to look out for his own interest.‡

After this the King asked me (De le Sauch) if I had not some other commission. I answered in the negative, and he observed: "If so this is a very meagre and unimportant one, hardly worth a journey to this country."

This gave us, my colleague and me, occasion to reply; I in particular said that Your Majesty had not sent me on this mission hastily, but after mature consideration, and with the advice of your principal councillors and several other personages who found the affair much more important in its consequences than he (the King) described it. That Your Majesty wished to prevent the merchants of the Low Countries, who now bought English wool, from going to other markets to procure the same article, for should they once do so, and get accustomed to it, they might also go thither for all kinds of goods, by which the amity and frequent intercourse existing of old between the two nations might be seriously impaired to the great detriment and loss of himself and his subjects. That Your Majesty had duly considered all that, and that wishing to avoid all causes likely to engender ill-feeling and rancour (*mechanté ou malveillance*), and to foster on the contrary good and friendly communication between the Emperor's

---

* "Que touschant lestaple de Callais bien estoit vray que ja passé avoit aulcuns mois, comme luy avions declairé, quil nen estoit point wyde (*sic*) ne ais (mais) cela ne nous touschoit de riens."

† "Par quoy le deffault y estoit entrevenue."

‡ "Et quest loisible de fairo partout et a chacun pour sa commodité."

1533.

subjects and his own, you, Madam, had deemed it advisable to inform him of the loud complaints of our merchants and of their request that all impediments and difficulties in the way of intercourse of trade should be removed.

The King replied with the same arguments he had used before. There had been (he said) no absolute or partial prohibition of trade. He could do what he pleased with the Staple, and he was certainly determined to render it as profitable as he could for himself. If the Emperor's subjects were not satisfied with the present regulations they were at liberty to buy and sell elsewhere than at Calais. They were perfectly in their right, yet he had been told that the people of the Low Countries could in nowise do without the English wools, whereas he and his subjects could very well dispense with Flemish goods.

After this the King again asked me (De le Sauch) whether I had any other mission on the part of Your Majesty, and whether or not I had been instructed to propose means for the settlement of the difference between him and the merchants of the Staple; and upon my answering that I had no such mission, and that Your Majesty would never think of interfering between him and his subjects, he ended by saying: that I (De le Sauch) was welcome to England; I had heard what his intentions were, and therefore could return home with the answer. He himself would write in a day or two to Your Majesty, &c.

The audience at an end we took leave of the King, and returned to London, where we waited a few days for the Royal letters. These Master Crommovel brought us on Wednesday the 27th inst., with a message from the King purporting that he referred us entirely to the verbal answer he had made us some days previous; but that with respect to the Staple of Calais, the merchants of that port would on the following day call on him (the King) and decide whether they would accept or refuse the proposed settlement, adding that he fully expected that they would.—Gand, the 29th of August 1533.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 3½.

— Sept. **1122.** The EMPEROR to COUNT CIFUENTES.

S. E. L. 860, f. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 328.

Your letters of the 5th and 14th of August have been duly received.

With respect to the Council no resolution can be taken until it be known here what the archbishop of Reggio and the president of Mechlin (Malines), who were sent to Germany, have achieved. Nothing has been heard from them. With regard to the selection of the place of meeting, we should prefer that a city in Germany should be chosen, but if His Holiness and his cardinals dislike this let them designate another, for the thing concerns them most.

1533.

To use force against the Lutherans is out of the question for the present. There is no means to do it. You did therefore very well in not answering the Pope when he touched on the subject.

We cannot believe that count Noguerol had any mandate from his master, the king of the Romans, to speak about this. What you write on this particular business will be shewn to Salinas.

We are glad to hear of His Holiness' recovery.—September 1533.

Spanish. Original minute in the hand of Idiaquez.

3 Sept. **1123.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien.*Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228. No. 50.

Six days ago I received Your Majesty's letter of the 18th ult°, together with that for the Queen, your aunt, which I immediately forwarded, informing her at the same time of all other news according to Your Majesty's commands. I must add that the Queen—as she herself writes, and has since begged me to acquaint Your Majesty—experienced perhaps greater pleasure and consolation at the receipt and perusal of the said letter than at the news of the sentence delivered at Rome, which, as it would appear, was announced to her at the same time. And not without cause, for certainly the continuance of the perfect affection and entire good-will shewn by Your Majesty has been more agreeable to her than the news of the sentence itself, inasmuch as without it the help and assistance proffered by Your Majesty might still have been of use, whereas with the sentence itself and without your own affectionate intervention such is the pertinacious obstinacy of the parties concerned that the sentence will be of little or no avail. Indeed, not many days ago the King, disregarding altogether Papal authority, caused the revenues of the bishopric of Winchester, which cardinal Campeggio formerly had, as well as those of the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci), to be sequestered: an evident sign to me that he does not intend submitting to, or obeying the Papal sentence; *though it must be said on the other hand that many people here consider the act rather a good sign, for they say the King has done it merely out of bravado and in utter despair, and that when his anger has subsided he will lower his tone and return to the right path, that is provided the Pope, whom he has tried to gain over by this and similar devices, keeps firm and holds his own.**

I have no doubt that the Queen herself will inform Your Majesty of this by the very next post, provided the many spies by whom she is surrounded do not prevent it. In the meantime

---

* "Bien que pluseurs pensent que cest beaucoup meilleur signe, puisquil joue ainsy a la desperade, et use de telles braveries, et que passee ceste collere il mectra de leau en son vin et reviendra au droit chemin pourveu que le Pape tienne bon, le quel par telle[s] et semblables grimasses il tasche destourner."

1533.

she has ordered me to offer her excuses for not answering immediately Your Majesty's missive, and begs that should you decide to send to this country some noble personages for the purpose of exhorting this king to obey the Papat sentence, they may likewise bring instructions to remonstrate with the King, and if necessary with Parliament, against their introducing any change in the allowance in money hitherto assigned to her for her maintenance and matrimonial dowry, of which, as the rumour goes, there is some intention of depriving her at this next Parliament, which is to meet at the end of October. This is the thing which the Queen dreads most, and which causes her most pain and sorrow, more than any other personal annoyance she has hitherto gone through, imagining that as long as she retains the allowance and estate which queens generally enjoy she may consider herself as a queen, and not be dispossessed of her rank and dignity. She is the more afraid and chagrined at it that her servants and domestics, besides other people whose fidelity she has rewarded with sundry offices in her household, will henceforward be deprived of their pensions and salaries should her marriage portion be taken from her.

Should Your Majesty decide to send the above personageo to stop, if possible, the measures in contemplation there is nh necessity for me to point out what line of conduct the sais representatives are to follow, nor what arguments they ard to adduce; yet as the Queen herself has thrice written to me about this, and begged I would mention the subject to You-Majesty, I could not help alluding it. Up to this day, whate ever the King and his people may say about it, no innovar tion has been introduced respecting the Queen's usual allowance. I am now procuring copies of the deeds of settlement executed at the time of the Queen's marriage, and will not fail to remonstrate to the best of my ability, should any innovation be attempted.*

With regard to my conversation with the duke of Norfolk on the subject of the interview of the Pope and king of France, I must say that not a word has since been said about it by him or the rest of the councillors. On the contrary, the originators of that idea, whoever they were, must now feel ashamed of themselves for all their presentiments have led to nothing else but disappointment and confusion, being now the laughing stock for all parties. The same may be said of their misgivings about Andrea Doria.† I have not taunted them on this occasion, but the case occurring again I shall not fail to reply according to Your Majesty's commands.

---

* "Je suys aprez pour recouvrer les trayttez et documens faictz et passez sur la consignation des dits biens, les quels veus tiendrey main faysant les remonstrances possibles pour obvier a la dite iniure et nouvellete."

† "Encoirez se tiennent ilz les aucteurs dieeulx bien par le bec de jamays les avoer mis en avant a cause que leur pourpensemans sont tournez en risee et mocquerie. Touchant ceulx que concernoint Messire Andrea Doria aussi peu na este question les reffriquer (*sic*)."

The duke of Norfolk arrived the day before yesterday from France in tolerably good haste (*par postes en assez bonne diligence*). Immediately after his arrival there was a question of dispatching to the conference of Nice and to the king of France the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner), who left this very morning for that country, posting. There was a talk of the archbishop of Canterbury following him soon, but I have been yet unable to learn whether this latter is to go to the Pope or elsewhere.* The duke of Richmond is also coming from France to marry the duke of Norfolk's young daughter, and it is also reported that the King is about to send his son Richmond to Ireland as governor of that country.

A Scottish gentleman has recently been lodged in the Tower of London. He was taken at sea on board a vessel, and was going to Rome to apply in his master's name for permission to prosecute and try the archbishop of Saint Andrew's, who, as I wrote to Your Majesty, has been accused of high treason. It is generally believed that the seizure of the Scotchman will not be very favourable for the conclusion of the peace or truce between the two kingdoms, which Beauvois (*sic*) is still trying to bring about here, as he is only waiting for certain papers and instructions from France to resume the work and return to Scotland. People here think that the Scottish king, after the last word has been said on both sides, will be easily persuaded to conclude some short truce, were it for no other purpose than to have leisure in the meantime to treat about his marriage, and contract some alliance from which he may derive both help and favour, without which he cannot, and will not, undertake anything serious against this kingdom or penetrate far into it, since being absolutely pennyless the angelots and intrigues of the English might cause his subjects to falter in their fidelity, and play him false as they have done to many of his predecessors on the throne of Scotland.

The Lubeckian ships wishing to fight the 15 hulks anchored at the Cinque Ports,† as I had occasion to inform Your Majesty in my despatch of the 23rd, sent on shore one of their principal captains to talk over, and gain favour with the people of the said port, and request that the Hollanders should not be allowed to land their artillery, so that their hulks might better be attacked; but the people of that port having received orders from this king—at my own request, to lend all favour and assistance to Your Majesty's subjects—not only denied the captain's petition, but arrested his person, at which the Lubeckians greatly astonished lowered immediately their flags, raised their anchors, and set sail to return to their country, leaving their captain a prisoner in the hands of the English. To recover his freedom, the

---

* "Et est quelque bruyt aussy que larchevesque de Conturbery le doyt suyvre, et nay encoires peu sçavoer sil va au pape ne a quoy."

† "Questoint arrivez au ports de la Rie."

1533.

captain, as I hear, has engaged himself to cause every particle of plunder taken on English and Spanish vessels to be returned to their legitimate owners, provided he is allowed to go to Lubeck on parole; but the King and the Privy Council have taken this affair so much to heart that they will not consent to have the man released unless the Easterlings (*Austrelins*) residing in this city become bail, or pay for him. Out of the seven ships of which, as I informed Your Majesty, the Lubeckian fleet was composed, two were Spanish prizes. One of them they sent to Antwerp, with all hands, and with letters to the Portuguese factor (consul) in that port, begging him to indemnify them for all losses, in virtue of certain claims which one of the Lubeckian captains pretends to have against that factor.

The King, believing in the report of his physicians and astrologers, that his Lady will certainly give him a male heir, has made up his mind to solemnize the event with a pageant and tournament were it for no other purpose than to repair the fault of the last which were shamefully bad. Already some of the Lady's favourites have sent to Flanders for horses. The King has likewise caused to be taken out of his treasure room one of the most magnificent and gorgeous beds that could be thought of, which was once part of the ransom paid for the delivery of a duke of Alençon. Very fortunately for the Lady the said bed has been in her possession for the last two months; otherwise she would not have it now, for it appears that she being some time ago very jealous of the King, and not without legitimate cause, made use of certain words which he (the King) very much disliked, telling her that she must shut her eyes and endure as those who were better than herself had done, and that she ought to know that he could at any time lower her as much as he had raised her. Owing to which angry remark on the part of the King there has since been much coldness and grumbling between them, so much so that the King has been two or three days without speaking to her. True these are love quarrels, of which no great notice should be taken, and yet those who know the King's nature and temper consider the above events as of good omen and a sign that the King will soon begin to think of recalling the Queen.

Next Sunday the marriage is to take place of the duke of Suffolk to the daughter of a Spanish lady called Madame Vuillibi (Willoughby), who had been previously engaged to the Duke's own son though only 10 years old. I do consider this piece of information as unworthy of Your Majesty's notice, yet the case is so singular and strange that having nothing better to say I have been induced to record it here. In contracting such a marriage, the Duke will no doubt please the ladies of this country, who, imitating his example, will no doubt take their revenge, when accused of marrying again immediately after the death of their husbands, as they are in

1533.

the habit of doing.[*] To indemnify the Duke for the expense, of burying his last wife, the King, I believe, is about to give him the first fruits of a bishopric worth about 12,000 ducats a year.—London, 3rd September 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 3rd September. Received on the 24th."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

10 Sept. **1124.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u-Staats Arch. *Wien. Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. .

Having received no notice of the departure of this courier till just as he was about to start on his journey, and, moreover, having no important news to communicate just now, I will be brief. On Sunday last, on the eve of Lady Day, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Queen's mistress was delivered of a girl, *to the great disappointment and sorrow of the King, of the Lady herself, and of others of her party, and to the great shame and confusion of physicians, astrologers, wizards, and witches, all of whom affirmed that it would be a boy.*[†] The people in general have rejoiced at the discomfiture of those who attach faith to such divinations, and who, whatever face they may put on the present occasion, are nevertheless exceedingly affected and ashamed.

The Lord Mayor[‡] and aldermen of this city, the heads of guilds, and other citizens of note have been invited to the christening, as well as the two French ambassadors. The new-born is to be christened at Greynuich (Greenwich). The godmothers will be the mother-in-law to the duke of Norfolk and the marchioness of Exeter; the archbishop of Canterbury to hold the child at the font, and the bishop of London to christen her. She is to be called Mary as the Princess: which title, as I have been informed from various quarters, will be taken away from its true and legitimate owner, and given to this spurious daughter of the King. If so we shall soon hear.

It must, therefore, be concluded that God has entirely abandoned this king, and left him a prey to his own mis-

---

[*] "Dimanche prochainement venant se feront les nopces du duc de Suffocq avec le fille dune hyspagnolle nommee madame de Vvuillibi, la quelle estoit promise a son filz, mays yl na que dix ans, et combien, sire, que ne soit chose digne destre escripte a vostre maieste toutesfoys la nouvellete du cas un peu estrange, et ne fust yl que pour la oisifvete, ma esmeu de ce fere. Le dict duc aura bien faict playsir aux dames de ce pays quauront a lexemple de luy revanche, quant leur sera reprouche quelles se remarient, comme cest lordinaire, incontinent apres le deces de leurs marys."

[†] "Au grand regret et fascherie du dit Roy et dame et autres de leurs oppinions et party, et au grande vilipende et mesextime des medicins, astrologues, sorciers et sorcieres qui affermoint devoer estre male."

[‡] "Le mayor, aldermans, chefs des mestiers et autres gens daparence de ceste cite sont appelez pour assister ce apres disner a la solempnite et celebrite du baptizement."

1533.

fortune, and to his obstinate blindness, that he may be punished and completely ruined. Indeed there is already every appearance of this, for if we consider the almost general indignation which this, the King's second marriage, and consequent acts have produced among the people, both high and low, which is likely to be increased should he, as I am assured he will, defraud the Princess of her title, for the Princess is adored, as she well deserves it, by the whole nation. I am aware that this indignation against the King and his mistress, like all other sentiments and affections of the popular masses will subside and cool down unless taken up in time and fostered at the proper moment; but still deeply rooted is it in people's minds, and so just the cause of it that it will take a long time before the nation, or at least the great majority, forgets it.

It has been settled that to-morrow morning I am to go to Court to meet the Privy Councillors and fix upon the best means of recovering the property taken on board of the Spanish ships by the Lubeckians. I shall not fail to acquaint Your Majesty with the result of the conference; in the meantime I have considered it my duty to inform you of the above facts.—London, 10th September 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the Emperor's ambassador in England, of the 10th, 12th, and 27th of September. Received on the 1st of October at Monçon."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 2.

---

12 Sept. **1125.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, king of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 262.

Received on the 5th inst. His Majesty's letter dated Vienna, the 7th ult°. As his (Salinas') despatch of the 27th related chiefly to the points therein touched, and as no advance has since been made in the negotiations, I shall only report now on the various occurrences of this court.

The Empress (Isabella), quite recovered from her last illness,* made her entry in this town (Monçon) on the 6th, prince [Philip] and the infanta [Maria] remaining at a place two leagues from hence owing to the want of accommodation in this town, already full to excess.

The letters for the election and for the dukes of Bavaria have been sent. They are in perfect order, and the Duke's servant, Conrad,† is to take them. As he (Conrad) has been offered a good reward in case of success, and finds the arrangement quite beneficial for his two masters, he will most likely do his best in this business. The despatch could not go before owing to the absence of Dr. Mathias.

---

* See above, p. 777, and compare Flores' *Reynas Catolicas de España* vol. ii. p. 858.

† Written *Cõrraes* in the original, from which I conclude that his name was Conrad.

In these and other affairs both Covos and Granvelle have shewn their usual desire to please. His Majesty would do well to write to them from time to time warm letters of acknowledgment, &c. The latter (Granvelle) has a brother-in-law, once ambassador at the Court of France, and a councillor and Master of Requests in Flanders. He has begged for letters of favour and introduction to that court. His name is François Bonvallot.* The marquis of Branderbuque (Albert de Branderburgh) arrived three days ago.

The letter for the duke of Milan in favour of Castelalto, of Trent, was made and sent, and the knighthood of Santiago for the Apostolic Nuncio obtained.†

Spoke again to the Emperor about Monseigneur the bishop of Trent (Clesi) and his petition. This last, the Emperor said, could not possibly be granted until after these "Cortes," as the deputies from Catalonia and Aragon attending them must first be satisfied.

Yesterday, the 9th, letters came from the viceroy of Naples (D. Pedro de Toledo) advising the departure of the forces for the relief of Coron.—Monçon, 12th September 1533.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

12 Sept. **1126.** The SAME to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 263.

. . . .

News has come that our ambassadors had left Constantinople. We are anxiously expecting to hear what the result of their negotiations has been.

Gabriel Sanchez writes from Rome in such a desponding humour both as to his want of means and his utter failure in the negotiations entrusted to him, that it is to be feared he will one of these days abandon his post altogether.

Covos and Granvelle continue friendly, &c.

Death of Juan de Mercado.

A Neapolitan gentleman of the name of Constantino, the same person who first gave notice of the Atri‡ affair, has shewn me the copies of all the letters he wrote to the Emperor thereupon. He has no doubt done service and deserves reward.—Monçon, 12th September 1533.

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

---

* Bazmallot, writes Salinas' clerk, but there can be no doubt that Bonvallot is meant. See Int. to part i., p. vii.

† "La carta para el duque de Milan en favor de Castelalto (*sic*), el de Trento, se hiço y se enbió, como tambien el despacho del habito de Santiago para el Nuncio de su Santidad."

‡ "Del duque de Atra," says the original The name of this duke was Gio. Antonio Acquaviva.

1533.
7–15 Sept. **1127.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 34..

Yesterday morning I went to the King's Privy Council for the purpose of hearing what had been resolved respecting the recovery of Spanish merchandize seized by the ships of Lubeck, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty the day before yesterday* for the second time. Whilst treating of the said business many and various were the arguments proposed by the said Council, which, though lacking solid foundation, were nevertheless a proof of the subtilty and cunning of its members. I will not trouble Your Majesty with a detailed account of the specious reasoning offered on that occasion,† save that in order to make parade of their ingenious subtilty, I might almost say total want of discretion in the debate, the councillors began by declaring, firstly, that it seemed to them very strange that the people of Lubeck, being, as they really were, the subjects of the Empire, should make war upon the Hollanders; secondly, that it seemed natural, and also more convenient in the present case, that the plaintiffs, being Spaniards, should have recourse to Your Majesty rather than to the king of England, who had nothing to do with such matters; and thirdly, that it was the King, their master, who had just reason to complain of Your Majesty, whose subjects the said Lubeckians were, not punishing them for their depredations and excesses on the coast of England.‡

My reply was that the first-named point did not affect the present case in the least. Had they (the councillors) known the customs of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, where each gentleman can at his will, and without the permission of his superior, defy, challenge, and make war upon his neighbour, they would not find it strange that a city or country should have the privilege of waging war to another, especially Germany, whose cities enjoyed authority almost regal. "Your Imperial Majesty," I said, "was the natural preserver and guardian, not the derogator, of such rights and privileges."

With regard to the second point, I said to the councillors that in this particular instance the Spaniards had good and legitimate cause for complaint, and for appealing to the king of England for reparation of the damage done to them, inasmuch as the crime had been committed in this country, and some of the perpetrators of such outrages were actually in their power. The king of England, I said, was the more bound to repair the injury done to our merchants, as besides the usual customs, he raised certain taxes for the security and protection of his ports and adjacent coasts.

---

* "Pour selon que *avant hier re-scripviz* a vostre maieste, prendre resoulution sur la recouvrance des marchandizes hyspagnolez ravies par ceulx de lubec." The despatch of the 13th, however, is not in the packet.

† "Yl y eust, sire, plusieurs et divers propoz assez legiers et peritement (?) fondes."

‡ "Si icelle maieste ne chastioyt comme ses subiectz les ditz de lubec des dictes prinses et egcez (*sic*) icy perpetrez."

In reference to the third and last point, I said that it was not likely that the said Lubeckians would do them (the English) any harm or injury, considering the good treatment and favour shewn to them everywhere on the coast, and the provisions furnished, &c. And yet had the said Lubeckians done the English any harm, and should the King lay his complaints before Your Majesty or before your brother, the king of the Romans, or else before the Reichstat of the Empire, I did not hesitate to say that such being the case proper reparation should be immediately made to the King's full satisfaction. This I boldly asserted and affirmed, knowing very well that things would never come to that pass. I did more; I told them that I wondered much how the treaties of peace, friendship, and confederation now existing between Your Majesty and them could be reconciled with the help and favour shewn to such people as the Lubeckians, or with the provisions and refreshment furnished to them by the King's commands, for certainly they (the councillors) must be aware, as they themselves had declared to me on other occasions, that the Lubeckians were the enemies, nay, rebellious, to Your Imperial Majesty. I ended by declaring that I had not come there to dispute rights, but merely to assist the Spaniards in their just claims, and report to Your Majesty on the deliberations and decision of the Council.

Evidently the councillors did not much relish the idea of their king being made responsible for such misdemeanours, for they attempted at first to deny having furnished provisions to the Lubeckians, though perceiving that I was well informed of the facts they acknowledged it at the end, and offered as an excuse that they themselves had advised the King to issue orders to that effect, inasmuch as it was considered as the only sure means of making them leave the coasts of England and return to their own country; and that if the Lubeckians had been furnished with provisions it was merely that they might the sooner set sail and leave the coasts of England.

After a most wearisome and long dispute, which lasted almost the whole of that day, the Privy Councillors did the best they could to settle the affair, and it was resolved: that the King would depute a proper person to go to the Lubeckians and earnestly and eagerly* demand from them the restitution of the property seized within the limits of his kingdom, besides the reparation of the offence and injury done to his Royal authority. Previous to the departure of the said deputy, the Lubeckian captain here detained would be released to accompany him in his mission, though on condition of his solemnly promising that all property taken [on the Spanish ships] shall be restored to its legitimate owners before the 15th of November next. Should the deputation

---

* "Pour tres instantement et tres aygremant solliciter la restitution des choses prinses [de] riere ses limites."

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

1533.

fail in this the Lubeckian captain to return here a prisoner. The aldremant (elder) of the house of Stilliart, and other merchants to constitute themselves bail for the captain, and engage, if necessary, to answer personally for him.

The duke of Norfolk having, as it appears, been accused by the Lady [*Anne*] *of too much familiarity and freedom of speech, fearing also lest I should renew the conversation on certain topics, such as the legitimacy of the princess* [*Mary*] *and her undoubted right to the succession—even in case of there being* 1,000 *daughters born of this new marriage—has ever since visibly avoided as much as possible my company under the plea that his time is taken up with most important business.*[*] *He, has, therefore, shunned meeting me in private, and if I call and find him at home he is either surrounded by clerks and officials, or else is sure to promote some topic of general conversation which prevents my addressing him in private.* In this manner, the other day though I sat by him at dinner, the Duke spoke of nothing else to me but of the ladies of France, and of the good reception and cheer he had met with in that country, especially from the duke of Albany (John Stuard) whose hospitality in his own parks, as well as in those estates and lands which he holds in administration in virtue of his charge of Master of the Hounds, and governor [of Auvergne][†], could not possibly be improved; "so much so (added the Duke) that the ties of friendship and confraternity now knit between us cannot be dissolved, and there never was two personages who esteemed each other more than we do."

As far as I can judge this speech of Mr. de Norfolk and his exaggerated praises of the duke of Albany and of his courteous hospitality, have no other object than to make me believe that the affairs of Scotland will soon be settled according to king Henry's wishes, and that the whole matter is, as it were, in Albany's hands. Having purposely asked him what other reputed captains he (the Duke) had met at the court of France, he answered with a smile on his lips, and jokingly said: "A good many more than 50," though he afterwards owned to me that they were all gone, and none remained[‡] [at Court]. He also spoke to me about the grace and wit of the little lord of Angoulesme, praising and commending him as if he meant to give him a wife [in England] and make me think that the said Angoulesme might make a very good husband for the new-born girl.* At last the Duke could not help touching on the tender part;† he said to me that never at any time would there be peace and tranquillity in the world as long as a Christian prince retained so many kingdoms and lordships as Your Majesty now has under your rule. I could easily guess what the Duke meant by such an allusion, and I said to him that Your Majesty's power, however great, would soon be tested by the resistance offered to the Turk, the sworn enemy of Christendom, and moreover that all your kingdoms were as well governed as if each had a separate ruler. These premises the Duke would not consent to grant, alleging that in his opinion a numerous progeny, such as Your Majesty might expect to have, could be the only remedy for what he considered an evil.‡ I made several vain attempts to make the Duke come to the point and talk of the political business in hand, but I could not draw him out of his reserve.

---

[*] "Ayant este charge le duc de Norphoc de le Dame de la trop grande familiarite et liberalite de propos, aussi doubtant que ne luy meisse en avant plusieurs propos quil mavoit tenu en lendroit de la legittimite de la princesse et du droit de la succession appartenant a elle, oires quil y eust mille filles de ce marriage, faignant de tousiours estre negocieux, il evada tousiours que ne le puisse aborder particulierement, et estant en compagnie tousiours esmeut practiquer en quoi entendre."

[†] "Tant en ses propres parcs que terrés de sa charge et gouvernement." The Duke was at this time governor of Auvergne and Master of the Hounds to king Francis.

[‡] "Luy demandant quel autre capitaine destime avoit la france, yl me repondist tout en riant et gaudissant que beancoupt, et plus de cinquante, et a la fin yl me dit quilz sen estoint tres tous allez, et quil nen y avoit plus nůlz."

The Lady's daughter has been christened Elizabeth, not Mary, as I wrote in my last despatch. The christening ceremony was as dull and disagreeable (*mal playcante*) as the mother's coronation. Neither at Court, nor at this city of London, nor elsewhere has there been the bonfires, illuminations, and rejoicings customary on such occasions. Immediately after the christening of this daughter of the King, a herald standing at the gate of the church proclaimed her princess of England, and previously to that, that is to say, immediately after the child's birth, the same herald announced that the good, true, and legitimate princess [of Wales] was no longer to be called so; the badges usually born by her lacquais on their coats-of-arms were instantly removed, and replaced by the King's skutcheon.§ In fact a rumour is afloat, and not without foundation, that her household and allowance are to be shortly reduced. *May God in His infinite mercy prevent a still worse treatment!*‖

Meanwhile the Princess, prudent and virtuous as she naturally is, has taken all these things with patience, trusting entirely in God's mercy and goodness. She has addressed to her mother, the Queen, a most wonderful letter, full of consolation aud comfort. I shall not fail, however, after hearing the Queen's wishes, and receiving her orders, to remonstrate

---

* "Il me parla aussy beaucoupt de la grace et esperit du petit seigneur dangoulesme le louant comme sil le vouloit marier. Ne sçay sil le faysoit pour me fere soupçonner que ce seroit bon party pour la nouvellement nee." The "petit seigneur d'Angoulesme" here mentioned can be no other than Charles, third son of Francis I., then aged 10, since he was born in January 1521.

† "A la parfin il fallut que la langue allat [la] ou la dent luy doulloit."

‡ "Il ne voulut confesser ne lung ne lautre, disant que la multitud des enfans quaura vostre maieste y remedieroit."

§ "Et furent hosteez (*sic*) a ses lacquaix les cottes dorfevrerie quils portoint avec la deuise dicelle, en lieu de la quelle ont este mises les seulles armes du roy."

‖ "Dieu par sa grace veuille que lon ne luy machine de pire choses, et cetera."

1533.

and protest against so enormous injury and injustice as the one just inflicted upon her and her daughter, the Princess, though I very much fear—and indeed am almost sure—that all my remonstrances will lead to nothing, *for certainly the King's obdurate sin, and his own misfortune, have so shut his ears that no arguments of any sort or prayers shall be listened to. Indeed, something more than mere words will be required to make him return to the right path.*—London, 7th September 1533.

Yesterday, the 14th, since the above was written, the King sent me message by one of the gentlemen of his chamber to go to him, as he said he had something of importance to communicate. I went accordingly, met him in the gallery as he was returning from mass, and presented my respects to him. He received me graciously enough, though by no means so openly as on former occasions. After thanking me for coming,* the King said that he had sent for me not only to hear what news I had of Your Majesty, but likewise to talk about the business of the merchants. He said no more at the time, but retired quickly to his rooms without stopping at the hall (*sale*), as he is in the habit of doing. This, I have no doubt, was done on purpose that he might be excused from conversing on other subjects.† The King having entered his apartments, I remained for a good length of time in the audience hall talking to some of his Privy Councillors, that they might, if they chose, discuss in the meantime the affair of the merchants, which, as I will prove hereafter, was of such small importance that 100 similar cases might easily have been discussed and settled in half the time. Yet, as I say, though I was long with the King's councillors, both before and after dinner, not a word was said to me about the affair for which I had been summoned to Court, and this for no other purpose, as I presume, than to make the public believe that I was paying my court to the King.‡

After considerable length of time, however, and not before the Privy Councillors had been closeted for a couple of hours, I was introduced, and the duke of Norfolk, after excusing the King for having sent for me, and thanking me too warmly perhaps for the trouble I had taken,§ read a letter he held in his hand from the King's ambassadors in Flanders announcing that the fleet (*l'armee de mer*) of the Hollanders had put to sea. He (the Duke) supposed that I was fully informed of the fact, as sailors of all nations (he said) were known to be generally ill-disposed (*tres mal conditionnes*). The Council begged me in the King's name to write to your sister [queen Mary] in Flanders to issue orders for the said fleet not to commit depredations on the coast of England, or otherwise injure the King's subjects at sea or in land. My answer was that any such commendations on my part were unnecessary, inasmuch as I knew that the said queen [dowager of Hungary], as well by her own inclination as by Your Majesty's express commands, would do her utmost to prevent any misdemeanours on the part of her men. On my part I begged and entreated the councillors in case of the seamen and soldiers (*soudards*) of the said fleet who, as they said, were generally devilishly inclined and not easily controlled, committing any disorder, to impute this to the generally ill-condition of mercenary troops, and not in any way to the officers in command. Should, however, anything of the sort happen they might be sure that a prompt remedy would be applied.

---

* "Yl me fist assez bon recuyl (*sic*) mais non point si ouvert quil soulait, et apres mavoer aggree ma venue yl me dit," &c.

† "Yl se retira incontinent affin, comme je croy, quil fust excuse non me tenir autre propos."

‡ "Non pour autre [chose] que presume sinon affin que le monde sçeust et veist que je faisoye la court."

§ "Apres avoer excuse la peyne que le roy mavoit donnee daller ça et la, et men ayant fayt tropt ample remerciement."

After this, in order the more efficaciously to back their own request, and at the same time to make it appear as if the dread of the Dutch fleet had not been the only cause of my being sent for,* the councillors read to me the minute of the letters which the King himself had caused to be written to the Lubeckians, and which were to be sent to them by express messenger, in order (they said) that if anything was to be added to, or erased from them, I should frankly state my opinion thereupon. There was, however, no necessity for any alteration, for the letters, I must own, were as clear and explicit as could be desired, and such as the emergency of the circumstances required. On my part I failed not to promise that I would write home and do the good offices which the King wanted.

During dinner the duke of Norfolk, who only last Thursday affected not to believe in the treaty just concluded between the king of the Romans and the Turk, observing that had there been any chance of it he would have heard the news during his stay at the Court of France, said to me: "I would willingly wager 100 crs. to one that no treaty has been made with the Turk unless it includes the Vayvod and ensures him the greater and best part of the Hungarian kingdom. If so the part to be retained by the king of the Romans will be very insignificant, as captain Rincon assures me, and 10 times more costly to him to defend than the whole kingdom."

The Duke next began to speak about Barbarossa, extolling the number and quality of the forces under his command, and saying that there was danger of his doing great harm, since the Turk had lately invested him with the captain-generalship of the sea on the coast of Africa. Subsequently to this, one of the company having remarked that the Turk was now impeded in his military enterprizes by the sophi of Persia,

---

* "Apres les dictes parolles pour impetrer plus efficacement la dicte requeste, et couvrir que la craincte de la dicte armee navoit esmeu le roy a me faire la venir," &c.

1533.

and that Your Imperial Majesty had conferred a signal benefit on Christendom at large by keeping up intelligences and amicable relations with the said Sophi, the Duke interrupted him, and said: "I could name several Christian princes who are still on better terms with the said Sophi than the Emperor."

My reply as to the first premise was that I was unwilling to contradict him, time would soon shew who of us both was in the right, and whether the Vayvod by treaty retained or not any portion of his pretended kingdom. I would (I said) consider it a charge on my conscience were I to accept the proposed wager, and win his money; for he ought to know what little trust could be placed in the reports of such a man as Rincon.* As to Barbarossa there was no occasion to make such a bug-bear of him; his neighbours, moreover, had no reason at all to be frightened by the captain-generalship of which he (the Duke) spoke, for the renegade had filled that post for the last two years, and yet had worked no very great miracles during that period of time, his presence and establishment on the coast of Barbary was most likely the cause of all the kings of that country joining their forces for his destruction. "This failing (said I) I have no doubt that the Emperor, with the help of God and of the Christian princes, his allies, will so manage that neither Barbarossa, nor even his master, the sultan of Constantinople, will be able to do all the harm they intend to Christendom." At any rate, whatever the issue of the contest may be, nobody will reproach the Emperor with not having fulfilled his duty or done his best in that respect."

Hearing this the duke of Suffolk addressed the Chancellor (Cromwell), who sat above him at table, and said aloud and in English, which language he knew I did not understand: "It must, however, be owned that in this affair of the Turk not only has the Emperor done his duty towards Christendom, but more than his duty, whereas we ourselves and the French have been so backward and done so little in it that it is to be feared God will punish us accordingly." These words one of my own men, who stood behind my chair to serve me the dinner, overheard the duke of Suffolk say to his neighbour, the Chancellor, the very same words which he afterwards repeated in French, as will be said hereafter, though not so expressly or uttered with the same warmth.

Respecting the third point, I said to the duke [of Norfolk] that far from feeling jealous of other Christian princes for their acquaintance and amicable relations, as he said, with the Sophy of Persia, I was sure Your Majesty would be delighted at it, for, after all, though an infidel himself, it was more praiseworthy to have intelligences with him than with the Grand Turk, with Barbarossa, or the king of Fez. *No reply whatever came from the Duke to this hint of mine, the true*

---

* The same Spaniard named at page 598, part I.

meaning of which everyone present understood quite well. It was then that the duke of Suffolk made aloud, and in French, the remark that Your Majesty had actually done more than your duty for the defence of Christendom.

Before leaving Court I begged the duke of Norfolk to grant me a private audience, *which for the reasons above alluded to he seemed not to desire at all.* The Duke then bade the brother of the Lady (George Boleyn), *as I have since learned from one who was present and overheard the message, to go into the King's chamber,*[*] *which he* (*George*) *did, returning almost immediately after so as to cut short any conversation in which we might be engaged.* And so it was, for having requested Cromwell to be present at the conference, I had scarcely broached the subject when Boleyn made his appearance and our conversation was suddenly put an end to. I had previously told them (the Duke and Chancellor) that I had been informed that the King's newly-born daughter had been proclaimed princess of Wales. "By so doing (said I) it is not to be presumed that the King intends declaring his other daughter a bastard, nor depriving her of the lawful succession to the throne."[†] That they might colour and repair their error, and at the same time excuse, without prejudice or injury to the rightful and legitimate Princess, what had already been done, I told them that I saw no harm in the proclamation of the King's newly-born daughter, for, after all, every Royal son or daughter ought to be so called, but that I was only afraid that by doing so the rights of the first born (princess Mary) might be impaired. Such, however, I presumed could not be their intention. Hearing this the Duke and the Chancellor looked at each other for a time without knowing what to say, and I went on with my argument, reminding the former of what he himself told me once on this topic, and wishing to know his opinion on the matter. Both told me that the question was too important to be thus answered at a moment's notice, and that besides that they had first to learn what the King's wishes were on so delicate a point. With regard to my writing to Court and informing Your Majesty of the result of my application, I was told by the councillors that I might use my discretion, as they could not then give me a more cathegorical one.

Just at this moment the Lady's brother came in with the message that the King wished to see the councillors and, therefore, I had to quit the place without speaking to him on the subject, though fully intending to renew my visit as soon as I had learned the Queen's wishes; for I really

---

[*] "Pour quoy ayant ouy ce que dessus il dit incontinent au frere de la dame comme jay sçeu dhomme que louyt, quil entrast en la chambre du roy."

[†] "Comme quelqung mavoit aduerty que la fille nouuelle avoit este publiee princesse, mays que pour cela ne croyez-je que le roy voulsist abastarder la premiere, ne la priver de la succession a elle justemant appartenante."

1533.

believed then, and I do still, that had I applied for an audience to speak about the said matter it would have been refused.

Since my return from Court *the marchioness of Exeter, who is the only true comforter and friend the Queen and the Princess have,* has informed me that letters patent had been sent to all parts of this kingdom in which the King bids his subjects to rejoice, and return thanks to the Almighty for having given him an heiress. *The Marchioness has likewise sent me word that the bishop of Winchester has gone to France for the purpose of expressing the King's regret at his brother on the other side of the Channel not having prevented the sentence, as he fully promised to the duke of Norfolk and might have done.* The Bishop has, moreover, charge to say to the king of France that since he had been unable to stay the Papal sentence in the affair of this divorce he is now earnestly requested to try by dint of promises, threats, or otherwise *that the said sentence be revoked or at least not put into execution.* She (the Marchioness) has also given me to understand that the frequent and almost daily meetings of the Privy Council are for no other purpose at present than to decide how much and in what manner the household of the Queen and Princess, and their rank and estate are to be reduced, and yet the same lady writes that the King's Privy Councillors had not yet found a solution to the affair.— London, the 15th of the month, *ut supra.*

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 8.

17 Sept. **1128.** COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 12.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 3.

The Emperor's letters of the 18th, 27th, and 30th ultᵒ, in answer to his (the Count's) of the 5th and 13th by Rodrigo Davalos, have duly come to hand. Has since then written on the 21st by ordinary post, and again on the 30th by a gentleman from Naples sent to announce the news of Coron, of late occurrences what he (the Count) has to record is this:

Told the Pope according to his instructions the message about the matrimonial suit of England. His Holiness was glad to hear that the Emperor had been pleased with his declaration on the subject. Respecting that on the principal cause, which is also most desirable, His Holiness said that he still perseveres in his purpose of having justice done as soon as possible, and would do all that is wanted therein. (*Cipher:*) Having afterwards shewn him, according to orders, a copy of the paper which the English ambassador had put into the Emperor's hands, he (the Pope) was extremely sorry, and very much hurt at what the King had written about him, adding: "I wish His Imperial Majesty had not expressed a wish that this communication of the king of England should be kept perfectly secret; I should otherwise have it printed and

1533.

posted up in the streets of Rome that everyone should know the King's *good intentions*, and that he leans more towards Lutheranism than to Christianity." This His Holiness repeated twice or three times, and then said: "The King's memorandum seems to me to have been drawn for the discredit and contempt of the Holy Apostolic See. The promises, which they say I made both in the brief, and in the decretal, are not to be interpreted as they do interpret them; they mean quite the reverse. All these things are mere stratagems and cavilling of the English to make their case good with the Emperor."*

Many other similar things did His Holiness say in disparagement of the King and against his memorandum, and then having read the Emperor's answers to each paragraph, which were also shewn to him, he observed that he should have wished the reply to the first of them had been longer and more explicit, though all things considered he held them all to be both wise and prudent. That to the second paragraph he liked much better; nothing could be more fitting or appropriate. After this, having asked His Holiness what his orders were, and what he (the Count) was to write about this matter, His Holiness answered that he could not then say, but would think of it, and let him know soon.

Has reason to believe that His Holiness thinks some sort of public demonstration ought to be made against the king of England's manifesto. He was, however, grateful that being a private and confidential communication it should have been shewn to him first.

(*Common writing*:) Respecting the action to be taken by the Emperor for the execution of the sentence he (the Count) failed not to repeat his assurances in general terms, saying that owing to the dignity which God had conferred upon him, and his close relationship to the queen of England, the Emperor could not fail to do his utmost in upholding and countenancing His Holiness on such an occasion; and it must be said that the Pope took his assurances better this time than he had done before.

One of the things which the Pope intends treating of in France when he has his interview with the King, is, as people do assert, and is apparent enough, to convince the King, as well as the lawyers and prelates who may happen to

---

* "Que el embajador que ay reside por aquel Rey dió un scripto para comunicarlo con Su Sant^{d} como V. M^{t} me lo mandava. Su Sant^{d} lo sentió mucho, y estuvo con enojo en ver lo que desian aquellos escriptos; y doz o tres vezes me dijo que quisiera que V. M^{t} mandara que se guardara secreto porque el oviera querido stampar aquello y ponerlo por las calles de Roma afin que todo el mundo conosciese la buena intencion del Rey de Inglaterra, y como declina mas á Lutherano que a Cristiano, porque paresce que derechamente viene todo en derreputacion (*sic*) de Su Sant^{d} y daño de la Sede Apostolica y las promesas que dize en el dicho scripto que hizo Su Sanctidad que no eran assi en lo del breve, ni en la carta decretal: que ellos lo dizen y entienden de una manera y está en scripto de otra, y que todo eran cavillaciones y cosas para quererse abonar con Vrâ Mag^{d}."

1533.

be with him, that the sentence was judically given, for those who are in favour of the king of England pretend that he (the Pope) had no right at all to give it as he did, maintaining that the question must be debated. For this purpose the Pope has deputed auditors Simonetta and Capisucci, who are to take [to France] with them a copy of the proceedings. He has also ordered the Imperial advocate, Joan Luis Aragonia, to go with them, though this letter excuses himself saying that he does not know whether His Imperial Majesty will like the affair being disputed at all. His Holiness, on the other hand, tells him that he is not going to France as the Queen's advocate, but as a member of this College [of Advocates ?] for he actually is one of them. Aragonia* persists in his refusal, and quotes as a precedent that when His Majesty was last at Bologna he would not allow any dispute to take place, since no resolution was likely to come out of it. Aragonia maintained that in this instance his presence in France is not required ; no good (he says) can result from the dispute in a matter exclusively of His Holiness' incumbence. The Emperor could never give his consent to it, as it would only tend to the discredit of the cause itself and the loss of Papal authority, He (the Count) has advised Aragona to persist in his refusal, but not to give him as his authority, and the Auditor, though in the Pope's service and in his pay, has hitherto resisted as a good servant that he is of the Emperor. Yet as the Pope has ordered the advocates to take to France with them that of the king of England, and another one of the Queen's, Aragona has been so circumvented and pressed on all sides that he (the Count) fears he will in the end be obliged to go. He has, however, agreed not to decide until he has spoken to His Holiness, and entreated him not to be sent upon such an errand, on the plea that a sentence given by him with so much authority on his part and that of the Sacred College [of Cardinals] could not, and ought not, to be disputed, this giving the king of France occasion to dispute or oppose a judgment so maturely deliberated. Aragonia has, therefore, decided not to go until an answer come from His Holiness, which he (the Count) expects in two or three days at the latest, for owing to the Pope's continual changes he could not accompany him, and is still in Rome.†

Whenever an opportunity occurs he will not fail to speak to His Holiness about the reliance and trust which the king of England seems to place in the Papal Nuncio.

Spanish. Contemporary abstract made for the Emperor's inspection.

---

* The name of this auditor, who has often been mentioned in these pages, appears under different forms, Aragon, Aragona, and Aragonia. His ancestors were most likely originally from that kingdom.

† "Por que no pude partir con él a causa de hazer cambios y recambios."

1533.

17 Sept. **1129.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 860, f. 12.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 14.

No answer has yet come from Switzerland. The proposed reduction of the Zurichians about which the prior of Besançon writes to His Majesty, I could not possibly forward in any way, this being a matter which belongs privately and exclusively to His Holiness, inasmuch as the said Zurichians ask for the payment of what they pretend is owing to them. The only thing I did was to recommend the payment and persuade the Pope to write to the Verulan (Filonardo) thereupon. This, however, I could not achieve; the Pope refuses to pay the Zurichians the 14,000 or 15,000 crs. or florins owing to them unless they return to the Faith and to the obedience of the Apostolic See. The better to prove his willingness (the Pope says) orders had been given that over and above the amount of their debt 1,000 crs. more should be distributed among the chief citizens of that canton, provided they should first come to Rome and return to the Faith, not otherwise, as he says, (*cipher:*) that being reprobate and wicked (*villanos y malos*) they are capable of taking his money and remaining in their errors, or even getting deeper and deeper into them and then demand double the amount. (*Common writing:*) For the speedy settlement of this matter and others equally important Jacopo Salviati, who died on the 4th instant, would have been a fit agent, for he was undoubtedly a good servant of the Empire. It is not known yet to whom His Holiness will commend this affair and others some say to the bishop of Verona (Gianmatheo Giberti). I have tried to ascertain from a good source whether that is likely to be the case, but they tell me that the Capuan (Niccolo Schomberg) is likely to be appointed, inasmuch as he had them before under his care only that he has been and is still suffering from the gout. I believe it, for the other day as I went to condole for the death of Salviati, which the Pope has felt immensely, he said to me that he fully intended the Capuan to fill his place, "for (he said) he seems to me well intentioned, wise and trusty," but since he told me that, and the Capuan himself sent me message that he was preparing to accompany His Holiness, he has been so troubled with fits of gout that he has been obliged to remain behind.

(*Cipher:*) *I am sorry for that, for he might have been very useful in our master's service.*

With regard to the Council, as I said in my despatch to the Emperor, I have not spoken to the Pope owing to this interview being considered by some politicians to be the fittest opportunity to bring it about. The answer I got from His Majesty was that I had done well in not mentioning the subject. I intend, therefore, to keep my mouth shut until

---

[*] "Y despues de hauerme dicho Su Sd. lo de arriba y que pensava por lo que me havia embiado á dezir el Capuano que está con Su Sd. le ha cargado tanto la gota que [le] ha sido forçoso quedarse."

I receive fresh orders to the contrary, inasmuch as it is rumoured here that for fear of the Council meeting His Holiness will protract as much as he can his stay in France, which, as Your Lordship knows, is very much against his will and intentions. Respecting this affair, as the Pope was shewing me the other day the enclosed letters both from his Nuncio in France and from the German princes, I spoke to him in rather equivocal language and got out of the difficulty as well as I could.* He himself requested me to send copies of them to the Emperor. I must add that the letter of the Nuncio contains a paragragh touching the affair of the dukes of Bavaria, about which I wrote to the Emperor some time ago; but I gather from Your Lordship's answer that the king of France will be unable to achieve anything in that quarter, however pressing his solicitations may be.

Before His Holiness' departure from Rome I spoke to him many a time about this interview. He assured me that he would prevail upon king Francis not to make war, at least for the next two years; and as to treating with him, or with any other potentate, he promised not to make any treaty whatsoever without the Emperor's consent. On three different occasions has he repeated this to me, and begged me to write home to that effect.

Read to him the Emperor's letter of the 27th ult^{o} together with Your Lordship's own respecting the execution by order of the duke of Milan of Squire Meraveglia, as well as of the herald sent by the king of France. I observed how very strange it was that just at the time when he and the king of that country were to meet for the peace and welfare of Christendom, the latter should challenge the duke Francesco [Sforza] and talk of invading his estate unless he received satisfaction. The Pope's answer was that if the Duke took certain measures he had no doubt the King's anger would subside. After this the Milanese ambassador called at this embassy and begged me to accompany him to His Holiness, as he said he wanted to exculpate his master, giving the many motives he had for Meraveglia's execution, and complaining highly of the conduct of the King, who, he said, had no reason to ask for a satisfaction since the Squire was neither a Frenchman nor an ambassador, &c.

On this occasion I reminded the Milanese ambassador of the fact that his master had not yet deposited his quota [for the Turkish war] as agreed by the Bologna convention. He told me that he was almost sure that the Duke had already sent the money to Ansaldo de' Grimaldi. The Sienese, likewise, have forwarded certain bills of exchange on bankers here, at Rome, who have started difficulties about the payment; but as I myself must pass through Siena [on my way to Pisa and Genoa] I will receive the money in that city. The Ferrarese ambassador, on the other hand, writes that his master [Alfonso d'Este] has already made his deposit; and Gomez Suarez de Figueroa confirms the statement. I believe the cause of his complying so soon with our demands in that respect to be no other than the loss of the somewhat important castle of Novi, which Leonelo Pio de Carpio (da Carpi) has lately snatched from him, pretending that it belonged once to his family, and that the French took it from his father and gave it to the duke of Ferrara. However this may be, Leonelo has sent me a written message to inform me of the fact, and to say that he is in every respect a good servant of the Empire. My answer has been that he (Leonelo) had no doubt committed an error; neither His Holiness, whose vassal he was, nor His Majesty, the Emperor, could approve and sanction such doings; nor would they allow the thing to go on. If he considered that he had a right to Novi he had better apply to the Emperor's well known justice. Antonio de Leyva has written to me about this, and I have promised that when I next see the Pope I will represent the affair to him. Meanwhile, I shall feel obliged for instructions in this particular, for I have my doubts as to whether His Holiness in the event of Leonelo resisting, as he is likely to do, will consent to the League spending its treasure for the recovery of that castle.

---

* "Estas cartas que á Su Magd. embio de su Nuncio y principes de Alemania; le hablé algo equivocadamente y me sali dél [de ello ?] lo mejor que pude."

(*Cipher*:) One of His Holiness' most confidential servants told me some days ago that the cardinal of Mantua (Hercole de Gonzaga) would accompany His Holiness to the interview with king Francis, as I had the honour to inform the Emperor. I have since heard from an agent of that cardinal who resides here, at Rome, that when His Holiness first ordered a list to be made out of the cardinals who were to accompany him in this journey, he of Mantua was included; but that when the appointment was communicated to him he answered: "His Holiness will perhaps forgive me if I decline the honour, for I would rather not go to France;" from which I conclude that the information conveyed in my despatch of the 5th of August came not from him nor from his agent. The last time I went to the Papal Palace, as I was coming out I met the said agent and asked him what was the true version about his master's journey. "I really cannot say for certain," was his reply, "whether the Cardinal will go to France or not." This evasive answer on the part of the very man who had previously assured me that the Cardinal would not undertake the journey astonished me. However this may be, should he go I will not fail to give him the Emperor's letter and obey orders in that respect. The cardinal of Jaen (Fr. Estevan Gabriel Merino) has remained behind; he of Santa Croce (Quiñones) has departed in obedience (as he says) to His Holiness' commands, who told him that his presence in France was necessary, owing to certain business of his order to be transacted there, and to the general of the Franciscans being unwell.

The other day in conversation with cardinal de Monte respecting the cardinals who are to accompany the Pope in his journey to France, and those who are to remain at Rome, he told me that it had been observed that out of consideration no doubt for our Emperor's service, if not by his express orders, the cardinals most attached to the Empire had remained at Rome, whereas those who were not considered so staunch made part of the Papal suite. "This," he said to me, "cannot but be by the Emperor's express wish and command, and seems an unwise step to take." I assured Monte that His Imperial Majesty had never written to the cardinals about their staying [at home] or going [to France], and in order to mend matters and put a stop to the rumours (*platica*) which I knew to be afloat,* I added, "I myself have asked several of them, but more particularly Merino, Cesarino, and Campiego (Campeggio) the reason why they do not attend this journey." Monte appeared satisfied with my arguments, &c.

Cardinal de' Medici tells me that since the common report is that during this interview two cardinals' hats are to be given away, he wishes that two more should be placed at the Emperor's disposal, and that one of them should be for bishop Gambara, who has done, and is doing, much good service. My answer was that I knew not what His Majesty's intentions were in this particular, but would inquire, &c.

(*Common writing :*) Romaricomonte.—The French favour the adverse party, but I will do my best to have the suit sentenced as Your Lordship recommends.

Orihuela and Cartagena; union of the two bishoprics.—"Indulto quadragesimal," &c.

One of the things which His Holiness, as they say, intends to do whilst in France is to shew the king of that country, and such of his lawyers and prelates attached to the king of England as are to go to the place of the interview, that he has proceeded juridically in the sentence he pronounced the other day, for it appears that the opposite party make difficulties and state their reasons why His Holiness could not give sentence as he did, pretending that the case must first be disputed, &c. To meet their objections His Holiness has ordered Simoneta and Capisuccha (Capisucci) to go to Marseilles with a copy of the suit, and has also commanded the Imperial advocate, Juan Luys de Aragonia, to accompany him to France. The latter, however, has declined on the plea that he does not know whether the Emperor will consent to such a disputation taking place. He was told that his mission was not as advocate of the Queen, but of the College [of Cardinals] at Rome; and, moreover, that the English advocates—one for the Queen and another for the King—had also been summoned, and therefore that he could not possibly refuse. He has since called at this embassy and said to me that he is afraid the constitutions of the College to which he belongs will ultimately compel him to go to France, unless I obtain in the

---

* "Lo qual hize por sanear esta platica que sentia que andava, y paresciole tambien al de Monte que quedó satisfecho."

1533.

meantime an order from the Pope to release him from that duty. I have written and expect an answer in three days.

Some time before his departure for France His Holiness told me that the Vayvod (Zapolsky) had sent powers to a brother of Chevalier (Sir Gregory) Casale, once ambassador of the king of England at Venice, to represent him at the interview, and there present his complaint of having been excommunicated without being heard. He had also sent a message to the Emperor, our common master, offering to make him a mediator between the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) and himself; his offer had been rejected, in consequence of which the Turk had invaded Hungary; and yet he (Zapolsky) had arranged matters so well that he had staid the hand of the Infidel and prevented the total destruction of that country, by which he considered he had rendered a signal service to the Church and to Christendom at large, and, therefore, deserved reward instead of punishment. Of this and other things relating more particularly to the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) I have considered it my duty to apprize his ambassador here, and his secretary at home.

(*Cipher :*) Of the trust and confidence, which, as Your Lordship informs me, the king of England has in the Papal Nuncio (Baron del Borgho), I was already aware, though by no means so well informed as Your Lordship's letter has now made me. I will not fail at the very first opportunity to mention the subject to His Holiness, and hear what he has to say.

(*Common writing :*) Though the Pope is well aware of the peace lately concluded between the king of the Romans and the Turk, I will nevertheless communicate the substance of the Imperial despatch to that effect, also the intelligence forwarded by the ambassador at Venice (Rodrigo Niño) assuring us that by one of the articles of the treaty Strigonia (Gran) is to remain in the King's hands, and not, as it was feared, in those of the Vayvod.

Will likewise speak to His Holiness about *the Order of St. John taking charge of Coron* according to the Emperor's wishes. By this very post the viceroy of Naples (marquis de Villafranca) writes that he is expecting Andrea Doria back soon, and the garrison of that fortress.*

I thank Your Lordship for the remittance of 2,000 ducats towards the expenses of my journey, but my household is so numerous, and I have so many relatives and friends, that it will be hardly sufficient to defray my personal expenses. I have written to the Emperor, asking for a knighthood of Santiago for Diego de Molina, a very able man whom I employ as my secretary, and in whom meet besides all the qualifications required in such cases. As the said Molina is advanced in years, and the Emperor is now in Aragon,† it would be desirable that the grant be made now, and before the Cortes are closed, as there might not be another chapter for many years. Your Lordship says in his letter that the Emperor, our master, has seen with displeasure the want of cordiality between the cardinal of Jaen (Fr. Estevan Gabriel Merino) and myself. I can assure Your Lordship that I am deeply concerned at it. I recollect very well that when I went to take leave of the Emperor, you yourself and the members of the Privy Council told me of a motion having been made in that body for Miçer Mai to remain with me here for four or five months, as a person well acquainted with the affairs of this court. The Emperor, you said, had, however, decided that this should be left entirely to my choice, and I, therefore, came to Rome and began negotiating. I very soon found out that instead of having the authority and prestige due to my charge as ambassador it was publicly rumoured at Rome that the cardinal of Jaen was to conduct the whole of the negotiation, and that I was to do nothing except by his express commands. So convinced of this were these Romans by various precedents, as well as by the Cardinal's own demonstrations, all tending to confirm the general impression, that I can assure Your Lordship that had I not purposely refrained from acquainting him with the Emperor's official affairs, no one here at Rome would have considered me in the light of an Imperial ambassador, nor should I have had sufficient authority to do His Majesty's service. But since, as Your Lordship informs me, the Cardinal has been written to on the subject, I need not say that in future I will no longer conceal anything from him, the Emperor's service will be better done, and the Cardinal will have no cause to complain.

---

* Don Garcia de Toledo, whose arrival at Rome has already been mentioned, p. 501.

† The Emperor was at this time holding Cortes at Monçon, on the borders of Catalonia.

The principal reason for my dispatching this express is to inform Your Lordship that His Holiness actually left on Tuesday the 9th inst. I did not send the express off on that day, owing to His Holiness having told me that he intended to stop at Viterbo (some even added many days). Until I heard that he had left I kept this letter open, and the messenger ready. The news I now have is that His Holiness intends to proceed briskly on his journey, and therefore I am myself on the point of starting, and making all possible haste so as to overtake him. The ambassador at Genoa (Suarez de Figueroa) will no doubt inform Your Lordship of the precise date at which the Duchesina (Caterina) passed through that city. As soon as I heard of it I dispatched my secretary, Archangel, to His Holiness with the news, and also that he may write to the Emperor by this very courier, as he said he would; also to hear whether there is anything new about the Swiss.—Santo Lorenço,* 17th September 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon, the Emperor's first secretary."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

---

* Sanlorenzo, in the suburbs of Rome.

1533.

27 Sept. **1130.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 55.

I went the day before yesterday into the country to meet Cromwell, who was hawking, that I might confer with him and hear the news.* After some talk the Queen's affairs became naturally the topic of our conversation, when the opportunity being at hand I failed not to repeat the representations which I had made on a previous occasion, and exhort him as earnestly and warmly as I could to persuade the King to make it up with his Queen and recall her, which I assured him would be no difficult task considering his master's great wisdom, virtue, and integrity, if he (Cromwell) and other members of the Privy Council would only set their hands to the work. I told him that it was far easier for them to remedy the evil now than it would have been in former times, before late events had taken place.† For the King (said I) being naturally of a proud spirit‡, would have thought himself humiliated and beaten if, notwithstanding his learning and power, he had been unable to carry his design into execution; whereas now, having fully accomplished his wishes, there is every reason to think, considering the modesty and forbearance with which Your Majesty has conducted the whole affair, and the Queen's long-suffering patience,§ considering also many other circumstances which it would take me too long to relate, that the time has now come for the King to listen to reason, and like a virtuous and very Catholic prince, and son of the Church, obey the Papal sentence so justly and with such solemnity pronounced at Rome. Which result, I observed, was the more to be anticipated that according to the common saying his countrymen, the English, were readier than any other nation, after a thing was done, to acknowledge their error.|| As, however, it might come to pass that the King, for fear of his being accused of inconsistency, or for some other scruple of honour (like those friars, who not out of devotion, but out of pure shame refuse giving up their frock), would shun the aforesaid reconciliation,¶ I did my utmost to convince Cromwell that not only would the King, his master, not suffer in the estimation of his people, but that his honour and reputation would, on the contrary, be considerably increased through

---

[*] "Je fus aux champs trouver Cremuel questoit a la voulerie."

[†] "Ce que je luy affirmaye estre chose facile a fere attendue la prudence, vertu et bonnairete (honnestete ?) du dit seigneur roy, pourveu que luy et autres du conseyl voulsissent a ce conspirer, et quil estoit plus ayse de remedier maintenant quil neust ete dy obvier avant les choses faictes."

[‡] "Tres haultain de ceur, yl eust tenue a blasme et desauctorization de son sçavoer et pouvoer de non mectre a effect et execution ce quil avoit entrepris."

[§] "Et lintollerable (?) patience de la royne" says the original, but it must be a mistake for "tolerable patience."

[||] "Et de ce augmentoit la credulité et espoer le dit commung quest que les angloix apres les choses fayetes recognoissent mieulx leur errour que nulle autre nation."

[¶] "Mays que pour ce quil pourroit estre quil emprendroit (?) au roy comme a pluseurs mauvaix religieux que non point pour devotion mays de pure honte nossent habandonner lhabit, et que pour quelque poinct ou scrupule dhonneur ou de soupçon de legierete quil se rendist plus difficile a la dicte reconciliation," &c.

1533.

it, as was patent to all parties. "For the King's greater satisfaction (I added), should he agree to my proposal, means might be found for the Emperor to send here one or more ambassadors (*personnages*), or commission me earnestly and affectionately to request the King to take back (*reprendre*) his Queen, which request might be made in such a form, and with such insistency, that all appearance or presumption, however slight, of the King's recalling her out of fear or by coercion, would at once be effaced. And, moreover, that the Queen herself might take her most solemn oath, if necessary, before Parliament, or elsewhere if the King should wish it, that she was never carnally known by prince Arthur, which seems after all to be the principal pivot upon which the King's intentions turn. I said further that the King could in no manner fear that the said reconciliation with his Queen should be interpreted as a compulsory or inconsistent act, inasmuch as the very same thing had happened to various other princes whom I proceeded to name, principally the Emperor and king of France, Lothaire,* kings Philip the First, and Philip the Third, surnamed "Augustus" by his own subjects, all of whom were sternly and by force of justice compelled to retake their legitimate wives, and cast away the adulterous concubines they had married.

After thanking me for the good and sincere affection shewn towards his master, and likewise for the confidence and familiarity with which I had treated him, having also applauded my motives in thus speaking to him, Cromwell said to me, that with regard to the sentence lately pronounced at Rome, and which seemed to be the principal ground for my peroration, there was nothing to be said, inasmuch as the King, strengthened by the counsel and opinion of several eminent doctors of this realm, as well as by that of the University of Orleans, considered the said Papal sentence to be altogether iniquitous and invalid, and, therefore, that not only the King himself but all those who were of his opinion hoped that it would be ere long revoked and annulled, perhaps too reversed and given entirely in his favour.

Respecting the other point: namely, the sending of an embassy to this country, or giving me commission to urge and demand the measures I advocated, he (Cromwell) owned that in his opinion it would be a most convenient step and one likely to bear good fruit, as it might tend to calm and mitigate the sorrows, scruples, and doubts of the whole of Christendom on this delicate matter, provided the commission entrusted to the said personages or to myself had for its sole object to treat, conclude, and determine the divorce suit, or at least take such steps as to insure in future the mode of life of the parties, so as to avoid the scandal and inconveniences

---

* Lothaire, emperor, son of Louis de Debonnaire, who having repudiated his wife, Teutberge, in 862 to marry his mistress, Valdrade, was compelled by pope Nicholas I. to retake the former.

1533.

that might arise therefrom.* "But if the commission entrusted to the said ambassadors or to yourself (added Cromwell with a certain emphasis) refers only to the article just proposed by you, I do not hesitate to say that no good can be expected from it, *inasmuch as* events are too fresh *and the King's love far too passionate and strong.*"

In this way, and passing from one thing to another, Cromwell distinctly told me that should Your Majesty declare war against this kingdom it would be a very easy thing to destroy them (the English); but Your Majesty (he said) could not be greatly benefitted by it, besides which it could hardly be expected that, having at other times received help and pleasure from this kingdom, Your Majesty would now willingly work for or consent to its ruin.

I told Cromwell, by way of a reply, that the King could not so calumniate the Pope as to pretend that the sentence, as well as other previous measures, had been pronounced entirely out of fear of Your Majesty. With regard to the opinion of doctors and canonists, I said that I wondered much how a man of his talent and experience could attach any faith to them, knowing, as he ought to know, how they had been obtained. I wondered still more (said I) at his thinking Your Majesty capable, after the declaration of justice and truth just made by His Holiness, of acting in prejudice of a sentence so canonically and so solemnly pronounced. "The Emperor (said I) would not do such a thing for all the wealth in the world, for he knows full well that his honour and conscience would revolt against it. What I have just proposed to you springs entirely from myself out of a wish for the preservation of the friendship between the Emperor, my master, and the king of England. I consider that I have done my duty as an honest and well-wishing man; if my advice has not been listened to it is no fault of mine. In future I will not trouble myself with such matters; it will be for you and those who have the management of affairs in this country to look to, and ponder the result that the King's obstinacy may produce."

Cromwell owned to me that I was right; he also would do his duty, and seize any opportunity offering itself to put matters straight (*redresser les affaires*), but this (he said) was an arduous case, and one that could not be conducted except with great prudence and foresight.

After this he begged me to lend him the historical books wherein the cases mentioned by me of the three French kings,†

---

* "Porveu que la charge des dictz personnages ou ma commission fust pour traytter, conclure et determiner laffere de ce diuorce, ou au moins de prendre quelque arrest et asseurance en la façon de vivre çy apres affin desviter les exclaindres et inconvenients que pourroint soudre."

† See above, p. 805. Besides Lothaire, "l'empereur d'Occident," as he is called by French writers, there were Philip I. (1060–1108) and Philippe Auguste (1180–1223), both kings of France of the Carlovingian race or dynasty, who after repudiating their wives, married their concubines. The former, who in

1538.

who had been compelled by force of law to abandon their adulterous wives, were related. This I did yesterday morning, and he (Cromwell) sent me word by the secretary who took the books to him, that he would feel greatly obliged if I would write to Madame, the queen of Hungary, begging that certain rhymes lately published in Flanders to the King's great discredit should be suppressed, and orders issued that none of the same sort should be printed in future. Cromwell did not specify in his message what the title of the said book of rhymes was or the nature of their contents, or who the person or persons were alluded to in them, but said that he would shortly call and tell me himself. If he does I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty thereof.

I hear that the King has sent in all haste to solicit the most eminent lawyer at Bologna, named Priuidello,* to go to Nice and dispute the divorce case before the assembly there conjointly with the bishop of Winchester, *who, I hear,* carries a bag full of deeds and consultations, besides four lists (*plans*) of promises and as many of threats, so much so that people here entertain hopes of gaining the Pope to their side. The French ambassador said the other day to the Venetian: "Some *time ago these people* (*meaning the English ambassadors*) *did nothing but reproach us continually with the intelligences, which they said our master, the King, had with the Pope, and the meeting prepared, as it were, almost to their face* (*demy a leur barbe*) *; but nowadays they are very much changed, and begin to shew pleasure at what formerly caused them annoyance.*"

The duke of Norfolk said to me some days ago that when there had been a question in France of writing a letter to Your Majesty concerning the execution [at Milan] of captain Merveilles (Maraviglia), he (the Duke) had been summoned to the Privy Council of the Most Christian King, and had been then and there consulted about the terms of the said letter, and that both the Most Christian King and his son, the Dauphin of France, had spoken to him very passionately of an outrage which in their opinion required immediate satisfaction. The Duke added that happening during the discussion that ensued to call the duke Francesco Sforza by his title, the Dauphin suddenly interrupted him, and said: "Why do you call him duke? there is no duke of Milan but me;" upon which he (Norfolk) corrected himself at once, as he knew he should thereby give pleasure to the King and to his son. By which words *Your Majesty will be able to judge*

1092 was excommunicated by pope Urban II., after divorcing his wife, Berthe, married Bertrade, already married to the count of Anjou. The latter was likewise excommunicated in 1196 for having repudiated Ingelburge and married Agnès de Mèranie. Both were compelled by the Holy See to retake their legitimate wives.

* Girolamo, a canonist and law professor, who became in time auditor of the Apostolic Chamber.

better than I can what was the Duke's intention when he related this anecdote to me.

There has been no change since my last in the treatment of the Queen and Princess, nor has there been any change either in Scottish affairs;[*] but, on the other hand, I see no appearance or symptom of these people preparing to yield to the Papal censures, *unless His Holiness' objurgations are accompanied by such remedy as the one I pointed out the other day to the High Chancellor (Cromwell); for as that excellent and holy man, the bishop of Rochester, told me some time ago, the Pope's weapons become very malleable when directed against the obdurate and pertinacious, and, therefore, it is incumbent upon Your Majesty to interfere in this affair, and undertake a work which must be as pleasing in the eyes of God as war upon the Turk. Indeed, should there be a question of coming to a rupture [with England] it would not be amiss for Your Majesty to try by all possible means* to have at your court, *or elsewhere under your power, the son of the Princess' governess* [Margaret], *the daughter of the duke of Clarence* [George], *upon whom, in the opinion of many people here, the succession to the Crown would by right devolve. Owing to the said Duke's great and singular virtues, her son*[†] *is now studying at the Paduan University, to which circumstance may be added that being closely related to this king, both on the father's and mother's side, he and his brothers might easily lay claim to the succession to the kingdom. For this reason the Queen wishes for a marriage in that quarter as much, or perhaps more than in any other, and the Princess herself; far from refusing it, would, I have no doubt, gladly give her consent.*[‡] *The youth and his brothers have many relatives and allies [among the nobility] besides a very numerous party whose affections Your Majesty might by such means easily gain, and thus secure those of the rest of this nation.*

Your Majesty will be pleased to consider the above, and take in good part this my advice, which, though it may

---

[*] "Ne aussy ay peu apperceyvoer quil y aye aucung espoer ne apparence de hobeyr aux censurez du pape [*qui ne les accompagnera des remedes* dont cy devant ay escript] et comme le ma envoye signiffier le bon et sainct euesque de Rochestre, le quel dit que les armes du pape pour ceulx-cy que sont obstinez sont plus fresles que du plomb, et que convient que vostre maieste y mecte la main, et que en ce elle fera oeuvre tant agreable a Dieu que daller contre le turq." I have purposedly transcribed the passage as it reads in the original, because I am not sure that the underlined sentences express Chapuys' idea. If instead of "qui ne les accompagnera," the reading were "*que ne les accompagne*," it is clear that the sense is different and ought to be interpreted as I have done.

[†] Reginald Pole, son of Sir Richard, and of Margaret of York, countess of Salisbury.

[‡] "Que votre maieste tint tous moyens possibles de retirer deuers soy, ou ailleurs en son pouvoir, le filz de la gouvernante de la princesse, fille du duc de Clarence, a la quelle selon loppinion de pluseurs appartiendroit ce royaulme. Le dict filz est maintenant a Padua, a lestude, pour la grande et singuliere vertu du duc, joinct quil est du parentage du roy du couste de pere et de mere. Et pour la pretension que luy et ses freres pourroint avoir au royaulme, la royne desireroit austant colloquer la princesse sa fille par marriage [la] que autre [part] quelle sache, a quoy la dicte princesse ne feroit reffuz, ains sen tiendroit plus contente."

1533.

appear at first sight rash and inconsiderate, proceeds nevertheless from my best wishes for Your Majesty's prosperity.

Among the allies of the said personage is Monsieur de Burgain (Sir Thomas Burgoyne), one of the most powerful and wise lords in all England, who is discontented with the King, owing to his having been once long kept a prisoner [*in the Tower*] *with the duke of Boquinghen (Buckingham), his father-in-law, who there lost his life, whilst he (Burgoyne) lost only his feathers, that is to say, the best part of his fortune. To recover this, and at the same time to revenge the injuries received, he is ready to do anything.*[*] *He had occasion, when I was lately at Court, to speak to me about his own affairs, saying that he would have wished to have a long talk with me on certain matters, but that, he said, was impossible, as he was suspected and watched. He assured me that no gentleman in England was better disposed than he was to serve Your Majesty, and that perhaps you would perceive it some day or other. He would have gone on explaining his views, only that as Cromwell, who, as I have said above, enjoys this King's confidence, was just before us with his ears wide open, he dared not say more then.*[†]

The extreme care this above-mentioned English gentleman seemed to take of not declaring his intentions where he could be overheard convinced me of his great desire to be useful to Your Majesty, and employed in your service, for all the time he was talking to me about indifferent things he kept gently pressing my arm as he was walking along with me. I fancied at first that he had been summoned to Court on some business of importance, but I have since heard that he had been sent *for on a mere trifle, a message to be conveyed to the duchess of Norfolk, his own wife's sister, that he might arrange matters between her and her husband, the Duke, whom she would not see or listen to on account of his being in love with a maid of honour (demoiselle) to the Royal concubine* (Anne Boleyn) known by the name of *Holland. For this reason the duke of Norfolk, since his return from France, dared not go and see his duchess until after Burgoyne's mission, who, as above stated, went thither, and promised that the Duke would in future lead a conjugal life with her.*[‡]

---

[*] "Entre les autres alliez du dict personnage est monsieur de burgain, quest lung des puissans et le plus sage et cault seigneurs dangleterre, que se tienne malcontent du roy; le quel le fist longuement detenir en prison avec le duc de boquinghen son beaulpere, le quel y laissa la personne et ces luy-cy (celuiçi) les plumes assavoir une bonne partie de son revenu, quil desireroit bien recouvrer par quelque moyen que ce fust, et soy vanger aucunement."

[†] "Et pour ce que le roy poursuivoit tout de grey de cremuel, qui nous precedoit, et nous alloit tenant les oreilles, ny eust ordre de plus long propos ne practiques."

[‡] "Mais ce nestoit que pour une folie [assavoir pour lenvoyer vers la ducesse de Norphoc quest seur de sa femme, pour fere la poinctement entre elle et le duc son mary, le quel elle ne vouloit veoer ne ouyr a cause quil est amoureux dune demoiselle de la concubine du roy, qui sappelle Hollande; a ceste cause depuis son retour de France nestoit ose aller veoer la dicte ducesse jusques apres lambassade du dict seigneur de burgain que [est] alle tout a poinct, en promettant que le dict duc seroit desormais son mary.]"

1533.

These are things hardly worth Your Majesty's attention, and yet as they may serve to illustrate my view of English affairs I have not hesitated to record them here.—London, 27th September 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 7.

28 Sept. **1131.** COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Roma* L. 860, f. 78.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 16.

. . . .

Yesterday there was a consistory, and it was discussed whether the term for the declaration of the ecclesiastical censures incurred by the king of England should be prorogued for one month more or not at all. His Holiness himself made the motion explaining how he had granted the term of one month, that the King might in the meantime confess the error of his ways, and also because at this interview with the king of France he counted upon his suggesting, according to his offer, some means of getting out of the difficulty. There had been no time before the expiration of the month to bring about the said conferences, and therefore he (the Pope) moved that another month should be granted, during which he promised to see the King and work at that affair.

I intend to call to-morrow on His Holiness and complain loudly of such conduct.

I hear that the king of England has taken away from Campeggio all the revenues he had in England. Since this loss has been sustained out of his love for justice and his attachment to Your Majesty, I should strongly recommend that some compensation be given to him elsewhere, because in reality he has nothing else left to maintain his rank.

According to His Holiness the duke of Norfolk will not be present at the interview. In his place the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner) who is already at the court of France, will attend on behalf of king Henry. Anna Bolain (Anne Boleyn) has been confined of a daughter called Isabella (Elizabeth), who immediately after the baptism was proclaimed princess of England.

I lately wrote to Your Majesty to announce the departure of Uvaldino, whom His Holiness was sending to announce his own departure from Rome, and other matters; but in consequence of the said Uvaldino having been taken ill on the road, and obliged to remain in Florence, His Holiness the day before yesterday dispatched the bishop of Liege (Cornelius van Berghen) to the same effect.

Talking the other day about the interview, and where it would take place, as everyone says here that Marseilles is the city designated, and on my representing to His Holiness that it was an undignified thing for him personally, and for the authority of the Holy See, &c., to go so far into France, he replied to me that his intention had always been, supposing the interview could not take place at Nize, that it should be between that town and Marseilles. My impression, however, is that this last port will be the place selected, and that the embarkation will take place as soon as the fine weather sets in; hitherto the winds have been contrary, and the sea so boisterous that the galleys of France have not been able to come from La Spezia to Levorna (Leghorn). As the road took me close to Lucca I failed not to visit the place and see how the Signory was getting on. They complained to me that the "fuorusciti" from their city found shelter in Florence, and annoyed them considerably, and they begged me to speak to the Pope and to the duke Alessandro about it, which I have done, both having promised that they will try to stop the nuisance.

Juan Luys de Aragonia has come at last. I have written at length about this lawyer, and how he had at my recommendation persistently refused to come, on the plea that if the Queen's cause was again to be disputed he could not, as Your Majesty's advocate, attend the Papal summons, though he was in his pay. I again spoke to His Holiness on the subject, and begged him not to send for Aragonia, but the answer was that it was not for the disputing of the matrimonial cause—which he (the Pope) would never allow—but for other purposes that the auditor was needed. The Pope having said this much I could not very well insist; the auditor, therefore, received orders to come, and he has actually joined us.—Pisa, 28th September 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Majesty, the Emperor."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Count de Cifuentes, 28th September. Answered at Monçon, the 24th October 1533."

Spanish. Original, pp. 5.

---

5 Oct. **1132.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 56.

Your Majesty's letters of the 2nd and 11th ult°, containing among other news the most happy intelligence of the Empress' convalescence,[*] and that of the glorious relief of Courron (Coron) by your most triumphant arms, were duly received yesterday morning. At which joyful tidings all subjects and servants of the Empire ought to be extremely glad, and devoutly thank God for His infinite mercy, praying at the same time for the continuation of His favours, the preservation and exaltation of Your Imperial estate. Which two letters, together with other papers that came by the said post among the rest and two documents—as long as they were inconsiderate and unfounded—professing to be an answer to

---

[*] The Empress Isabella was so ill at Barcelona, whither she had gone to meet Charles on his return from Italy, that her life was despaired of. Florez, *Reynas Catolicas de España*, vol. ii., p. 858.

Your Majesty's very modest and very prudent allegation, I (Chapuys) forwarded immediately to the Queen, begging her at the same time to express her opinion as requested in Your Majesty's letter to her, as to the best means of having the Papal sentence carried into execution.* As soon as her answer reaches me I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty.

With regard to the recall of the English ambassadors at Rome, this king has exactly followed the example given by His Holiness, who some time ago recalled his Nuncio without officially informing this court of his departure. Instead of the ambassadors being recalled, the King has deputed one Dr. Bonart,† a native of Lucca, and once the Pope's collector in this kingdom, who is to accompany him as his secretary. The duke of Norfolk will be replaced by the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner), which appointment, in my opinion, is an evident sign, as many people here seem to think, that whatever face the King may put on he has either some hope of ultimately carrying his end, and gaining the Pope to his side, or else that he is in terrible fear of excommunication.

Respecting Merveille's case, the French ambassador who came to visit me the day before yesterday said to me that this king, when informed of it, said that if the execution had indeed taken place under the circumstances, and in the manner specified to him, there was really and truly cause for complaint, but that it was necessary to wait for further evidence (*la playniere justification*); which remark of the King makes me suspect that since he has not asked for more particulars, or made any offers of help in the quarrel, he has not taken the thing so much to heart as the French ambassador seemed to insinuate when he first mentioned the fact to me. The same ambassador told me that he knew for certain that when Your Majesty first heard of the case you answered in the most moderate terms that the duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) was not to be blamed in the least. Merveille had been executed because besides being guilty and convicted of murder it was proved that he had been a spy of the French, not an ambassador, and had attempted to take the Duke's life by poison. The Frenchman, morever, added that the case was no longer thought so grave as at the beginning.‡

I confess that more than two years since, in conversation with this king, I answered in rather sharp terms the accusation of ingratitude with which he then visited Your Majesty, as I wrote at the time. Since then neither the King, nor any of his Privy Councillors has dared openly to contradict my arguments. It is true that in an indirect manner they have occasionally hinted at what they call Your Majesty's ingratitude and ill-behaviour towards them, and I should certainly have replied, using the very same weapons, had I not thought it better to dissemble. I intend, if attacked, in future to be very sober in my defence, never exceeding the limits of courtly civility, as Your Majesty has been pleased to command me. My last despatches bear testimony that whenever an opportunity has occurred I have not failed to resume the topic of conversation I once had with Cromwell on the subject of the Queen, as well as the preservation of the friendship between Your Majesty and this king—both paramount objects, which it is my duty to forward by all possible means with the said Cromwell and the rest—but I have purposely avoided making use of angry words and recriminations that might embitter the present quarrel, and will particularly do so in future.

---

* "La sollicitant par les miennes, outre ce quelle verra par celles de vostre maieste, [de] vouloer desclayrer son opinion et aduys pour les moyens del effectuation de la sentence."

† Edmund Boner, Bonar, or Bonard, for in these three different ways is his name to be found written in the ambassador's letters.

‡ Captain Merveilles, or rather Meraveglia, as he is called elsewhere, was executed at Milan in July 1533. See above, p. 756. "Que le duc de Milan lavoit faict mourir oultre lhomicide pour estre espie et non ambassadeur, et comme machinant a le vouloer faire empoisonner, et que le cas ne sembloit si chault quil [se] monstra au commencemant." According to Sanuto, the captain, who was equerry of Francis, was beheaded for the murder of a member of the Castiglione family. See Rawdon Brown, *Venet. Calend.*, vol. IV., p. 438.

Yesterday I announced to Cromwell the news received from Courron (Coron), and he himself went immediately to apprize the King thereof, bringing me a Royal message to the effect that the King highly rejoiced at the news, which promised fair to promote the service of God, and the general weal of Christendom. The King (he said) thanked me immensely for the care I had taken in conveying such intelligence, and would most likely send for me to-day, in order to thank me personally, &c. However, for reasons which I will explain hereafter, the King's invitation did not come. *For no sooner did he learn that the new king of Denmark* was trying to make an alliance with Your Majesty than he bethought him of dispatching thither the same doctor who went last year with instructions, as I presume, of impeding, if possible, the said alliance. The King, moreover, has ordered the prior of the Austinfriars in this city to keep himself in readiness to accompany the doctor to Denmark, or wherever he may go, which, if my information be correct, can only be designed for some extraordinary purpose.* I shall try my best to ascertain what the King's object may be, that I may inform Your Majesty.

As I suspected, and stated in my preceding despatch, the truce between England and Scotland has been concluded for one year, and according to the French ambassador, who is my authority, on conditions highly favourable to the Scotch, and on the very terms they demanded some time ago: namely, that a certain fortress on the borders, from which they might receive harm, should not be kept in a state of defence; and, moreover, that the Scotch malcontents (*hayneux*) should withdraw altogether from the frontiers. The truce, it appears, has been made without any of the contracting parties consulting the seigneur of Beaubois, about it, though

---

* "Que le roy nouveaul de Dannemarcke serchoit alliance avec vostre maieste." Upon the death of Frederic, son of Christiern, in 1533, his son Christiern III. became king of Denmark.

1533.

he is known to have come and resided here long for no other purpose. *Indeed, if I am to believe what that ambassador himself told me the day before yesterday when he came to take leave of me, he is so bewildered at it that he knows not what to think, now that the two kings [of England and Scotland] begin to give signs of mistrusting his master, the king of France, and shewing independence in their mutual affairs.*[*]

If the intelligence mentioned at the beginning of this my despatch was agreeable and joyful I cannot say as much of the very sad and lamentable occurrence at this embassy on the ensuing night, about 12 o'clock; for without knowing how to account for it in the least fire broke out in one of the towers of my house containing my plate, wearing apparel, best house furniture, and, in short, almost every valuable I possessed in this world.[†] So sudden was the fire, and so violent, that almost as soon as my servants perceived it the whole of the tower with its contents was utterly consumed without my people being able to save one single article, a terrible and almost irreparable blow to me, who must be completely ruined in consequence! Indeed, were it not for my confidence and trust in Your Majesty's extreme goodness I doubt much whether my own person would not have suffered through the shock I have received, and, therefore, I humbly beg you to have pity on me, and in some way or other relieve my poverty, that I may henceforwards devote myself exclusively to the Imperial service, which has always been and will be hereafter my constant aim. I must confess, however, that in the midst of my tribulations I have found no small comfort from the alacrity with which both Spaniards and Germans residing in this city have placed at my disposal moro money and silver plate than could be held in one large room. Even Cromwell has sent to offer his help as regards my own private affairs, which offers I have of course politely declined, reserving the acceptance of his favours for those things in which Your Majesty is personally concerned.—London, 5th October 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

10 Oct. **1133.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 57.

Since my last despatch[‡] this king has sent word to the Princess by some of his Privy Councillors that she is to abstain in future from bearing that title, as it now belongs to his newly-born daughter, not to her; and he has also

---

[*] "Il se trouve tant confus en quoy il semble les dits deux roys avoer donne quelques indices de diffidence du dit roy de france, et aussi quils ne deppendroient entierement de luy."

[†] "Daultant que les nouelles mencioneez au commancemant de la presente seroint bonnes, dualtant me fust triste, luctueuse et lachrimable la nuyt suyvant, en la quelle environ les xii heures le feu ce (*sic*) 'print, et ne peut lon sçavoir commant, en une tourd de mon logis ou questoint tous mes habilliemens, vayselle et principaulx meubles, et finablement tout mon avoir."

[‡] That of the 5th, see No. 1131, p. 811.

1533.

caused her household and yearly allowance to be considerably reduced. Upon which the Princess of her own accord, without consulting anyone on her own case (indeed had she asked for permission to communicate with any of her advisers she would never have obtained it) made a suitable answer to the Royal commissioners who called on her, and wrote a letter to the King, her father, saying that she would as long as she lived obey his commands, but that she really could not renounce the titles, rights, and privileges which God, Nature, and her own parents had given her. Being the daughter of a king and of a queen, putting aside other circumstances, she was rightly called Princess. The King, her father, might do his pleasure and give her any title he liked, but it should not be said of her that she had expressly or tacitly prejudiced her legitimacy, or the rights of the Queen, her mother, whose example she was determined to follow, by placing herself entirely in the hands of God, and bearing with patience all her misfortunes.

With regard to the Queen's allowance no change has yet taken place, inasmuch as her marriage settlements were drawn up, confirmed, and authorized by the Estates of the kingdom, and cannot be easily revoked without their concurrence, or by new ordinances and statutes; still less the dowry which she is entitled to in case of widowhood. Such may be the reason, as the Queen herself imagines, and yet Parliament will be assembled on the 4th of November next, and the Queen firmly believes, as there is every appearance of it, that the King will then and there cause a motion to be made to that effect. To obviate which she has now requested me to write to Your Majesty to send here some personage with particular instructions to represent to this king and Parliament that which may be thought proper and expedient for her affairs, or else to have the said commission addressed to me, though she thinks, and I am entirely of her opinion, that for the reasons explained in my despatch of the 27th ult^{o} it would be far preferable to depute an ambassador expressly for that purpose. It is for Your Majesty with your consumate wisdom and greater knowledge of affairs to decide in this case.

The Queen has, moreover, charged me to beg and entreat that Your Majesty make every effort to persuade His Holiness to have the sentence carried into execution immediately, through the most rigorous and binding terms of justice, without, however, forgetting to solicit the settlement of the main case; for she really thinks that if Your Majesty and the Pope continue holding the bridle firmly, and not shewing weakness or indifference in this business, these people will come to the point and listen to reason.* *Indeed, whatever confidence and courage these people may shew, there can be no*

---

* "Et espere et croit veritablement la dicte royne que si vostre maieste et le pape continuent a tenir la bride ferme a ceulx-cy, sans leur monstrer doulceur ne froideur, quilz viendront au poinct et a la rayson."

1533.

doubt, as the Queen herself believes and asserts, that they are full of fear and awe, which will greatly increase when they see that the Pope, in whom they still have some hope, keeps firm.

The Queen, for the sake of the King, her husband, whom she still loves and respects, dares not point out other remedies in her present case, except those of right and strict justice; but that good and holy bishop of Worcester (Fisher) advises prompt action on the part of Your Majesty, *such as I recommended in one of my last despatches.** *Indeed, not many days ago he sent me word to say that strong measures must now be taken. In this opinion of the good and pious Bishop the majority of the English nation, as I am told, concur; no one doubts but that Your Majesty will take the affair in hand; otherwise they fear the mere suspension of the intercourse of trade will be the cause of revolt and much trouble and confusion in this country. To obviate this the smallest sea force will suffice; innumerable people from all ranks of society, who wish for the prosperity and welfare of their country keep telling me so, and deafening my ears with their appeals.*†

As to my communicating with the Queen's councillors, and asking their opinion on her affairs, there has been yet no opportunity, as I have informed Your Majesty in my preceding despatches, for not one of them dares give counsel or mix himself up with the affair. What my advice is in the present emergency I need not specify, having already stated it on more than one occasion. I will not trouble Your Majesty further, but leave it to your superior wisdom and prudence in wordly affairs to decide on the best course to be followed.

I cannot guess why the King is making such haste in the reform of the Princess' household *unless it be to please his mistress, whose importunate and malignant cravings are well known,* or else to have occasion and excuse to ask from Parliament the help and grant in money which they are in the habit of voting on the birth of a prince or princess of England. At least such is the general belief, for Parliament has again chosen a number of its members on whom the King is to confer knighthoods, for which honour a sum of money will be got out of them, those who refuse paying also a certain sum to be exempted from the above honourable distinction.‡

---

* See above, No. 1129, p. 808.

† "De loppinion du quel a ce que puis entendre sont la plus part des anglois, et ne doubtent synon que vostre maieste ny veuille entendre, car sans cela ils craignent que venant la prohibicion de la contractation ils se mutineront ensemble, et quil y aura ung desordre inestimable ; auquel se obvieroit a la moindre armee que vostre maieste mectroit sur mer, et de cecy me rompent les oreilles continuellement innumerables gens de bien de tous estatz."

‡ "Du moins sur ce titre ylz ont rechoysiz de nouveau gens que le roy veult que ce facent cheualiers, et de ceulx que le seront yl tirera dargent pour lhonneur quil leur aura faict, et des autres que reffuseront yl a (*sic*, en) aura pour les exempter."

1533.

I also fancy, that in order to compel the Queen to accede to his wishes, the King is treating the Princess, his daughter, in this way; but he is very much mistaken if he thinks that he can thus convert her to his views. Perhaps, too, he imagines that by re-establishing the Princess in her rights, and causing her to be declared his heir for want of lineal male descent, he may get Your Majesty to consent to this new marriage.* *After all his bad star may be the cause of his being precipitated into a line of conduct which cannot fail to bring on him the animadversion and blame of all the world;* and it is to be feared that unless a prompt and efficacious remedy be applied he will be urged on to treat the Princess with still greater indignity, *and compel her by sheer force to renounce all her rights, shut her up in a nunnery, or marry her against her inclination and will. I have accordingly warned the Queen of my misgivings, and told the Princess to write down and sign a protest, which she is to keep ready at hand.*

Suspecting perhaps the fidelity of the lieutenant-governor of Ireland,† *the King has lately sent for him, but having been already twice a prisoner in the Tower, it is not likely that he will obey the summons and come back so as to be shut up a third time. The Governor has sent his wife to make his excuses, and say that he is in bad health and cannot come; but the King insists upon his presenting himself at Court.* It is impossible to say what may be the upshot of it. Other grandees of that country (Ireland) have also been sent for, for the King seems to have some flea in his ear (*quelque pusse en loreille*), either from jealousy and suspicion at this late interview of His Holiness and the king of France, or for some other reason, and is continually holding councils with his favourites. Two days ago he dispatched a courier to France, *and they tell me that after to-morrow he is to send another; and it is believed that both will take plenty of money with them to corrupt the Pope and the cardinals, and all that is corruptible in this world. The King has, moreover, sent preachers through his dominions to inveigh as much as possible against the Pope. One among the rest has spread as many or more errors than Luther himself. So much so that all the prelates of this kingdom, except the archbishop of Canterbury, are at the King to make him punish this man; the last-named prelate, however, supports him, and the King therefore will not listen to the prayers of his clergy. Indeed, were it not for the fear the King himself has that his subjects, prone as they are to rebellion, will one day imitate the example of the German peasantry, and rise against their*

---

* "Je pense aussy que pour (*sic*, par) le moyen dainsy traycter la dicte princesse il cuyde convertyr la royne, mays il se trompe. Ou par avanture que venant a gratiffier a vostre maieste de restablir la dicte princesse en son estat et la faire desclayrer heritiere par faulte de lignee masculine, que vostre maieste ne le inquiecteroit pour son nouveau marriage."

† Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth earl of Kildare.

natural lords, he would already have declared himself openly a Lutheran.[*]

Respecting the funds required for the cost of legal proceedings in the Queen's case, which Your Majesty ordered his viceroy of Naples to place at our disposal, there has been hitherto no necessity for them; whenever any application was made by the lawyers engaged for the suit at Rome the money was immediately remitted to them, and even after the sentence was pronounced I paid a bill of exchange for 500 ducats drawn upon me by Master Johan Colardy.[†]

A Biscayan ship has been recently captured on the coast between Ireland and Wales by certain English privateers, at which the King and those of his Privy Council have shewn much displeasure, having immediately issued orders for the recovery of the said ship and cargo, as well as all the warrants required, as full and explicit as I myself could desire.

The Doctor's journey, and that of the prior of the Augustines, about which I wrote in my despatch of the 5th, has been put off, and there is no longer a talk of their mission abroad.

. . . .

London, 10th October 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 4.

---

12 Oct. **1134.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 171, f. 264 v°.

. . . .

It is not known yet when these "Cortes" will be closed, as there is no appearance at present of the deputies getting through their work. Luis Tobar, however, returned their other day from Madrid, having satisfactorily dispatched all the business he had in hand.

No news has been received yet of what our ambassadors may have achieved at Constantinople. Everyone here is amazed at the negligence shewn in these matters. According to the letters of His Majesty, on the 7th, the Emperor expected to hear soon, for their arrival at Vienna was announced for the 24th. What the cause of the delay may be nobody here dares conjecture.

Relief of Coron and whatever efforts have been made to obtain for Juan de Aramendez an increase of salary as a

---

[*] "Il a despeche puys deux jours courrier pour la court de France, et dit lon que dans deux autres yl en despechera aussy ung, [et croyt lon que lung et lautre pourteront argent pour corrompre pape et cardinaulx et de ce quest au monde possible. Et entre les autres qui preschent, il y an a ung quil (*sic*) seme austant ou plus derreurs que Luthere, et sont tous les prelatz apres le roy pour le faire pugnir, excepte canterbury que se soubtient, mais le roy ne les veult ouyr. Et est a croyre que neust este la craincte que le roy a questant son peuple ayse a mutinacion, et que ses subiects luy pourroient fere comme les paysans dallemaigne vouloient fere a leur seigneurs, il se fust desia declaire tout ouvertement Lutherien."

[†] Giovanni Colardi (?)

1533.

reward for his long and valuable services have hitherto been unavailing. Instead of the 35 ducats that all those of his class receive, he is only allowed 12, which, considering his age and duties, is insufficient. He is very much hurt at it, the more so that he is now giving lessons of dancing to the sons of the High Commander.* Letters should be written in his favour to the latter, to Don Garcia de Padilla and to Lict^{e} Polanco, &c.

Barbarossa, with all his galleys, plunder, and captives is reported to have sailed for Constantinople. On his way thither, and passing by Çiliçia (Sicily ?), he anchored at a port on that coast, took and destroyed seven ships he found inside the harbour, and landing some of his forces destroyed and burnt the place, took many slaves, and went away, in what direction no one knows, though it is conjectured that he is about to take the command of the Turkish fleet. His son he leaves at Algiers with the title of Bey. He has made great ravages on this Catalonian coast, as well as in those of Valencia and Mallorca and Sardinia, and if no remedy be shortly applied there is every reason to think that he will make still greater havoc in future.— Monçon, 12th October 1533.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

12 Oct. **1135.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 264.

Wrote on the 12th, answering that of the 6th of August from Vienna. At that time the Emperor was anxiously expecting news of the [Austrian] ambassadors, and of their return from Constantinople, &c.

Not a step has been advanced in the business of the cardinal of Trent. Both Covos and Granvelle keep saying that until the breaking up of these Cortes nothing can be done. Tobar and he (Salinas) had occasion to speak the other day to the Emperor. His answer was that the three Estates of this kingdom had petitioned him not to grant ecclesiastical benefices, or bishoprics to foreigners. He could not, therefore, accede to His Majesty's wishes for the present.

Had no time to write by the last post respecting the Bavarian affair, or mention what passed on the occasion with Conrad, the servant of the dukes. The reason was that only a few hours before the departure of the latter, and when his despatch was closed, and already in Conrad's hands, Granvelle called and gave him (Salinas) the details of the whole affair. Hears, however, that an annual pension of 800 ducats

---

* "Ya vuestra merced se acordará la ynstancia y solicitud que yçimos por dos vezes por hazer proveer á Juan de Aramendez de la quitacion que los otros sus compañeros tienen, que es de xxxv ducados por que á el no le dan mas que 12, en lo qual se le haze grande agravio, dexado aparte que por sus servicios meresce ser aventajado de mucho mas que los otros, y aunque por dos vezes lo emprendimos no fue su dicha que lo proveyese su mag^{t}, de lo que está afrentado y con mucha razon. Agora hale venido a este la de tener cargo de mostrar á dançar á los hijos del comendador mayor Cobos (*sic*), y dél está S. S. muy contento."

1533.

has been offered to the agent of the Belzers (Welzers) for the trouble he has taken in the settlement of the affair. Proportionate pensions have likewise been offered to Covos and Granvelle, which, however, they could not accept for fear of displeasing his Imperial Majesty, and therefore he (Salinas) recommends that letters of acknowledgment should be written to them, &c.—Monçon, 12th October 1533.

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

14 Oct. **1136.** COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 860, ff. 194–6. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 18.

Wrote on the 12th by a courier dispatched by the ambassador residing here (in France), but could not then answer Your Majesty's letter of the 24th ult°, nor that of the 12th received on the 20th.

The day after our landing in this port I called on His Holiness in company with Your Majesty's ambassador. Three days after I saw him again and asked him what had been the subject of conversation between him and the king of France. His answer was (*cipher*:) that as the French were always quick in expressing their sentiments and thoughts, the King had at once signified his will and his desire of perpetual friendship with Your Majesty in order that through it some good might be effectuated in Christendom. He (the King said) had faithfully complied with the treaty of Cambray in all its parts by which his hands had been so tied that he had found it exceedingly hard to act; he could not but resent its severity. It was clear that if Your Majesty would not treat him as your younger brother as he was, he could not help you against the Turk, nor do your pleasure in any other respect. Such being the state of things, the King intended to remain quiet in his own kingdom, defending himself as well as he could, and gathering strength for the future.* Which speech meant, if I am not mistaken, that whenever the opportunity occurred, and he saw Your Majesty in actual need (which may God forbid) he would try to forward his views and gain his own ends.

With regard to the Council, His Holiness told me what the King's sentiments were. He thought that unless a perfect conformity of ideas existed between Your Majesty and him the assembly could not possibly meet for any good, because if each monarch held a different opinion more harm would be done than good. For this reason (he said) the Council could not be convoked, besides which the Germans wished it to be in some town within their own territory which was highly inconvenient. (*Cipher*:) On this particular point I made no

---

* "Y que pues V. M. no le queria tener por hermano menor, como la era. que él no podia ayudar para hazer guerra á los Turcos, ny para otra cosa que V, M^{d} quisiese emprender entre tanto que él assi estuviese, diziendo que él se estará en su reyno guardandole como mejor pudiere y rehaziendole."

1533.

answer for the reasons specified in my former despatches, but I failed not to remind His Holiness in general terms of the instructions which Your Majesty gave me verbally at Bologna in his very presence, when I was introduced to him, which were reduced to this: "I was to take particular care to promote everything tending to preserve the union and friendship with him and avoid any cause likely to impair that union." That (I said) had been my rule of conduct ever since my arrival in Rome, and would continue to be so as long as I was Your Majesty's representative, for I imagined that was the only way of promoting the general welfare of Christendom, and his own particular interests and those of Your Majesty. Prosecuting my purpose, I went on to say that it was evident to me that in bringing about this interview the King's sole and exclusive object had been to try and persuade him that a modification of the treaty of Cambray was very necessary. I had repeatedly called His Holiness' attention to that, and he himself had assured me on every occasion that nothing would be done or discussed to Your Majesty's prejudice or against the letter of the said treaty. I, therefore, entreated him not to listen to the King's proposals, and provoke Your Majesty's displeasure by countenancing him in his preposterous demands, &c. His Holiness said that I was right and promised to do this, but as Your Majesty remarked to me on the day I took leave, His Holiness' art consists in temporizing both with Your Majesty and with the king of France. There is every reason to think that the object of the interview is the marriage itself, and if that is effected, perhaps, too, of some other secret compact between them two, the nature of which has not yet transpired, although we all have our fears.

The Pope also told me on this occasion that although the king of France was very much inclined to war, the Grand Master (Anne de Montmorency) was just the reverse. This information the Pope said he had from a person from whom the Grand Master had no secrets; he had accordingly exhorted him to persevere in his purpose, and not allow his master to rush imprudently into undertakings likely to provoke a quarrel. Had pointed out to him the dangers and horrors of war, and the possibility of his being called upon to command the armies of France at a time when there was a lack of experienced generals. And it would appear that the Grand Master concurring in this idea, and the better to gain his end, gives out that it is well to make war for such a purpose, but that in order to ensure success it is necessary well to fortify the places on the frontiers, collect money and provisions, ascertain what friends and allies France may count upon, and so forth, and that in this way the Grand Master is gaining time.

Cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici has frequently offered his services, and seems desirous of being agreeable to Your

Majesty. He told me the other day that the king of France had flattered him immensely, and importuned him to go and dine and converse with him, and that he (Medici) had declined his invitation and shut himself up in his apartments under the excuse that he was indisposed. With all that I am told that they are about to give him in France an abbey *worth* 8,000 *ducats a year*. This last report is not certain; but still if I am to judge from the many offers the Cardinal has made me, and from other reasons, I must say that it is likely enough.

I have in a preceding despatch alluded to the renunciation [of her right to the dukedom of Urbino] made by the Duchesina (Caterina). His Holiness has since told me that the deed had been properly drawn up and sworn to before magistrates.* He (the Pope) would not have it done at Florence for fear people should think that she (the Duchesina) had been compelled to subscribe it. Another deed had been drawn separately, purporting that should the marriage of the duke of Orleans not be effected the act of renunciation would be null and void. Should the marriage take place, as he had every reason to think, he would cause his niece to renounce again. If Your Majesty wishes for copies of those deeds they shall be sent.

With regard to Coron, His Holiness tells me in plain words that the king of France is unwilling to help, and that the Grand Master of Rhodes would not undertake its defence unless provided with ample means, &c. The prior of the Order called the other day upon me, and said that after talking the matter over with several captains who had served in those parts, it was agreed that Coron could not be successfully defended against an army of 20,000 or 30,000 Turks. The Order was nowadays very poor, and could scarcely provide for Maltha, Tripoli, and their own galleys. If a sum of 80,000 ducats was put aside for them they might perhaps undertake the defence of that port, not otherwise. I intend pressing His Holiness on this point in case the French king should be, as it is reported and as I believe, intriguing with the Order, and dissuading them from the enterprize, though I am told that the other day he said to His Holiness: "People say I am sorry at Coron having been relieved; they are much mistaken; I am, on the contrary, very glad to see the Emperor spend his substance there; should he abandon the place or should the enemy take it from him it would be a shame."

Respecting Novi I called on His Holiness, together with the Ferrarese ambassador, and requested him to give orders for the delivery of the castle which Leonelo Pio da Carpi has usurped. His Holiness' answer was that he was not aware that the League was bound to declare war on account of one single castle, the possession of which was in dispute; and

---

* "Que se hizo muy sustancialmente por que ella renunció con auctoridad de juhezes (*sic*) y juramento como convenia."

1533.

besides that the duke of Ferrara* had not actually made his deposit when Leonelo took the castle from him, and, therefore, that the League was not obliged to procure its restitution. My reply was that the deposit had been made, as could be shewn by authentic instruments. His Holiness and the League were bound to have the castle returned to its lawful owner; besides which it was a fief of the Empire, &c. "The Emperor" (said the Pope) "has been misinformed. I know very well the castle and the adjoining lands were formerly a lagoon (*paludas*), which the Carpi family bought from the Church." I maintained the contrary, and nothing of course was settled. I fancy that the Pope will delay until winter comes on; a commission will then be given to Antonio de Leyva to attack the castle, but as the winter season will not permit of it nothing will be done. Meanwhile Leonelo will strengthen the fortifications, and in this manner nothing will be accomplished. *In fact this negotiation seems to me very much like that of the Council,* and, therefore, will no more touch on the subject until we are fairly out of France and back in Rome.

I wrote from Pisa that His Holiness had paid his part of the 25,000 ducats for the [relief of the] Swiss. The money I myself received at Niza from abbot del Nero, the Papal Commissary. I have since dispatched a messenger with it to the ambassador at Genoa (Gomez Suarez de Figueroa), together with letters for the Dean of Besançon, Prothonotary Caracciolo, and Antonio de Leyva, advising each of them of the remittance of the funds. But from a letter of Besançon lately received I am inclined to think that the Swiss, being the sort of people Your Majesty knows, will delay the conclusion of the proposed league until they see how the interview will turn out, and what is to come out of it. Your Majesty will decide what is to be done in this respect, because though Besançon has written to ask my advice, I have answered in vague terms, not knowing exactly Your Majesty's wishes in this respect. In my opinion the league between three of the Swiss cantons—the only three that are sure to agree—is certain to be effected. I have not mentioned this to the Pope for the reasons Your Majesty will no doubt appreciate.

The archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) has not yet come, nor will he for some time; the Pope's affairs are now in the hands of a servant of that archbishop, named Carnisseca, who before becoming one of the Pope's secretaries *had been one of his most favourite* servants. It was through him (Carnisseca) that I heard the intelligence forwarded to Your Majesty *on the 7th of May about a proposed interview at Perpignan, which idea the Capuan himself* repeated to me afterwards.

---

* "Tornandole a hablar en ello dixo que no havia depositado el duque quando le tomaron el dicho castillo, y assi no eran obligados en la cobranza de él."

1533.

I enter into these details because in the last letter from Your Majesty I am interrogated about the person who gave me the information concerning His Holiness' movements, &c.

Francesco Taverna, the grand chancellor of the duke of Milan, came to me and presented a letter from his master explaining the business he came for. He did the same with the [Imperial] ambassador, Juan Euart.* He had (he said) seen the Pope, who had advised him to treat the King with all possible consideration (*usase de toda blandura*); he had also called on the Grand Master (Montmorency), by whom he was well received, and promised an audience from the King. This happened four days ago, and as Taverna has not made his appearance in this embassy since, it has been agreed between the said Juan Evart and me to send for him and try to ascertain what his commission is, *for fear he should take engagements, &c. in his master's name.*†

The Vayvod's ambassador is here. Warned His Holiness about him.

Romaricomonte suit.—Brief for the abbey of Monferrara. It has since been made out according to our views, and a fresh minute has come; I will take care that the fresh brief is made out in accordance with it.

Indulto Quadragesimal.—Rodrigo de Sahavedra, a relative of the archbishop of Santiago de Compostella, and other prisoners in France. The king of France has been spoken to, and has promised that as soon as his galleys return from Rome to take the Pope they will all be set at liberty.

Agent of the archbishop of Palermo, president of the Council of the Low Countries.

Duke of Malfa and Pirro de Xipiciano (*sic*). Their matters to be adjusted to the great comfort of the Sienese.—Marsilie (Marseille), 14th October 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

16 Oct. **1137.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 58.

In consequence of the arrival of a courier from Marseilles, dispatched on the 7th inst. by this king's ambassadors, the meeting of Parliament, which had been fixed for the 4th of November has been prorogued till the 15th of January next. I cannot say whether the arrival of the courier has anything to do with this measure, or whether it is that the King is waiting for the result of the interview between the king of France and the Pope, against the latter of whom partly this meeting of Parliament is intended, should he not gratify this

---

* Thus written, but most likely meant for Enart (Hannart?), viscount of Lombecke.

† "Esto es porque no haga ninguna cosa de las que se podrian temer."

1533.

king by acceding to his wishes; but the fact is, as I say, that Parliament has been prorogued. I have thought it my duty to inform Your Majesty of the said prorogation in order that if an ambassador is to come here, or a commission given to me in conformity with the Queen's wishes, as expressed in my last despatch, no hasty steps should be taken in the affair, as there will be plenty of time to deliberate.

Nothing new has occurred since the date of my last despatch, except that the King has made the Princess, his daughter, move from the fine house in which she was dwelling to a very wretched one, most unfit for this present season. He has done still more; the Princess' residence he has given or let—I cannot say which—to lord Rochefort, the brother of the Lady, who is already furnishing it and sending thither his household servants.

I omitted in my last despatch to specify all the names of those who had gone by the King's commands to speak to the Princess. These were the earls of Auffort (Oxford), Excez (Essex), and Succez (Sussex), and Dr. Sampson, all of whom tried by prayers, threats, and persuasions innumerable to make her give up the name and title of Princess,* and submit entirely to her father's will in this respect as God commands. But the Princess, I am told, replied so wisely and discreetly that the said lords knew not what to say, and all shed tears in consequence.† And I hear also that following her mother's example, she would never consent to hear them in private; but insisted upon their delivering the King's message in public and before all her household assembled for the purpose. *She was no doubt afraid, as she has since declared that in the absence of witnesses the King's deputies might make some statement to her prejudice or disadvantage.*‡ *It is impossible for me to describe the love and affection which the English bear to their Princess, but they are already so much accustomed to see and tolerate such disorderly things that they tacitly commit the redress of the same to God and to Your Majesty.*—London, 16th October 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor. Received the 2nd of December."

French. Holograph. pp. 1½.

22 Oct. **1138.** The Papal Nuncio to the Same.

S. E. L. 1,457, f. 132.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 26.

His Imperial Majesty kisses His Holiness' feet for having taken the trouble of announcing his departure from Rome. There

Has come to announce His Holiness' departure from Rome. Begs to be excused for having been so

---

* "Les quels la tentarent (*sic*) et par prieres, mennasses et inummerables persuasions se vouloer despourter le nom et tittre de princesse."

† "De sorte que ne sçavoint bonnement les dicts seigneurs que replicquer et ny eust personne a la compagnie que ne pleurast bien chauldemant."

‡ "Ils pourroint rappourter et testiffier une chose pour autre a quelque sien dammage et preiudice."

was no need of excuses for his Nuncio's delay, as no ceremonies ought to stand between them.	long on the road. Could not come sooner owing to two bishops, who were to have accompanied him, having fallen ill on the road.
His Imperial Majesty trusts, after what passed at Bologna between them, and what count de Cifuentes has since written, that His Holiness will keep his word.	His Holiness fully promises that nothing prejudicial to the public or private affairs of His Majesty shall be discussed at the interview.
No answer has yet come from the electors, though His Majesty expects it every day. The Emperor, however, trusts and hopes that His Holiness will not let pass such a good opportunity as that of this interview to induce the Most Christian King to act in conformity with the agreement made at Bologna, since His Holiness then said that one of the principal objects of the interview was to prepare the Most Christian King for the Council. The reduction of the Swiss cannot fail to be profitable, and a good beginning towards it.	His Holiness wishes to know what has been the result of the negotiations carried on in Germany by the bishop of Reggio,* and president of Malines (Mechlin) who left Bologna on a mission respecting the Council, and the time and place of its convocation. Also the hopes His Holiness entertains of the reduction of the Swiss.
His Majesty cannot but commend His Holiness' good intentions in this matter. Orders have accordingly been sent to count de Cifuentes and to viscount de Lombech (Jean Hannart), his ambassadors at Rome and in France, to treat with His Holiness and the King as to the best means of carrying on war against the Infidel, and invading one part or other of his dominions.	With regard to the enterprize against the Turk, His Holiness is of opinion that two expeditions ought to be undertaken; one by the Emperor against Greece, the other by the king of France against Syria. The former he considers to be the most easy, because the inhabitants are known to profess goodwill towards the Christians, and if they obey the Turk it is by sheer force. If so, securities might be asked and obtained from the French against their fleet attempting anything in Italy, as it might be stipulated that their army should land in Syria previous to the sailing of the Imperial galleys for the coast of Greece. The general good resulting to Christendom by this arrangement might influence the king of France not to disturb it any longer, but conform entirely with the treaty of Cambray.

---

* If Reggio in Lombardy (Regium Lepidi) be meant, the bishop's name must have been Hugo Rangoni, from the 18th of December 1510, to his death on the 28th of August 1540; but there is in Naples another Reggio (Rhegium Julii) whose bishop from 1529 to 1537 was a Spaniard, called Hieronimo Centelles.

This business being of the nature and importance that it is, and considering what has happened since both separated at Bologna, His Majesty cannot return a categorical answer to this paragraph without first communicating with the Queen, his aunt. The Emperor will write and persuade her to follow the course pointed out by His Holiness; but nevertheless the Pope most humbly requests him not to stay any longer the execution of the sentence pronounced in consistory at Rome, nor the proceedings in the principal cause as befits his own authority and the Queen's right. His Majesty cannot do less than insist on this last point, and when called upon to act will do his duty in the manner often declared and lately pointed out to the Count.	Having prorogued the sentence on the matrimonial cause of England for one month with a view to obtaining, if possible, at his interview with the king of France some suggestion as to the best manner of putting an end to the suit, His Holiness wishes to know whether His Majesty, the Emperor, would consent to the principal cause being introduced, and an engagement taken between the parties concerned, for the case to be tried at Cambray, or elsewhere by impartial judges and commissaries appointed by himself, and to be afterwards determined at Rome, provided, however, the king of England promised to return to his legitimate wife, and should cast away from him Ana de Boulans (Anne Boleyn). His Holiness, moreover, wishes to know what assistance the Emperor is willing to give in case of the above-said expedient not being accepted, or of its not producing the desired effect, and how he intends to help in the execution of the sentence and ecclesiastical censures consequent upon the King's refusal.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

22 Oct. **1139.** OPINION of a COUNCILLOR on the MEMORANDUM of the PAPAL NUNCIO.

S. E. *Roma* L. 1,457, ff. 134–5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 29.

With regard to the ninth clause in the Nuncio's memorandum: namely, this divorce attempted by the king of England, and which he has actually carried into effect by marrying Anna de Boulans (Anne Boleyn) in defiance of and in disobedience to the injunctions of the Holy Apostolic See and to the contempt of His Holiness' authority and right—an act so notoriously scandalous that there is no need to dwell on it—it would seem that if Christian kings and princes, now owning obedience to His Holiness and to the said Holy Apostolic See in all matters of its charge, should tolerate such action, no possible union could henceforward be expected in Christendom in spiritual matters or in war against the Infidel.

It will therefore be a matter for serious consideration to decide whether His Imperial Majesty can consistently with the interests of Christianity and his own approve of the means proposed in the Nuncio's memorandum, viz., that

1533.

the trial be at the place and with the conditions pointed out in the said article. This would seem at first sight both legal and reasonable. One might even gather from the letters and answers of the Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) that he is in favour of it, and thinks it would be the means of gaining time, and allowing an opportunity for the Queen's greater justification, whether the proposed means be carried into effect or not. On the other hand, it is important to know whether it will not be better to leave this matter for the Queen's decision, and ask her consent, inasmuch as the sentence pronounced in her favour must be sooner or later executed in a most peremptory manner; also because it might happen that the Queen herself, for the upholding of her rights and those of the Princess, her daughter, would like to add other conditions respecting their personal treatment, and likewise respecting the declaration and assurance for which His Holiness asks with regard to the execution of the sentence and censures fulminated against the King. Lastly, it is also a matter of consideration whether the sentence is to be made more explicit than hitherto, or whether the Emperor ought merely refer the Nuncio to the answer as above, considering that since the last sentence nothing particular has occurred to change the nature of the case.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6.

— **1140.** Another OPINION on the same MEMORANDUM.

S. E. R. L. 1,457, ff. 136–7. B.M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 36.

The means proposed in the ninth clause of the Nuncio's memorandum seems acceptable, inasmuch as the king of England having once parted company with Anne [Boleyn], the sentence pronounced by the Pope in favour of the Queen is "ipso facto" executed, at least during the time specified in the sentence. Nor can it be in any way inconvenient to take cognizance of the cause in England, since it is expressly said that the judges to be appointed by His Holiness are to be wholly above suspicion, and that the final determination (*definicion*) of the cause is to take place at Rome, and last, not least, that the King's separation from his mistress must precede all other measures, as well as the restoration of the Queen's rights. It would, therefore, seem that if the king of England submits to the Pope's judgment entirely, and renounces whatever he has hitherto alleged in favour of the privileges of his kingdom, as well as the "declaratories" made by him in Parliament, no better means can be thought of to attain the desired object.

On this point His Imperial Majesty's answer might be that without consulting the Queen about it, and obtaining her previous consent in a matter that principally concerns her, it is out of the question for the Emperor to say *yes* or *no*. Though he believes the proposition to be right in intent, and that the expedient proposed, if speedily carried into effect, may be thought acceptable, yet the Emperor cannot in an affair of this importance take the decision upon himself. He will, however, with the greatest possible haste, inform the Queen, as well as his ambassador in England, of what His Holiness' and his own answer has been, begging him at the same time to keep in mind the justice due to the Queen, and not to allow the sentence pronounced by him and his cardinals in public consistory to be disregarded, &c.

To the last part of the same article, where the Nuncio asks in His Holiness' name for a declaration of what His Imperial Majesty purposes doing for the execution of the sentence, the answer might be in general terms: that the Emperor will be, as hitherto, the obedient son of His Holiness and of the Apostolic See. There is no need to say any more about this, but only repeat the assurances given by the Imperial ambassadors at Rome.

In this sense ought the Nuncio to be spoken to here, and a letter written to the ambassador (Sylva).

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 2.

22 Oct. **1141.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 265 v°.

Don Luis de Tobar was on the point of departing when the Emperor ordered him to remain until the Empress' answer was ready. This cannot be long in coming, and then Tobar will set off having accomplished the various objects for which he came to this country.

Much displeasure, as well as anxiety, has been felt at this court at not having heard of Your Majesty's health, and especially of the answer which the Austrian ambassadors received from the Turk at Constantinople. Lope de Soria, who is now at Venice, writes in date of the 3rd inst. that the embassy had actually left Constantinople, though he does not specify on what terms, nor whether the negotiations for peace have been brought to a close.—Monçon, 22nd October, 1533.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

22 Oct. **1142.** The SAME to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 266.

In consequence of Tobar's delay caused by the Emperor's wish that he should take home the Empress' answer to our King's letter, the present despatch has been kept back until this day.

The affair of the half fruits (*media annata*) to be paid by the clergy of these kingdoms is still in suspense; no one knows yet how and when it is to be paid. In Castille certain negotiations have been carried on on terms which promise fair to be beneficial to both parties, to the Emperor and to the clergy of these dominions.

Letters for the High Commander [of Leon] and for Mr. de

1533.

Granvelle commending their daily services are much to be desired. Pray bear in mind the Vormia affair,* &c.—Monçon, 22nd October 1533.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

24 Oct. **1143.** COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 806, f. 37.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 42.

On Monday the 20th inst. auditor Simonetta, the bishop of Como, and Dr. Bucla† having met by His Holiness' commands at the hotel of the Grand Chancellor of France, this latter spoke warmly in favour of the English king, and complained of the advocation by His Holiness of the matrimonial cause, which, he said, had been in the first instance remitted to England, and afterwards brought to Rome, though he (the Pope) had promised not to advoke it.

This argument was answered by the Pope's deputies, who said: that the mandate advoking the case had not been issued by His Holiness until after consulting his referendaries and all the cardinals, and that the commission granted to the Queen had been granted after due notice to the English ambassadors, who informed thereof the referendaries and cardinals. That at the time one of the ambassadors was that same Dr. Stefano (Stephen Gardyner), who had now come on behalf of the King; one of the principal causes for the advocation being that Alboracen (the archbishop of York), one of the judges appointed was the King's subject and vassal, as well as one of his ministers, and the chief instigator against the Queen, whilst the other judge, Campeggio, was likewise very much attached to the King, who had given him a very fat bishopric [in England]. The "locus juditii" was also open to suspicion, as the Queen swore, and as is well known.

The promise which His Holiness made at the time of not advoking the cause to himself was on condition of the Queen's not appealing. The clause establishing this condition was not inserted in the mandate for fear it might give the Queen occasion and excuse to make that complaint, besides which the promise of not advoking the cause, though it was not explicitly expressed, was perfectly understood to be "provided no new incident supervened." That is why the Queen having alleged that both the judges of the cause and the "locus" or place wherein it was to be tried were open to suspicion, His Holiness could not do less than advoke the said cause to himself, as it was actually advoked with the vote of all his referendaries and cardinals.

The second complaint made by the Grand Chancellor of France was to the effect that His Holiness had actually annulled the King's marriage to Anne [Boleyn], and declared

---

* "Suplico á v. md. no ponga en holuido el negocio de Bormia, y de la Rota (*sic*) del año pasado, y principalmente [el] de la ropa del nuestro amigo Sancho Bravo."

† "Juntados por mandato de su santidad lunes á xx. del presente el auditor Simonetta, el obispo de Como (Triulzo) y el doctor Bucla (?)"

1533.

the issue illegitimate, whereas it is an axiom of right that a prohibition does not affect the validity of a marriage.*

The answer to this last argument of the Grand Chancellor was that this was to be understood unless the prohibition were Papal, with "decretos irritantes," which we hold to be such according to the true and common opinion of doctors in this matter. And upon the said Grand Chancellor replying that it was His Holiness who had aggrieved (*grauado*) the King by the issue of such decrees, he was told that this was done on purpose, in order to avoid scandal and by intimidation hinder the King from taking another wife.

Another of the Chancellor's complaints was that the restitution of the Queen to all her rights, as prescribed by His Holiness, was general and comprehensive, meaning that the King would be compelled to lead a conjugal life with her as at first, which could not be done, there being a doubt as to the aforesaid prohibition being of Divine right.

To this the answer was that the sentence does not especially refer to the "copula;" it was purposely so stated in general terms because should the King's conscience not be grieved and burdened through it he might possibly abstain, since the sentence does not particularly specify it.

The same Grand Chancellor complained that Anne Boleyn had been unjustly excommunicated, not having been previously summoned.

The answer was that the sentence does not excommunicate her, and yet that she ought and might have been so excommunicated, inasmuch as in the first commission given [to the two cardinals], as well as in some of the briefs afterwards sent, it was forbidden to any woman under pain of excommunication to contract matrimony with the King, and that at that time nothing was known here [at Rome] about the said Anne being the King's mistress.

The Grand Chancellor, moreover, attempted to speak about the principal matter, but was told that there was no need of entering on that subject, since nothing had yet been decided.

On the ensuing day, which was Tuesday, the said Grand Chancellor accompanied by cardinal Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) and two doctors went up to the Pope, spoke about these same things, and was answered as above. Subsequently to this both cardinals stated that the king [of England] was willing to obey the sentence provided the Pope should issue a mandate advoking the whole business from the College of Cardinals, and transferring it to some neutral place, such as Cambray, as His Holiness had once hinted; the mandate, of course, not to be valid unless the King within two months obeyed the sentence.† It was, therefore, resolved to grant the commission, which, however, could not be done without the King's power to accept the same, which they [the cardinals] say is already in their possession.

---

* "Siendo un axioma de derecho que el matrimonio hecho contra la prohibicion es valido."

† Y mas propusieron que el Rey de Anglatarra quiere obedescer la sentencia, dandole el Papa una comission, que se tenga por no concedida si el Rey no obedesce dentro de dos meses.

As this obedience and compliance with the Papal sentence is but a complimentary feint on the part of the King, and there is besides every reason to think that they will do nothing of the kind, except, perhaps, the mere ceremony of offering the Queen an apartment within the Royal Palace, that they may obtain the said mandate and withdraw the cause from Rome; as it is evident, moreover, that even if they obeyed truly the words of the mandate, it would turn out to the Queen's detriment, inasmuch as we believe her cause to be gained in Rome, and principally in the Rota (all the auditors of which are lawyers as well as canonists); as besides this the cause would be delayed by numerous appeals, by hints of suspicion, and by other dilatory expedients, and would, as it were, become interminable: for these reasons and many others, and principally because the Queen herself has challenged all judges and places in Europe except Rome and His Holiness as open to suspicion, he (the Count) and all the Imperial ambassadors and agents oppose the said mandate and commission asked by the English, and will do everything in their power to prevent its being granted.

The king of France has owned to His Holiness that last year, at the conferences of Calais, when he insisted upon the king of England not contracting marriage [with Anne], or at least upon his putting it off for some time, the latter answered that he could not help it because queen Katharine was not his legitimate wife, and that he (Francis) said to him: "What then of your daughter, the Princess; what do you intend doing with her?" and that king Henry answered: "She is to inherit my crown, for although my marriage was not lawful, she is legitimate all the same."* This notwithstanding, the said French cardinals are now conniving at the marriage of the King with queen Katharine being declared invalid, and their daughter, the Princess, illegitimate; because, they say, neither the King nor the Queen acted in good faith, knowing, as they both knew, the impediment of consanguinity: which argument, however, is completely false.

When he (the Count) heard that the archbishop of Canterbury had summoned the Queen to appear before his [ecclesiastical] court, he sent to Flanders a copy of the consistorial brief, inhibiting all persons from giving judgment in a cause pending here [at Rome], that it might be notified in the places nearest to England. Queen Mary [of Hungary] has now sent an instrument to shew that the said notification and execution of the brief has taken place. The instrument, moreover, is followed by a sort of declaration stating that in virtue of the said brief the king of England and all his ministers and councillors, as well as Anne [Boleyn] are excommunicated, and the kingdom itself placed under interdict, owing to the King's marriage having been effected against His Holiness' prohibition. It is not stated by whom the declaration is made, nor at what time; no witnesses are mentioned, and, therefore, he (the Count) fancies that the instrument will have no force whatever, as the Queen herself does not write to explain the deficiency, and no reason is given for it. He (the Count) has written to Flanders for particulars.

---

* "Ella heredera es, que ahunque no valga el matrimonio, es legittima."

Mentioned to His Holiness the fact, without, however, saying whence his information came. His Nuncio in England was much trusted by the King, so much so that the Queen might have some suspicion of him. Begged His Holiness that should his Nuncio give information contrary to the Queen's interests he should at once be considered suspect.

His Holiness answered: "I give you my word that my Nuncio has always written in favour of the Queen; he has never ceased to maintain that the only remedy in this affair is my declaration in the principal cause. You may be sure of that, as well as of his continually urging me to pronounce sentence; I could shew you four letters to that effect." Not only did the Pope make the foregoing assertion, but he directed his Nuncio, who happened to be in Rome at the time, to come and see him (the Count) on the subject. He came twice to the embassy, and began to enumerate the many good offices he had done the Queen in England, as well as here, at Rome, with His Holiness, the Pope. He could not imagine how anything to the contrary could be said of him, unless it were that he once refused to notify to the King a certain brief, which His Holiness had sent him with express orders not to notify it if the Imperial ambassador, or some other person on behalf of the Queen, could do it by himself. The Nuncio abstained from the notification because he was sure that either of the two above persons could do it. Barring that the Nuncio had served the Queen with zeal, and done as much as he could for her, as he could show by the letters he himself had written to His Holiness. He then said that he had, since his return from England, advised His Holiness at once to determine the cause, excommunicate the King, and debar him and his kingdom from intercourse with the neighbouring countries, and that His Holiness had answered him: "How can I do that? I am not aware that the Emperor is determined to take up arms, and see that my decrees are executed; there are too many impediments in the way of that, and were I to fulminate the censures of the Church to no effect it would be a discredit to the Holy Apostolic See." The Nuncio says that he replied: "I am sure there is no necessity at all for taking up arms, well disposed as the English are, and the people of that kingdom so much given to barter and trade.* Should the Emperor only take away from them all commercial intercourse with Flanders and the Low Countries, though the inhabitants of his own dominions might also suffer, the discontent would be so great in England that I have no doubt they would rise and oblige their King to yield to the sentence."

---

* "Yo sé que no es menester tomar las armas segun el pueblo stà, y ser tanta parte en aquel reyno si vuestra magestad en flandes y en Spaña les quitaba la contratacion y comunicacion."

Thus the Nuncio spoke. He (the Count) agreed entirely with him, and said that His Holiness was bound to do justice in the affair without regard to any other considerations. *With regard to His Imperial Majesty he (the Count) would let the Nuncio know what he was prepared to do. Told him this and no more, because he fancied that His Holiness had sent him for the purpose of ascertaining what the Emperor's intentions are in the event of the King's excommunication.*[*] His impression is that the Pope will not make up his mind to do that, or indeed more than he has done, unless His Majesty certifies to him that in the way above mentioned, by force of arms, or in some other manner, the sentence shall be executed.

Has entered into these details that the Emperor may be informed of the state of the affair.[†]—Marseilles, 24th October 1533.

Signed: "Conde de Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Majesty the Emperor and King."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. The Count of Cifuentes, the 24th of October. On the matrimonial cause of England. Answered at Monçon on the 6th of November 1533."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

3 Nov. **1144.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.,* c. 228, No. 62.

. . . .

Not satisfied with having taken away from his own legitimate daughter the name and title of princess, as intimated in a former despatch, the King has lately been talking of removing —and has actually begun to do so—all the officers and servants of her princely household on the plea that they have encouraged her in her disobedience. This the King has done, as he says, to daunt and intimidate her; he has even gone so far as to demand that she (the Princess) should go and live as "demoiselle d'honneur" to his bastard daughter, at which, as Your Majesty may guess, both the Queen and the Princess are marvellously disturbed and in great trouble. They sent to me about a week ago for advice in this emergency, and begged I would speak to Cromwell, and see what could be done to arrest the blow. I immediately sent to the Princess a protest drawn in due form for her to sign, and keep secret, declaring that neither by word nor deed, expressly nor tacitly, has she ever consented to anything that may prejudice her or her right. I have besides put down in writing several candid and temperate statements, to be addressed to those who might come with such a proposition in her father's name.* *In case, however, of there being no help at all she was (I said) to have patience, for she would not have to suffer long. Should the King send some one to her on such an errand, she was to say from the very first that if the King, her father, wished it to be so, she submitted, but that she protested in due form against whatever might be done to her prejudice.*† *These words I wrote down for her, she was to learn them by heart, and repeat them daily surrounded by her most confidential servants.*

---

[*] The passage in italics is in cipher.

[†] Full instructions have been sent to him as to what he is to say when interrogated on this point. Let the Count adhere strictly to them. Marginal note by Covos.

I had no opportunity at the time of seeing Cromwell and speaking to him, owing, first of all, to his being very much engaged, and secondly, because both he and I *were desirous of not arousing suspicion.* I, therefore, sent him word by my secretary *that I was very much astonished and shocked at the King's cruel and strange resolution, one which was likely to have the worst possible consequences. I was (I said) highly displeased at it, not only on account of the indignity of the thing itself, and the inconveniences likely to arise therefrom, but because, trusting to his word and assurance, I had written to my court that both the Queen and Princess would be well treated were it for no other consideration than their close relationship to Your Majesty. And that since the common saying was that even everyone's enemies ought to be treated with consideration and not driven to despair, there was in my opinion a still greater reason here for not accumulating insult on insult which must bring on themselves the hatred and animadversion of Your Majesty, who had not given them the least cause for enmity.*‡ Friends, I said, could nowise be treated in this manner for fear of their becoming sworn enemies, whereas enemies might very well through kind treatment or otherwise be induced to become friends.

Many other representations did I address to the said Cromwell, which for want of space and the hasty departure of the courier, bearer of this despatch, are at present omitted. His answer was that he begged to be excused and pardoned if he did not reveal to me in particular what he knew of the Princess' affair. This having been discussed in the Privy Council with the greatest possible secrecy, he could not reveal it to me, or to anyone else, unless he had the permission and consent of his master, the King. He could, however, assure me in general terms that the King was an honourable, virtuous, and wise prince, incapable of doing anything that was not founded on justice or reason.§ With regard to my advice as to the manner in which friends and foes ought to be treated, Cromwell understood fully the double meaning of my words, though he failed not to praise my sentiments on that score, and considered my warning as good and necessary.[*] *Yet, if I am to believe what my secretary says, Cromwell in his answer to my message seemed to imply that he wished the King, his master, who had* placed all his *confidence in the king of France, had more carefully attended to the above considerations.*[†]

---

* "Et au surplus je laduertys de pluseurs honnestes et gracieuses remonstrances quelle pourroit fere luy estant propouse laffere."

† "Et en cas que ny eust remede quil failloit quelle print pacience pour le peu de temps que le cas auoit de durer, et quelle deuoit dire des le commencemant, devant celuy que le roy enverroit, que si le roy vouloit que ainsi fust, quelle protestoit que cela ne luy fust, ny deust venir a preiudice."

‡ "Et que puis que a lennemy lon ne doit fere tout au pis que lon pourroit, beaucoupt moings deuvient (*sic*, deuvoint?) ilz fere telz improperes tenans pour consequence hayne de vostre maieste, la quelle navoit donne cause du monde ne occasion dynimitie."

§ "Que son roy estoit prince dhonneur, vertu et prudence, et quil ne feroit chose que ne fust fondee en rayson."

In short, Cromwell assured my secretary that there was no one in the King's Privy Council who laboured more assiduously than himself to foster and maintain the friendship between this king and Your Majesty, and that with regard to the treatment both of Queen and Princess he had hitherto done all that was in his power and would do so still in the future. He would, moreover, convey my message to the King and get me an answer. This, however, has not yet come to hand, owing no doubt to Cromwell's many engagements. I will again apply for it in order that, if necessary, I may again ask for an audience, and renew my application before matters come to extremities.[‡]

A report is here current that the Pope has caused the execution of the sentence pronounced in favour of the Queen to be suspended for two months, at which the latter is exceedingly displeased, for fear at the expiration of that period His Holiness should be again tempted to further favour this king. Wishing to learn how far the report was true, and whether the Pope had granted or not a "supersedeas" in the case, I sent to ask Cromwell what he knew about it, because, said I, if the King has really obtained a "supersedeas" from the Pope, I ought to be officially informed of it, that I might at once write to Flanders and have the execution suspended there during the two said months. Cromwell's answer was very ambiguous. He would neither confirm nor deny the said prorogation, and respecting the execution of the sentence he said that Your Majesty and the Queen of Hungary knew perfectly well what ought to and could be done in the affair. Not a word more did Cromwell reply to my message.

Three days ago, a man sent by Count Palatine Frederic arrived here for the sole purpose, as he says, of procuring hunting dogs and horses [for his master]. He has come all the way from Germany to Antwerp in company with the man whom this king sent once to the duke of Bavaria, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in one of my former despatches. The King's man has remained behind at Antwerp, and they are now dispatching to him the very courier who is to be the bearer of this my letter. I cannot say whether the message is for him to return here, or to proceed to Germany, as many presume.[*] I have set spies upon the secretary of the Palatine in order to ascertain whether he has brought any other commission save the ostensible one to which I have referred, and what he may have heard from his travelling companion the King's envoy, and of his doings in Germany. The Palatine's man is a native of Liege, and is to start for Paris in three days' time, for the sole purpose, as he says, of visiting a son of his, a student in that capital.

---

[*] "Et au regard de ce que luy avoye envoye dire de comme lon se debuoit porter avec les amys et enemys avec les considerations que dessus, yl notta tres bien [ou] lamphibologie alloit frapper, et loua la dicte consideration comme bonne et tres necessaire."

[†] "Quil eust tousjours en devant les yeux les dictz propoz."

[‡] "Je solliciteray lavoer le plus brefz quil sera possible pour le cas ce requerant en fere rencharge du roy auant que lon vienne a autres approches."

A week ago another courier arrived from Marseilles. The news he brought could not be very palatable to the King, *for, as I have since heard from people who were present, no sooner had he begun to read the letters than he changed colour, and got into a most terrible passion, crushing one of the letters between his fingers and exclaiming that he had been betrayed, that the king of France had not behaved in as friendly a spirit as he had had reason to expect. Of the Pope he said many injurious things. What news that could be at which this king was so much put out I cannot possibly guess, unless it be the report then current at Marseilles, as I am told, that the Pope and the king of France had agreed to hold an interview with Your Majesty.*

Two more couriers have within the last three days come from that port (Marseilles), who have everywhere spread the rumour that the Pope has actually granted all this king's demands, and that his affairs will henceforward proceed according to his wishes, and yet, as far as I can judge and hear, neither of the two has brought news at which the King can rejoice.[†] On the contrary, I learn that the King is about to send an express to Marseilles *with a good sum of money in cash (I am told as much as* 400,000 *crs.) and powers for the English ambassadors to distribute the same amongst the Pope and his cardinals, or else to spend it in armaments against the Turk whenever the time shall come.*[‡] *Indeed, one of the Lady's maids of honour was heard to say some days ago that the King was so passionately fond of her mistress that she had heard him say that he would rather be reduced to beggary, and ask alms from door to door, than abandon and desert the Lady [Anne] whom he loved more than ever.*—London, 3rd November 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor. Received the 25th at Monson."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 5.

---

[*] "Le dit homme est venu au long dallemagne jusques a envers avec celluy dont pieça escripviz a vostre maiesta que ce roy avoit envoetye (*sic*) au duc de bavierez, le quel est demoure au dict envers, et luy despeche le dict seigneur roy le courrier porteur de ceste; ne sçay si cest pour le fere venir ou pour retourner en allemagne ce que pluseurs presument."

[†] "Toutesfoys a ce que lon peult veoer et entendre les dictz deux courriers nont apporte chose que soit agree au roy."

[‡] "Le quel pourte largent comptant. A ce que lon ma dit il pourte aussi pouvoir aux ambassadeurs diçy douffrir quatre cens mille escuz, ne sçay si pour lapplicquer au proffet du pape et des cardinaulx, ou pour emplier (*sic*) contre le turq quant sayson seroit."

1533.

5 Nov. **1145.** KATHARINE, queen of England, to the SAME.

S. E. L. 806, f. 35.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 47.

God only knows how much pleasure and satisfaction I have experienced at the news of the signal victory which in Hungary and in other parts Your Majesty has obtained against the enemy of our Faith, and likewise at the announcement of your departure for Bologna, there to hold an interview with our Holy Father, and provide for what is to be done in future. I really consider these two things to have been especially directed by God, not by the industry or wisdom of man, and that our Lord, wishing by His infinite mercy to confer a boon on the whole of Christendom has made Your Majesty His agent, and inspired you to hold an interview with His Holiness, whence all this kingdom of England and myself most sincerely hope will result the defeat and death by the Pope's hands of this second Turk. By second Turk I mean this business of the King, my lord and mine, because the evils caused by His Holiness not having sentenced the cause in time have been and are so great and so scandalous throughout Christendom that I can hardly say which is worse.

I am very sorry to have to importune Your Majesty so often on my case, because I am confident that you wish it to come to a good end as much as I myself do; but seeing so much delay, and consequent evil, the life I lead being so wretched and restless, and the occasion so propitious for your kind interference—since God Almighty has been pleased to bring together His Holiness and Your Majesty, that you may both work in such a meritorious deed—I cannot help being urgent and importunate. By the passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ I beg and entreat you that since, as a reward for your virtuous deeds God has granted you His protection, and poured down His favours on you, that you may be pleased to confer on me this signal favour of particularly recommending my case to His Holiness before you leave him to return to Spain, because otherwise there will be no remedy left for me but in God, and I shall be cast into a new purgatory, whence I will not come out until His will be done. Should His Holiness excuse himself by promising that he will pronounce sentence after Your Majesty's departure from Bologna, and his own return to Rome, do you bear in mind what promises he made when he last saw you in that former city, and how little those promises were fulfilled.*

I can certify to Your Majesty that present or absent it is all the same; the truth is perfectly known here, and if the King's bad counsellors lose all hope the suit will be made to last for ever. Everything has an end, and Your Highness may believe me when I say that no one knows that as well as I do. I put, therefore, an end to this letter, tranquillised to

---

* "Sy Su Sanctidad se escusa dysiendo lo ara en ausenzia de V. Alt. acuerdese de lo que la otra vez le prometio en esa misma ciudad, y lo que a hecho. Yo certyfyco syendo Vuestra Magestad presente u ausente todo es uno, que ya aqui se sabe la verdad, y con azer perder la esperança que tyenen los que al Rey, mi señor, persuaden, haran esta causa perpetua."

1533.

a certain extent in confidence that this letter's answer will bring me good tidings. I beg our Lord, &c.—Oxfort, 5th November [1533].

Signed: "Catheryna."

Addressed; "To the most high and most powerful Emperor and King, my lord and nephew."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

---

6 Nov. **1146.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 226 v°.

In my despatch of the 22nd I informed Your Majesty of what was then known respecting the interview of the Pope and of the king of France [at Marseilles]. Since then the Emperor, perceiving the scanty provision which His Holiness is making for the relief of Coron, and how very unwilling he seems to help thereto, has stated his opinion that it is far preferable to be at once released from that engagement, and give up that fortress altogether; this for many reasons,* the principal of which is that he (the Emperor) has reliable information [from Marseilles] to the effect that a marriage has been arranged between the Pope's niece [Margaret] and the king of France's son, Henry, duke of Orleans. And since both princes have agreed as to that, it is quite evident that they will agree on many other points; nor are they likely, when so united, to forward His Imperial Majesty's interests in any way. I hear that the Emperor has again written to his ambassadors at Rome that if it be true that the Pope and the king of France are disinclined to co-operate, he himself cannot single-handed fight the Turk owing to the enormous expense of keeping up an army and a powerful fleet in those distant parts. He has, therefore, decided to dismantle Coron and withdraw the garrison.

This resolution was taken 10 days ago; all the courtiers are speaking about it, and Luis Tobar, who is still here, is deeply concerned, as it may in the end seriously affect Your Majesty's interests. Had the long expected news of the arrival of the Austrian ambassadors at that court, and of what they have negotiated at Constantinople, come in time, the blow might have been arrested, but as it is, I see no probability of the Emperor's changing his mind.—Monçon, 6th November 1533.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

---

6 Nov. **1147.** COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 860, ff. 80–1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 49.

Wrote on the 24th ult^{o} by Portillo, and gave a detailed account of occurrences here [at Marseilles]. Since then two letters from the Emperor have been received, one for himself (the Count), the other for the ambassador in France (Hannart), who is now in this city.

---

* "Esto se escribe con diligencia para dar aviso á Vrã mag^{d} como visto por el emperador el mal recaudo que el papa da al rreparo de corron (segun á v. m^{t}. está escripto) es de opinion que con diligencia conviene hacerse quito dello, por las razones que para ello ay, y son que segun tiene aviso," &c.

1533.

Knowing for certain that a petition signed by the Prince, who styles himself of Navarre, and decreed by His Holiness, asking for the privilege that all ecclesiastical suits of Navarre and Bearn be tried and sentenced in the latter country without going to Rome, as is done here in France, I immediately called on His Holiness, and asked him point blank what was the meaning of such innovation, whereof I had seriously to complain in Your Majesty's name. The Pope at first seemed very much concerned, and said that he did not recollect having ever made such a grant. But on my replying that my information was correct, he sent for the Datary, who confirmed my assertion; and the petition having been produced, the Pope himself tore it to pieces in my very presence, observing that he never meant to make such a concession; that he had been taken by surprise, and completely deceived, &c.

Taking advantage of this, I reminded His Holiness how often I had told him that (*cipher*) the importunities and constant intrigues of the French would sooner or later bring him into discredit with Your Majesty. "As a proof of this (said I) I will tell Your Holiness two things I have heard since my arrival here [at Marseilles]: one is that Your Holiness intends giving to the Duchesina, as a marriage portion, the cities of Parma and Piacenza, which piece of news, by the way, I consider to be a regular hoax (*burla*); the other, that between Your Holiness and the king of France, there is much talk at present on Italian affairs with a view to changing altogether the constitution of the League, and altering the treaty of Cambray. That is a thing which will naturally offend the Emperor," &c. The Pope's answer was that he would take care that nothing of the sort happened at this interview, and that, should any formal proposition on that topic be made by king Francis, he would take good care to dissuade him from it. His Holiness said nothing about his niece's dower, but went on about the King and his pretensions, saying to me: "It is well that you should know that the other day, talking on this very matter, the King said to me that he had fulfilled most scrupulously, as he thought, all and every one of the articles stipulated by the peace of Cambray." I replied to him that the Emperor had complained to me [at Bologna] that he had not; and that, travelling together to Illescas from Madrid, he had said to him, "Though everything is now settled between us, and the treaty signed, will you yet swear by that cross, there by the roadside, that you will fulfil all and every one of the articles of this convention made between us? and that Francis had answered: "That is perfectly true, I recollect saying as much; but I did not consider myself obliged to keep my word, owing to two reasons: the first, because, when the treaty was being discussed, I said in public and before the Emperor's Privy Councillors that the conditions were so hard that I did not see how they could

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

1533.

be fulfilled; the other, that when viceroy Mingoval (Lannoy), on his entering France with me, spoke of past events, and asked again whether I felt disposed or not to fulfil the treaty of Madrid (as if he meant that the Emperor had some suspicion that I should not), he (the Viceroy) seemed to imply that were I not satisfied, the Emperor might consent to a revision of the treaty."

(*Common writing:*) My answer to such surmises was a fit one, so much so that His Holiness afterwards owned to me that king Francis had no right whatever to expect any amelioration of the conditions, adding: "God on the whole is favouring my plans, for the king of France, who had some idea of arranging this divorce business in a manner, as he said, highly beneficial to me and to the Holy Apostolic See, finds after all that the English ambassador now residing here has no mandate from his King! It is further said (continued the Pope) that upon Francis observing to the Englishman how strange it was that his master, knowing the great interest he took in the divorce affair, and how willing he was to help him therein, had sent no instructions, and upon the ambassador offering some excuse or other, he replied to him: "one of the objects which I had in view in proposing to marry my own son to His Holiness' niece, and hold this interview, was that I might find some means of bringing your master's wishes into harmony with the authority of the Holy Apostolic See and the welfare of Christendom. If you really have no mandate, added the King, I must conclude either that your master is not in earnest, and is only joking at my expense, or else that you, yourself, are sent only as a spy to watch my actions, and try and temporize with His Holiness."

Thus did the Most Christian King speak to His Holiness on the occasion, meaning, no doubt, that as he had worked so strenuously to uphold his authority in England, His Holiness was bound to do his pleasure in other matters, and principally in Italian affairs, "But (said the Pope to me) as the king of France seems to have been unsuccessful in his negociations with England, I shall consider myself free from any engagements or debt of gratitude in this respect, and you may be sure that I will consent to no alteration of the articles of this league of ours, or to those of the treaty of Cambray."

(*Cipher:*) But notwithstanding His Holiness' repeated asseverations, I still have my fears that all is not as he says; for certainly it is a bad sign that both the King and the English ambassadors, who came here last, should have sent to England for the King's express mandate and powers, as I am told they have, and that they should be expecting them daily. There is still another reason for doubting the truth of the above statements. Having seen the answer which Your Majesty caused to be given to Domenico Centurione on this particular point, Viscount Jean Enart (Hannart) and I called upon His Holiness, and spoke to him according to orders. The Pope seemed to doubt whether there would be time enough to wait for the Queen's answer, and declared to us that the mere possibility of the king of England returning to the obedience of the Apostolic See, and submitting to his sentence, seemed to him of so much importance and so beneficial to the parties concerned, that it would be sufficient cause for him to act in the matter as he had announced by Domenico Centurione, whatever efforts might be made here [at Marseilles] to prevent him, and that he would therefore wait until he knew the Queen's intentions and will.*

(*Cipher:*) On this very subject the Pope said the other day to me that the king of France had hinted that Your Majesty was about to come to some agreement (*se concertava*) with the king of England. Having some fears of this myself, I answered that I knew nothing about that, and that if there had been anything I should not have failed to communicate it to him. However, as it seemed to me desirable that the king of France should be kept anxious on this point, I declined giving His Holiness further satisfaction on that point, and passed as lightly as I could over it.

Yesterday the Pope sent me a message by Juan Luys de Aragonia to say that he had been requested by the king of France to have the term of one month once granted at Pisa in the matrimonial cause extended to five or six more, within which time (the King observed) some means might be found to put an end to the matrimonial suit. He (Francis) knew very well that it was unreasonable to ask for such a long term, but, considering that the king of England might in the meantime return to his Queen, and cast away (*hechar de si*) the Lady Anne—of which there was now some hope, as the king of France himself gave us to understand—it seemed to him that there was some excuse for it. "His Holiness," said Juan Luys to me, "has made up his mind to grant one more month, and ordered me to come and request you not to oppose a measure, which he thinks will be highly beneficial to the Queen." My answer to Juan Luys was such as Your Majesty may easily imagine. I afterwards spoke to His Holiness on the subject, and he owned to me that he had been so pressed and importuned by the king of France to grant a delay of six or seven months that he could not do less than give one, especially as he himself was still a visitor in France; but he made me a most solemn promise, that, once out of the country, he would grant no more delays, except with Your Majesty's consent. After this, on the eve of All Saints, it would appear that he (the Pope) held a congregation of cardinals in his own rooms, and explained to them that the king of France had applied for a prorogation of the cause for six or seven months, on the plea that the king of England wished to hold an interview with him in March [1534], where he had no doubt the whole affair might be satisfactorily settled. Upon which there was a division, cardinals Sienna and Santa Croce having spoken and voted against the prorogation, whilst the Pope and the rest of his cardinals stood for it, &c.

---

* "Y vista la respuesta que V. M^{d}. dio en este punto á Domenico Centurion le hablamos el Vizconde Juan Euart (*sic*) y yo conforme á lo que V. M^{d}. escrive; y paresce que su S^{d}. pone en duda si habrá lugar de esperar la respuesta de la Serenissima Señora Reyna, por que tiene por tan gran provecho venir el Rey de Angleterra a obedientia de la sententia y de la Sede Apostolica que por aquello [solo] haria [él] lo que con Domenico Centurion embió á dezir á V. M^{t}. por mas instantia que aqui se le hiziesse para estorvarlo hasta saber la voluntad de la dicha señora Reyna."

Cardinal de' Medici, who is exceedingly obsequious with me, and always making protestations of his fidelity to Your Majesty, told me the other day that he had read the marriage settlements. The Pope gives the Duchesina 100,000 ducats as dower, 30,000 as compensation for her family property, and 15,000 more in jewels. He gives her, besides, her rights to the duchy of Urbino, and to the estates which her mother (Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne) once possessed in France. The king of France gives his son (Henry) the dukedom of Orleans, with 50,000 ducats a year; and as the estate is not worth as much, he gives him compensation in other parts of France so as to make up that sum, the whole of the property being mortgaged as security of the Lady's dower.

Having heard this much from the Cardinal, I waited upon His Holiness, and complained to him of the infraction of one of the secret clauses in the treaty of Barcelona. The right to the duchy of Urbino (said I) was reserved to his niece by her marriage settlements, and that was tantamount to giving her husband and the French an opportunity again to set their foot in Italy: a thing which he had over and over again promised to me, and afterwards to Your Majesty through Domenico Centurione, to prevent at all costs. The Pope at first denied the fact; said that he had a right to dispose of what belonged to him or to his family, and promised to send to me [Francesco] Gucciardini with a copy of the settlements—the same here enclosed—that I might examine them, and see whether he had in any way contravened the stipulations of the treaty. Gucciardini came; we read together the clause in the settlements; but, with all his ability, his reasonings could not convince me, and I told him that I saw in it danger for the future. Went again to the Pope, who said that the clause had been inserted at the very last moment, the French having said that the bride ought not and could not renounce her rights to the duchy of Urbino; that he (the Pope) resisted for a long time, but could not but yield at last. Had he refused to comply with the King's wishes in this respect he would have asked for more money, which he had not to give; for the Medici estates, which were scarcely worth 15,000 ducats, he had been importuned until they were valued at the double of that sum, &c.

I fancy that the Pope's collector, who, I hear, will soon leave this place post haste, will carry a message to Your Majesty respecting this and other affairs. Among other faculties granted him, as the report goes, one is to absolve the Granadine moriscoes from certain charges (*ciertas cosas*) imposed by the Inquisition; the other to give permission to buy corn upon credit (*adelantado*); but I will try that neither petition is granted, and, if they are, that they be revoked. (*Cipher:*) I was also told by cardinal de' Medici that in no other [political] affairs had either Gucciardini or Carnisseca anything to do; the Pope transacted business only with the king of France and the Grand Master (Montmorency); they met very often, and were closeted together for two or three hours at a time.

(*Common writing:*) The negotiation with the Swiss cantons is being protracted, as Your Majesty will be able to judge by the enclosed letters and papers relating to it. With three of them the prior of Besançon writes that there is no difficulty at all, and that the league is on the point of being concluded; the other six offer resistance.

It has come to my knowledge that a native of Lucca, of the name of Roco de Xauser, the friend and comrade of Cesare Fragoso, and a man of some ability in getting up plots and political intrigues, has lately been going backwards and forwards from Genoa to Venice, and has at last entered this town [Marseilles]. On this, his last journey, the Grand Master of France presented him with two horses, and he (Roco) started immediately for Rome. I have written to the ambassadors, Figueroa and Lope de Soria, to have him watched, and try to ascertain what he is about. Several other agents of this sort are now being employed on similar missions, and it is generally rumoured that the King [of France] will soon declare war to Your Majesty. I cannot believe it; firstly, because I see no signs of military preparations in this country; and, secondly, because the King himself has no money. The 700,000 francs he has in store proceed from the tithes of the Clergy, and if he has to pay out of them his debt to the Swiss, very little will remain in his hands.

Coron.—The galleys of France.—The ambassadors of Genoa, who come here to settle various matters respecting the intercourse of trade between that Signory and the ports of France, go back to-morrow without having obtained what they wanted.

There is here [at Marseilles] an ambassador from Barbarroxa (Baba Arox), the corsair, but he is shut up in a house, and does not go out of doors, nor will he until the Pope's departure. When this takes place the king of France will no doubt attend to his business, and send him back to his master, who, I hear, has gone to meet the Grand Turk.

The duke of Atri has taken service under the king of France with a salary (*partido*) of 6,000 fr. a year.

Your Majesty has, no doubt, been informed by this time that the count of La Concordia having one night placed a boat on the top of a chariot, approached La Mirandola, and having launched the boat in the moat of the castle, managed by means of rope ladders to scale the place, slew the old count with one of his sons, and next morning hung up from the battlements

1533.

13 of the principal inhabitants of the town, of which he took possession.

The ex-abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) has been pardoned by His Holiness, at the request of king Francis, or of the Grand Master [Montmorency]. It is said that between that worthy, the son of Renzo da Ceri (Giovanpaolo), and others of the same stuff, there is an understanding—and they make no secret of it—to the effect that immediately upon the Pope's return to Rome the attempt made two or three years ago to recover from Ascanio Colonna the castles and lands once belonging to Isabella, the widow of Luigi Gonzaga [Rodomonte], will be renewed. No great credit, however, is to be given to rumours of this kind, spread by restless people; but the negociation having been suspended, as it really was at the time, makes me suspect that there is some foundation for the rumour.

The king of France has insisted, and is still insisting, upon the Pope giving him four cardinals' hats for as many ecclesiastics of his own nation. This having come to the ear of those cardinals who came here with His Holiness, they met and resolved to go to His Holiness and protest against their nomination. I have done the same, but doubt whether His Holiness will attend to us.

(*Cipher:*) Having tried to ascertain what passed between His Holiness and Andrea Doria at the interview they held at the Spezzia one night, I have had two different versions from the same person. One was that Andrea Doria said to him: "I wish I had met Your Holiness at Rome, as I meet you here; I would have dissuaded you from going to the interview;" and that upon the Pope observing that the conferences would be for the good and repose of Christendom, and for waging war against the Infidel, Andrea, saying "Not" with his head, replied: "Please God that it may be so; we shall see what comes out of them."

The other version is that the Pope had tried to influence Andrea Doria to forsake the service of Your Majesty. My informer, however, told me at the same time that Andrea would never fail in his attachment to Your Majesty; he knew that well, because he had heard that captain say so many a time. I do believe the same, and if I have mentioned the gossip, it is because Your Majesty requires us to transmit anything we may hear of.

Taverna, who came here as ambassador of the duke of Milan for the Maraveglia business, tells me that every day the King's Privy Councillors here invent new difficulties, and that he is still as far as ever he was from attaining his object. They still insist that Maraveglia was the King's ambassador, and say that they can shew letters and papers to that effect; but as the Imperial ambassador, Jean Enart (Hannart), will write about this in detail, as well as on the matter of the galley slaves, I need not say more about it.

The departure from here, they say, will be in six or eight days at the most. The news is too good to be believed.—Marseilles, 6th November 1533.

P.S.—Having again spoken to the Pope concerning the reserve of the Duchesina's rights to the duchy of Urbino, which, he still insists is no infraction of the Barcelona treaty, he said to me: "You may assure the Emperor, and I will also write to that effect, that on no ground can that declaration of mine be made a pretext for the French to disturb the peace of Italy; for, in the first place, I have in my possession the bull of investiture* of the Duchesina's father (Lorenzo); and as the duchy is a fief of the Church, and no female can inherit such a fief, the whole thing falls to the ground, and there is no danger in the article should the French ever claim possession. You must, however, consult about the matter with the Imperial advocates; I will consult mine thereupon; and between the two some expedient, I have no doubt, will be found." My answer was that I certainly would, for I wished to remedy as much as possible the harm that, in my opinion, had been done. I still considered (said I) the case dangerous unless the duke of Orleans conjointly with his wife renounced that so-called right, because under similar pretences the King, his father, was sure to disturb Italy sooner or later. "If Your Holiness," said I, "does not remove this obstacle, it will become a fire kindled for all perpetuity in Italy."—"Not that," replied the Pope, "for, if the King choses, there are still Milan and Asti which (he says) belong to him."—They do not, was my answer, because he has formally renounced all his rights to them by the treaty of Cambray."

I also told His Holiness what my information was respecting the Collector's mission, and what I thought of it. He gave me full satisfaction thereon, and sent the Collector himself to me with all the papers. It appears after all that the petition about the corn has not been granted, indeed it has been refused; and as to the moriscoes of Granada, it is only a sort of protest against certain inquisitors merely in matters of jurisdiction, not affecting Faith.†

The cardinals' hats are,—1°, for a brother of the duke of Albany; 2°, for the King's almoner; 3°, for a nephew of the Grand Master; 4°, for a brother or near relative of the Admiral of France. I really believe that, had the King asked for 20 instead of four, he would have had them just the same. I do not complain so much of the number of cardinals as of the way in which they have been created; and the worst is that I can prognosticate all manner of consequent evils. Should His Holiness speak to me on this matter I intend not to answer, but beg him not to go on with the subject, and change the conversation. I suspect that the Collector will also treat of this matter, and try and excuse the Pope in some way or other, offering satisfaction for the future, &c. For myself I cannot see what excuses he can make.

---

* For the duchy of Urbino, which in 1516 was granted by pope Leo X. to his kinsman Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of Caterina.

† "Cierta jurisdiccion contra algunos ministros de las Inquisiciones en aquellas cosas que no tocavan à la ffé [y] concernian à su officyo."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 19.

9 Nov. **1148.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 860, ff. 83–4. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 62.

Wrote on the 7th, relating all that had occurred here up to that date. Received since, by express messenger, the enclosed letter from the Imperial ambassador in Genoa. As the Emperor will see, the prior of Besançon writes to say that his colleague the Verulan (Ennio Filonardo) had received instructions from His Holiness, dated the 27th ult° to leave that post and return home. No sooner was he (Sylva) in possession of this information than he called upon the Pope, and inquired whether the intelligence was true or not. Stated to him that there was some reason to believe the news to be true; letters lately received from the prior of Besançon, and the negociations going on here [at Marseilles] confirmed the fact. The Pope said (*cipher*): "Do not be afraid; the Verulan will not quit his embassy. I wrote from Pisa, telling him that if he received an order from Marseilles to come back immediately, he was to disregard it, and make some excuse. Then, by way of the French, I wrote another un-ciphered letter, commanding him to come back at once. This letter the Verulan has, no doubt, shewn, and the whole thing has been bruited about in consequence; but my Nuncio is sure to feel indisposed or have a head-ache at the time of his departure; besides which I have again written to him by this last courier a ciphered letter enjoining him not to abandon his post."

(*Common writing:*) After this the Pope told him (Sylva) that a colleague of the Englishman, who was lately at Rome as excusator for the King, had come post haste here [to Marseilles], and that both he and the ambassador of his nation residing here had called upon him and presented a paper from their master, stating that the sentence lately pronounced against him was unjust, aggravatory, and against all right, for he was juridically married by words "de præsenti," and had consummated matrimony, and therefore that he was determined to appeal "ad futurum concilium," provided it should be held at a place free from suspicion." His Holiness, it would appear, felt this extremely as a thing in which he was much concerned; he said that he would consider the matter, and return an answer. Meanwhile the king of France entered the room, and when the Englishman left, the Pope related to him what the ambassador's errand had been. After which, the Pope insisting that king Francis must cease to espouse the cause of the English king, who was evidently the enemy of the Church, the Most Christian repeated those very words which he has often said, and he (Sylva) has occasionally

1533.

reported: "Were I not at present in want of his friendship, that others may not forestall me, I would *play him such a trick that he should for ever remember.*"[*]

The English ambassadors, as it seems, had called some time before on the king of France, and related what their errand to the Pope was. He (the King) had advised them not to do such a thing, for (said he) if they did the kingdom of England would be utterly destroyed. "I wonder much (he said) how the king of England, who presumes to be a wise man, can be such a fool as thus to work for the Queen's cause, since he owns by public act that the sentence has been intimated to him. I cannot, in a case of this sort, help him against His Holiness.[†]

His Holiness after this alluded to the overtures (*platica*) about Calais which he himself recommended this last summer.[‡] He (the Pope) positively stated that the king of France, the Grand Master, and the Admiral were all in favour of it. He (Sylva) did not take the bait on the plea that he had no powers from the Emperor.

He then repeated to him (Sylva) the substance of the conversation they had together before quitting Rome. (*Cipher:*) "The king of France (he said) wishes to remain at home quietly, and await the arrival of the Turk; which, if I understood him right, will take place next summer. Occupied in the defence of his own kingdom he will make any terms the Turk liked to be left alone;[§] and since the Genoese are not inclined to say that they are the subjects and vassals of the Empire, he (the King) can well undertake the conquest of their city without infringing the treaty of Cambray."

His (Sylva's) answer to His Holiness' arguments was, that, with regard to the help against the Turk, that was a general cause, and one which concerned the whole of Christendom. If the king of France, instead of assisting in common with other princes, tried to create disturbances and promote war in Italy, then the Emperor, leaving the Turk to himself, would try to enforce the treaty of Cambray in all its parts. As to Genoa, it did not follow that because the Genoese objected to be the vassals of the Empire, that gave other princes the right of conquering them. Though the Genoese might deny the fact, they were still considered the subjects of the Empire; and

---

[*] "Y insistiendo con el Rey que le dexasse [al Rey de Anglaterra], pues era contra la yglesia, y contra su persona, el Rey de Francia le dijo lo que suele [en semejantes casos], y yo tengo escrito á V^{a}. M^{d}. que *sino tuviera necessidad de tenerle por amigo a causa que otros no le tomassen, le haria una burla que se le acordasse.*"

[†] "Que les dixo que no lo hiziessen en ninguna manera por que se destruyria el reyno de Anglaterra y que él stava maravillado dello; quel dicho Rey de Anglaterra se tenia por sabio, y que en la verdad era un loco porque hazia por la Reina, pues confesaba que habia venido á su noticia la sententia por aucto publico, y que él dezia que no le ayudaria contra su Sa^{d} en este caso."

[‡] "De aqui vino su S^{d}. a la platica que este verano yo screvi a V^{a}. M^{d}. que se hiziesse sobre *lo de Cales.*"

[§] "Y [que] occupado en la defensa le haria el partido que quisiesse porque le ayudasse."

1533.

until the case was properly investigated, and the truth ascertained—which I thought would never be done—the Genoese would be protected as if they were such subjects.*

Talking about the German diet and the Suabian League, it appears also that the king of France said to His Holiness: "I have been told that the Princes do not intend to include in the league Lower Austria, which is Vienna and its territory, and this because they are sure that the Turk will come down [next year], and then they will not be obliged to help in the defence.

The Pope said likewise that no absolution had been granted to the Vayvod [of Transylvania]; his affair had been remitted to Rome, because it was calculated that by that time his ambassador might bring sufficient powers, &c.

The king of France had told him besides that by March next he would have 30 galleys ready for sea. The departure is now certainly fixed for Tuesday or Wednesday next.

Taverna, the Milanese ambassador, came to him (Sylva), and said that the answer he had received from the King's ministers was that king Francis was not at all satisfied with the papers and letters he had shewn, among which is one of the ambassador Juan Enart (Hannart), tending to prove that Maraveglia was no ambassador of the king of France. He (the King) still maintained the contrary, and therefore Taverna has dropped the negociation altogether, and is now returning home. (*Cipher:*) As far as he (Sylva) is aware, Taverna has left no affair in His Holiness' hands. Will be on his guard, and try to ascertain whether any new step has been taken respecting the business mentioned in the last Imperial letters. Hitherto he has been unable to discover any; should there be any he (Sylva) will not fail to advise.—Marsilliæ, 9th November 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

12 Nov. **1149.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. *Wien.Rep.P.Fasc.,* c. 227, No. 63.

I have not ceased since the date of my last importunately to press Cromwell to tell me the King's intentions respecting his daughter, the Princess, and the reason of the strange treatment to which he wishes to subject her; but in spite of all my efforts I have been put off from day to day without being able to get any answer, Cromwell persistently offering as an excuse his own numerous engagements and those of the King, his master. *Yet, in my opinion, there is no other cause for this*

---

* "Porque aunque ellos negavan ser subditos del Imperio no por esso dexavan de serlo pues V^{a}. M^{d}. por tales los tenia, y que hasta que se averiguasse muy bien que no lo eran, lo qual tenia por cierto que no se podia averiguar, no podia venir contra ellos sin alterar lo capitulado."

silence of theirs but the news the King is daily expecting from Marseilles as to what may have been decided and resolved upon at the conferences. Meanwhile my remonstrances have, as the Queen herself has informed me, done some good; without them the King might have been impelled through the importunate cravings of the Lady [Anne] to have his fantastic plan carried into execution, which I think if the Pope holds good, as is to be hoped, we shall after all avoid.*

The Count Palatine's man, about whom I wrote in my last despatch, is really and truly one of his secretaries, and as he himself told me three days ago at table, when dining with me, is very grateful to Your Majesty for having whilst in Germany conferred an ecclesiastical benefice upon a son of his. Before coming here he passed many days in Flanders at the court of the [dowager] queen of Hungary. I cannot see that he has brought any other commission but the one about which I wrote to Your Majesty the other day,† that is to say, to purchase dogs and horses, and I have just heard from him that the King has given him two hackneys and half a dozen dogs. Owing to there being much company at dinner, and hoping that the secretary would come again as he had promised, I dared not interrogate him further; but either his engagements or the fear of meeting people at my house, and thereby becoming suspected, must have prevented him, for he has not yet called. He has, however, assured me on his oath that the report of his master, the Palatine, being on the point of contracting matrimony in France is completely false. "On the contrary (said he), I am certain that should the Emperor *propose a marriage between my master and the sister of the marchioness of Zenete‡ in Spain, if it be true that the prince of Orange has taken a wife elsewhere, the Palatine would not hesitate to accept the proposal."*

The secretary intends to take his departure to-morrow for Paris to see a son of his [a student at its university.] He has been very well received and entertained here, though at the same time he has, as he told me, felt considerable annoyance at his being kept so long at this court for a thing which he says did not require it in the least.

As in another case, of which I will speak hereafter, it strikes me *that all this fuss has no other cause, as I presume, than the desire these people have of making it appear that they have intelligences and also great political transactions in Germany.*§

---

* "A ce quay este aduerty de la royne mes remonstrances [en] ont este cause. Sans les quelles le roy seust precipite, a l'importune instigacion de la dame, a lexecution de sa fantasye, la quelle je pense espanouyr pourveu que le Pape tienne bon comme yl fault esperer."

† On the 3rd. See above, No. 1144, p. 841.

‡ This marchioness of Zenete or Cenete, a district in the kingdom of Granada, was married to Henri de Nassau; her name was Doña Mencia de Mendoza. After the death of her husband she married Don Fernando de Aragon, duke of Calabria.

§ "A fin de donner entendre a tout le monde quilz ont des practiques et grosses intelligences en allemaigne."

To the very same cause must be ascribed the rather ceremonious reception made to a young Polish nobleman, who came some time ago to this country with letters of commendation and favour for this king, from the queen regent [of Poland], and whose sole object was, as he himself declared to me, to visit this court and kingdom; and yet he has been full 25 days without being able to obtain a passport, though he has been almost daily to the duke of Norfolk or to Cromwell in search of it. Indeed, had it not been that during the Pole's stay in London one of my own men has always acted as his interpreter, his frequent visits to those ministers might have made me suspect that there was something more behind than he chose to say. Perceiving, however, the manner in which he was treated I now attach complete faith to his statements, and fully believe also that, however frequent the visits of the German secretary to Cromwell, there was nothing between them but the execution of the commission he brought to this country. Of the studied delay in issuing his passport, he complained to me quite as bitterly, if not more, than the Polish nobleman above alluded to.* These two cases, apart from others I could mention, tend to confirm me in my conjecture; there is nothing these people desire so much as to make the World believe that they can at any time throw difficulties in Your Majesty's path, especially in Germany.

This king has lately issued a warrant forbidding printers to publish news concerning the Pope's entry and reception at Marseilles, still less the homage (*obeissance*) paid by the king of France to His Holiness and the Apostolic See, as things not in harmony with the statutes and constitutions promulgated here against Papal authority, and *likewise in open contradiction with what this king has always tried to inculcate upon his subjects, namely, that the king of France would keep his engagements to all and against all parties, especially against the Pope, and would cause such statutes and constitutions to be promulgated against the Holy See in his kingdom as would leave far behind in malignity those made by Parliament here.*† Indeed, I am inclined to think that the news of that act of obedience on the part of king Francis has been one of the principal causes *of the ill-humour and disappointment which, as I have informed Your Majesty, has been for some time visible on the King's countenance.*

---

* "Et neust este quil a tosjours heu pour truchemant (*sic*) quelcung de mes gens, la hantise avec ceulx-la meust faict souspeçonner quelque trainee; mais voyant la façon de fere quilz luy ont tenu, jay tant plus adiouste de foy, et croy que quelque frequentation que le dict secretaire aye heu a la mayson du dit Cremuel, quil na traytte que pour la susdite charge et aussy pour son passeport, de la tardance du quel yl se plaint autant que le pollon (polonais), du quel, sire, pour la consideration susdite ma semble deuvoer fere mention a vostre maieste."

† "Et aussi contre ce que ce roy a tosjours donne entendre a son peuple assauoir que le roy de France tiendroit son party envers tous et contre tous, speciallemant contre le Pape, et que le roy de France feroit de telles, voire plus preiudiciables, constitutions contre le dict siege que celles quils avoient yci faict passer a ces estatz."

1533.

Some days ago the King ordered the arrest and trial of a nun who had hitherto borne both the name and reputation of a good, simple, and sanctified creature, and of having been blessed at times with Divine revelations.* The cause of her imprisonment is her having said, written, and affirmed in public, as well as in private, that she had had a revelation to the effect that within a very short period of time not only would this king lose his crown, but would also be expelled from the kingdom and damned, and that she had had a spiritual vision of the particular place and spot destined to him in Hell.† Various friars and other worthy people have been committed to prison charged with having stirred up this said nun to deliver that and other prophecies for the express purpose of promoting revolution among the people. And yet it would seem as if at all times God had inspired the Queen to behave in such a manner as to avoid the possibility of the King's suspicions falling on her; for notwithstanding the many and oft-repeated efforts made by the nun to obtain an audience, in order, as she said, to console her in her affliction and adversity, it was always denied her. The Queen, in fact, would never receive her, and now finds that she acted wisely. *All this time the King's Privy Councillors are making most diligent search and inquiries as to whether the Queen ever wrote or sent a message to the said nun; but she is perfectly at ease on that score, for she declares that she never had anything to do with her, but only with the marquis and marchioness of Excestre (Exeter), and with the good bishop of Rochestre (Fisher), who, it must be said for the sake of truth, have been on very intimate terms with the said nun.*

About six days ago a new ambassador from France came to reside at this court; his name is the seigneur de Chastillon.‡ The news he brings is not very fresh, for he is said to have left the French court more than two months since. This king, however, has begged the last ambassador to stay in England until intelligence comes from Marseilles, that he may, as it is presumed, take back to France either his grateful thanks if it be good and promising, or his complaints and regret if disappointing and bad.

Not to trouble Your Majesty further with insignificant details, I bring the present despatch to a close.—London, 12th November 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 3.

---

* "Que de tous temps jusques icy a vescu en nom, tiltre (*sic*) et possession de bonne simple et saincte femme et que a eu pluseurs divines revelations."

† "Et est cause de son dict emprisonment pour ce quella dict, escript, affirme et publie avoer eu revellation que dans peu de temps non seullement ce roy perdroit son estat, mays aussy quil sen iroit damne, et quelle avoit eu spirituelle vision du lieu et siege que luy estoit prepare en enfer."

‡ Chatillon's name was Gaspard de Coligny, father of Gaspard, admiral of France, the same who was slain in August 1572, the night of St. Barthelemy.

1533.

13 Nov. **1150.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 267.

My last despatch was dated the 7th inst. Luis Tobar will be the bearer of the present, for he has actually finished his business here, and is to take with him the resolution in all pending affairs. As Granvelle has done his best to forward Your Majesty's interests, I should recommend that a pelisse of dressed marten skins (*martas cibelinas*) should be presented to him by way of acknowledgment of his services. The gift might come very opportunely, as this winter threatens to be a very severe one. A similar present might also be made to Covos, who has also worked very hard for Your Majesty's benefit.

For other pending matters I beg leave to refer to Luis Tobar, present bearer, who will not fail to advise Your Majesty thereof.

The Emperor, it would appear, has again written to the Pope, and I conclude that there is some sort of understanding between His Holiness' private secretary, who has replaced Salviati, that is, Jacopo or Giacomo, brother of cardinal Giovanni. His name is Sanga, and Mr. de Granvela is on very good terms with him. Great care should be taken not to have the secret divulged, either at Rome or elsewhere.—Monçon, 13th November 1533.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

13 Nov. **1151.** The SAME to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 267.

My last letter, dated the 7th inst., went by the medium of Mons. de Granvelle. Luis de Tobar, who left next, will be the bearer of this, as well as of the decree of convocation for the Diet, &c. I have nothing to add to my despatch to the King, our master, save that the marten skins (*martas*) for Mr. de Granvelle and Covos ought to come as soon as possible. Both have been very useful, and may be so hereafter.

Great secrecy ought to be kept with regard to certain intelligences lately established between the ministers of His Imperial Majesty and the Pope's secretary.*—Monçon, 13th November 1533.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

19 Nov. **1152.** The GOVERNOR of MARANO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,310, f. 76.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 65.

Heard a few days ago that the Captain-General of Croatia, by name Kechonitz, had apprehended and sent to Lubiana two of Gritti's spies,—one named Desiderio Codroip, the other Pelon (*sic*), this latter being a native and resident of Marran. They have confessed that the said Gritti, in the name and as a representative of the Turkish Emperor, has made an alliance with the kings of England and France, and with several other princes, against His Imperial and Royal Majesties and the rest of Christendom, in consequence of which the armies

---

* See above Salinas' letter to the King. The Pope's private secretary was Giovambattista Sanga.

1533.

of the Turk, consisting of about 1,500 light horse and 22,000 hackbutiers* (the whole force to be paid by the king of France), are about to invade Christendom. And it is the opinion of one of the spies that Gritti himself with his confederates will invade Croatia, Slavonia, and Hungary, and try if he can conquer those countries. Meanwhile the dukes of Bavaria and Wurtemburg and the count (landgrave) of Hesse will create disturbances in Germany, and so distress Christendom that His Imperial Majesty will find himself in trouble.

Could not do less than communicate the news as it reached him; should he hear more he will not fail to advise.

Indorsed: "Ex litteris capitanei Marranis† datis xix. Novembris MDXXXIII."

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

20 Nov. **1153.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. *Wien, Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 64.

It was only yesterday very late in the evening, that Your Majesty's letter of the 23rd ult^{o} came to hand. Since that date several of mine must have been received, explaining the state of affairs in this country, as well as conveying the agreeable intelligence that the staple of Calais has been replaced on its original footing, and that the Lubeckians have been compelled to disgorge the spoil taken from our ships, as well as to restore the Spanish vessel captured on the Welsh coast. In this last affair Cremuel (Cromwell) has certainly shown great affection for Your Majesty's subjects, as he generally does in every other thing that concerns them, which is a very good sign for the future, since, after all, it is he who really governs and conducts all matters here. Nothing shall be spared on my part, as far as gracious and amiable words go, to preserve, and, if possible, increase the good-will he is now shewing for Your Majesty's service, and for the protection of your subjects trading with this country.

This morning I sent to inform the Queen of what Your Majesty has been pleased to write to me respecting the compromise lately suggested by the Pope; at the same time exhorting her, as well as I could, to assent to it, since she could then, without prejudice to herself, improve considerably her own case, and perhaps too convince the King, her husband. Should the latter refuse to accept the compromise, such refusal (I wrote) would be most beneficial for her and for the Princess, considering that Your Majesty insists upon a brief and categorical answer [to His Holiness' new proposal],‡ which answer I am ordered to forward immediately.

---

[*] "Et cum MCCCC equis levis armaturæ de Turchia in Croatiam venturis et 22m. archibusieris, quibus omnibus salarium et stipendium dat rex franciæ."

[†] There are several places so called in Italy, no less than three in Romagna, one in Friul in the district of Palma, two in Calabria, four in the Venetiano, one in Sardinia, &c. It is to be supposed that the place mentioned is Marano in Friul, and the captain or governor the same alluded to in pp. 90, 984–5, 1014, of vol. iii., part 2.

[‡] "En cas quil ne veuille accepter le party yl ne pourroit estre plus gros bien pour elle et la princesse sa fille par les consideracions touchees aux lectres de vostre maieste de briefve et resoulue response."

1533.

Immediately after my despatching the above message to the Queen, it seemed to me as if in order to gain time, and work to some profit,* in order also to convince these people of your honest and sincere intentions in all this affair, always directed, as I have often told them, towards saving the King's honour from attaint, and ensuring his repose and prosperity; also that they might be persuaded that, as far as I myself am concerned, my wish is to do good office, and be agreeable to them in as far as my duties as an ambassador will allow, I decided at once to call on Cromwell. I first sent one of my secretaries to inform him of the charge I had received from Your Majesty, and say that the Pope himself having been, as I understood, at the request of the King, his master, the originator of the compromise, and Your Majesty having been pleased to command me to ascertain the Queen's wishes thereupon, as the person most interested in the matter, I was preparing to do so almost immediately. It would certainly be no fault of mine if the affair did not turn out well. If the King and his Council wished to listen sincerely and frankly without subterfuge to the tenour of the said compromise, I on my part would willingly apply for the Queen's consent; to obtain which I would not only use all means of persuasion in my power, but likewise those that he himself (Cromwell), and the rest of the Privy Councillors, who knew more of the King's intentions than I did, might perhaps suggest.

Cromwell, thinking, no doubt, that my secretary had come to him for the answer about the Princess' affair, as I wrote in my last despatch, said to him, before he had begun to deliver my message: "I know what you have come for. I have seen the King; he will be pleased to receive the Emperor's ambassador on Sunday next." After explaining to him what was the object of his calling, my secretary delivered my message faithfully; hearing which, Cromwell began to praise Your Majesty's rightful intentions as well as my own good offices in the affair.

He spoke at length of the old alliance and friendship between England and Spain, and of the need there was of its preservation; of the affectionate love which the King, his master, bore to Your Majesty; the desire which he himself (Cromwell) and the rest of the Privy Councillors had of preserving, nay, augmenting that friendship, &c.† With regard to any advice as to the means of executing the charge entrusted to me, he had none to offer. I was sure, he said, to acquit myself of the charge much better than anyone else. Though he fully intended to inform the King thereof at the earliest opportunity, yet he believed that the matter itself was so important that it had better be treated of and discussed only between the King and myself. Besides which, the King (he said) would take my representations in much better part than if they were addressed to him by any one member of his Privy Council. There was not long to wait between this and Sunday next, and therefore he strongly advised me to put off my visit till then.

---

* "Il me semble que pour tosjours gaigner temps et non chasser et travailler en vain."

† "Et apres avoer ouy mon dit homme yl loua a merveilles la bonne voulente de vostre maieste et aussy le bon office que continuellement faysoye, et sur ce commença a repeter les anciennes amities et le bien et necessite de la conservation dicelles."

My secretary could not gather from Cromwell's words whether there was any chance of the King's acquiescing in my proposition. To his suggestion that the King ought to be officially informed of the two months' prorogation, as such was His Holiness' express wish communicated to Your Majesty, he (Cromwell) made no reply. Therefore there is nothing to be done but wait patiently until next Sunday, when I hope to God to get an answer, both from the King and from the Queen.[*] If so, I shall not fail to acquaint Your Majesty, and at the same time report on other events in this country.

Since my last despatch the King has called together, besides the members of his ordinary Council, the principal judges of the kingdom, a good many prelates, and a large number of the nobility, who have met for three days running, from morning till evening, to advise and counsel concerning the crimes or rather foolish superstition of the Nun and her adherents, of whom I wrote in my last despatch. At the end of this long conference and consultation—which people at first thought was held for business of the utmost importance and weight—the High Chancellor publicly and before the people summoned for the purpose from all parts of the kingdom, declared in a long and elaborate speech: "that every Englishman was greatly bound to return thanks to the Almighty, who, by His divine goodness and mercy, had permitted the damnable abuses and wicked deeds of the said Nun, her adherents and accomplices, to be discovered and made manifest; which crimes and misdeeds he (the Chancellor), for many good reasons, declined to specify, though he said distinctly that she and her adherents had sinned first against God, and next against the person, authority, and royal rank of the King, who was, as he said, the non plus ultra of princes, past and present. On this last theme the Chancellor went on descanting, bestowing as many praises on the King as his heart and tongue could allow.[†]

In a similar manner did the Chancellor eulogize, *more to please his audience than because it really was so,*[‡] the very

---

[*] "J'espere que dimanche jen auray la response et du roy et de la royne."

[†] "Comme tout le peuple de ce royaulme estoit merveilleusement tenu et oblige de rendre graces a dieu tout puissant, le quel par sa divine bonte et clemence avoit faict descouvrir et jayllir en lumiere les dampnables abuz et grandes meschantetez de la dicte nonain et de ses adherens et complices, les quels pour le meilleur se despourtoit nommer. Les quels avoint mesprins premierement et directement contre dieu et sa saincte religion, et secondement par oblique artifice contre la personne, auctorite et estat du roy, qui estoit comme yl disoit le non pareil prince que soit ne aye este, donnant sur ce la voyle aux dits louenges tant que le sens et la langue le pouvoyent servyr."

[‡] "Plus pour les induyre a ceur que pour estre ainsi la tres grande, tres perfaycte et entiere hobeyssance, loyaulte, fidelite et bonne voulente," &c.

1533.

great, perfect, and complete obedience, loyalty, fidelity, and good-will which at all times the English had shewn to their King, their kind and gracious master, who had lately, as they all knew, in accordance with the law of God, reason, and conscience, divorced his wife, whom he would henceforwards call dowager princess. That the entirely legitimate marriage contracted and duly celebrated with his present Queen was not undertaken for the gratification of his individual pleasure,[*] nor was it a case without precedent in history. It had been planned and undertaken chiefly for the purpose of obtaining legitimate male succession to the throne, on which depended the repose and tranquillity of his own kingdom and subjects. They were, therefore, requested to take no heed of certain sentences null and void, which, as the report went, had been issued by the Pope at Rome; for His Holiness had been induced, nay seduced, to pronounce them by many strange means, and principally by the damnable and diabolic instrumentality of the said Nun and her accomplices, who had addressed to His Holiness letters in which, supposing herself to be inspired by prophetic spirit and divine revelation, she had encouraged him to pronounce a most disastrous sentence. The King wished those present to be acquainted with these particulars, that they might be on their guard, and cause them to be circulated through their respective countries on their return thither.[†]

So far no one of those present dared make an observation, or give signs of approbation or displeasure; but when the Chancellor came to say at the end of his speech that the Nun and her accomplices, wishing by her detestable hatred and abominable malignity to induce the English, under colour of religion, to rebel, had effectually spread, published, and given out in writing that she by divine revelation knew the King would be shortly dethroned and cast away from his kingdom by his own subjects, then many of those present, stung as it were by this last remark, began to cry out, "To the stake! to the stake!" All this time the Nun was present in the room, without exhibiting the least fear or astonishment at the Chancellor's objurgations, but, on the contrary, openly confessing and avowing that all that had been said of her was perfectly true. Upon which the Chancellor ended his peroration by saying

---

[*] "Et que ce tres legitime marriage quil avoit faict et deheument celebre avec ceste icy nestoit poinct pour son playsir ou cas particulier, ains principallement pour avoer legitime successeur."

[†] "The original being here torn and spoiled by damp in many places, I reproduce the passage, such as it is: "Et speciallemant par le . mau . dol . . . . . et diabolique engin de la dicte nonain et ses complices, la quelle . . . . ce offert avoit escript a sa sanctite mille persuasions faulces . . . . controuveez malignemant avec . . . . . contre . . ce roy . . . . . et contre sa sanctite les quelles elle auctorizoyt desperit de prophetie et de revellation divine pour en cas quil en senteneiast, comme yl a fayct, tres sinistrement. De quoy le roy les avoit bien voulu fere aduertyr les priant le vouloer ainsy croyre, semer publier et persuader a ceulx de leurs contrees questoint absent[s] quant ylz seroint ilz de retourd." Though Chapuys does not name her, Elizabeth Barton, the "Nun of Kent," must be understood by "La Nonnain."

1533.

that the late archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) and several other high personages, all of whom had since died, had mixed themselves up with prophecies of the Nun, and that many people were still alive who had been contaminated, as they would have occasion to see hereafter. *Many think, and even believe, that those who now have the Nun in their power will make her accuse many people unjustly, that they may thus have the occasion and the means of revenging themselves upon those who have supported the Queen,*[*] *and take from them large sums of money by way of a fine, which is the thing in this world the King likes the most.*

The Nun has almost always been under the keeping of Cromwell or of his people, who have continually treated her as a high-born lady (*comme une grosse dame*); which fact *in a great measure confirms my apprehensions as above.* But the affair is not over yet; *for the King insists, as much as he possibly can, upon the accomplices of the said Nun being at once declared heretics for having attached faith to her prophecies, and being moreover considered guilty of high treason for not having revealed the Nun's prognostics about his person. He has, therefore, ordered her accomplices, if discovered, to be seized, and their property confiscated; which measure, however, neither during the three days that the meeting lasted, nor afterwards, have the judges consented*[†] *to take, since there is actually no proof nor even an appearance of complicity, for the Nun herself, more than a year ago, went up to the King, and told him so to his face.* Yet, with all this, it is very much *to be feared that the judges will yield in the end to the King's wishes in this respect, and condemn the parties, as they once did condemn the Cardinal (Wolsey) for having accepted the Pope's legacy.*

For the last five days the King's Privy Council has issued letters patent commanding the Clerk of the Queen's Council to give up the keys of the room wherein the title deeds and documents relating to the Queen's domain and dower are kept. The said room forms part of the great house of Vuasmaytre (Westminster) close to the others where the King also keeps his papers. To recover the said keys Cromwell sent, the day before yesterday, for the Queen's chancellor, and for her treasurer (*recepveur*), and swore to them upon oath, and upon the faith and loyalty which he owes to the King, his master, that although he himself had drawn up the above-mentioned royal letters, he could not tell for what purpose the King demanded the keys of the said room, and that the first time

---

[*] "Plusieurs pensent et croient que ceulz qui ont la dicte nonain entre [les] mains la feront accuser pluseurs injustement afin davoer moyen et occasion de se venger de ceulx qui ont tenu le party de la dicte royne."

[†] "Maintenant reste encoires le principal de laffere, car le roy inste a plus non pouvoer que les susdicts acomplices dicelle nonain soient desclairez heretiques pour avoer adjouste foy a la dicte nonain et a sa suspicion, et de cryme de lese maieste pour non avoer reuele ce que concerne le roy, et par consequent quilz soient confisques de corps et de biens, a quoy ne durant les dits trois jours ne depuis ne se sont voulu condescendre les juges."

1533.

he (Cromwell) went to Court he would inquire from the King, *and do all he could in the Queen's favour, so that no injury should be done to her.* He told them further, that although he himself (Cromwell) had contrived all manner of stratagems to screw out of the Nun the fact of the Queen's having been in collusion or connivance with her, he had been unable to get any evidence on that particular point; on the contrary, he greatly praised the Queen's determination in refusing to see the said Nun, and the wise and discreet answer she made to her application, Cromwell remarking at the time *that it seemed as if God had directed the sense and wit of the Queen on that particular occasion.**

Conjointly with the issue of the said letters patent, there came a courier from Marseilles dispatched by this king's ambassadors at the conferences, who, to judge from the courtiers' faces, cannot have brought very pleasant news. Two days after his arrival the brother of the duke of Norfolk was sent thither post haste. It was believed at first that he was to touch at the court of France, but, as I am informed, he is only going to Paris to represent this king as sponsor in the Alençon marriage. In consequence also of the arrival of this courier the French ambassador has obtained his leave. When he came to say adieu to me, I did my utmost to learn from him what mood he left these people in, whether they were content or dissatisfied with the turn of affairs; but he would not enter into details, which makes me suspect that this king and his ministers are rather discontented.—London, 20th November 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor.—Received on the 20th of December by the bastard of Maldeyghe."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 6.

24 Nov. **1154.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 66.

. . . .

Besides what the Queen wrote to Your Majesty with regard to the paragraph (*article*) touching her affairs, she has now expressly charged me by letter to beg and entreat that, putting aside all other negociations and measures, you be pleased to insist upon the speedy determination and sentencing by the Pope of the main point in her suit. She maintains that the sentence once pronounced, the King, notwithstanding his bravado and the obstinate resolution he has shewn up to this day, is sure to listen to reason and return to the right path, and that, in order to accomplish this, neither preparation for war, nor gathering of troops, will be necessary.[*]

---

* "Et si feroit la faveur a la royne afin que ne luy fust faict tort. Et leur dit dauantage quil avoit use toutes les ruses possibles pour tirer de la nonain si la royne auroit eu sentement ou intelligence avec elle; mays quil nen avoit riens peu appercevoyr et louait [yl] inextimablement le reffus que la royne auoit faict de parler a la dicte nonnain, et la prudente response disant le dict Cremuel quil sembloit que dieu conduisoit le sens et le esperit de la dicte royne."

On this latter point, notwithstanding the Queen's great credit in England, I do not think that she could find one single person to share her opinion; considering the King's blind obstinacy. which must naturally increase, instead of diminishing.[†] It is generally believed, even by the *members of the Privy Council, that, should Your Majesty close the ports of your dominions, and stop English trade in Flanders as well as in Spain, it would be the most efficient, telling, and mortal warfare that could be made on this king and country; and that, such being the case* the desired object would be attained without any further action. For in reality this king, his ministers and favourites, have at present no other alleviation to their fears than their hoping, and believing, as they are *continually telling the people, that Your Majesty is not in a condition to stop the intercourse of trade.*

The appointment about which I twice wrote to Your Majesty, of an extraordinary ambassador to come here and remonstrate against the King's doings, was not so earnestly solicited by me from any hope I might entertain of his working any good; for certainly as the duke of Norfolk told me on one occasion, and which has been and still continues to be my own private opinion, no effort, however great, from the Pope, from Your Majesty, from the king of France, and from all the rest of the Christian princes put together, will ever be sufficient to bring this king to his senses, and persuade him to make it up (*le racointement*) with his Queen, and obey the Papal sentence. The extraordinary ambassador, however, if sent, might be useful in this way; he might be the means of more fully justifying Your Majesty before God, before the world, and particularly before this English nation, who are all to a man most remarkably, nay, incredibly attached to you. He might at the same time be a consolation and a comfort to the Queen herself, *and likewise to all those who follow her party, and constitute the great majority of the people.* Until now there has been no great necessity for the coming of the said ambassador, but I do not hesitate to say that he will be of use at this moment; and although this is not, as I wrote to Your Majesty on the 16th ult^{o}, the proper time for him to come yet he ought, if possible, to be here before the 15th of January next, the day when this Parliament is to meet.

Having, as I said in my last despatch,[‡] been promised an audience from the King, I was yesterday preparing to go to Court, when a message came, purporting that the King could not possibly receive me, owing to the press of business, but would let me know shortly the day and the hour at which he could give me an audience. Up to the present he has not sent for me, nor do I believe that he will until he hears again from Marseilles. *Indeed, I presume that the want of reliable information from that locality has been, and is still, the only cause for delaying the promised audience; not the pressure of business, as he (the King) and his ministers pretend. All their perplexity and present fears have no other origin, in my opinion, than their mistrust of the king of France on this occasion, and consequent vacillation of their own people. I am told that the last French ambassador, when he went away from this country, was earnestly requested by this king to take a letter to his master as quickly as possible. If so, I dare say the Frenchman will make haste, were it for no other purpose than to shew his gratitude for the big present he received at parting.*

---

[*] "Et que asseure vostre maieste que icelle [sentence] donnee le roy prendra rayson en payemant (?) et soy remettra au droit chemin nonobstant sa braveure et lobstination quil a monstre jusques icy, et que pour ce fere ne sera besoing de guerre ne armee quelconque."

[†] "Duquel dernier poinct, quelque grant credict que la royne aye en angleterre, si ne pense je quelle trovat personne que len vouloust pleger (*sic*, plyer?), considerant la grande obstination et aveuglement du roy."

[‡] See that of the 19th, No. 1153, p. 860.

Yesterday morning the Nun, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, was taken to the Cathedral Church of this city, and there, on a scaffold erected for the purpose in front of it, was she placed between two good and devout Observant friars (*observatins*), two Augustines,[*] two secular priests, one hermit and, one honest citizen, a laic, who stood all the time the sermon lasted. This was preached by a monk, very recently created bishop,—no doubt, that he may serve the Lady's interests. After repeating all or most of the arguments used by the Chancellor in his late peroration, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in my despatch of the 20th, the new bishop added that the Nun's feigned sanctity[†] had been the principal cause of preventing the cardinal of York (Wolsey) from sentencing in the divorce case, as he at first had intended to do; which was in fact one of the greatest misfortunes that could have fallen on this country owing to the many troubles and riots to which that event had already given rise, and which would perhaps occur in future with still greater force. The other accomplices of the Nun there present the preacher charged with levity, credulity, and superstition for having attached faith to her prophesies, as likewise with disloyalty and high treason for not revealing to the King what so deeply concerned his person, authority, and honour. The two Observant friars, moreover, he accused of having, by means of the said superstitious belief, corrupted and seduced their companions and colleagues to support and maintain the false opinion and evil quarrel, as he said, of the Queen against the King. This being the chief theme of the sermon, and the principal point on which the preacher was undoubtedly commanded to vent his rage, he went on with his arguments in justification of the King's conduct in that affair, deprecating and condemning, with all the force and ability of which he was master, the Queen's first marriage, and vehemently exhorting the people not to attach faith to those who maintained its legitimacy.

---

[*] " There is a gap in the original; the passage runs thus: " fust mise devant lesglise cathedrale de ceste cite sur ung hault eschauffault ou celle [nonnain], deux bons et debots religieux observantins, deux augustins, deux prestres seculiers, ung hermite, et ung homme de bien laic demourirent tout au long du sermon, et pour leur vesperisation (?) le prescheur, questoit ung moenne novellement faict evesque pour sousstenir le party de la dame, repplica tous ou la plus part des propos," &c.

[†] " Y adioustant davantaige que la dicte nonain par sa *faincte* (*sic*) *superstition* avoit este cause, dempescher le cardenal d' York de proceder a la sentence du divorce comme yl avoit deslibere, quavoit este lung des grans malheurs que peust advenir en ce royaulme pour les troubles et fascheries que desja sen estoint suyviez et quil falloit doubter plus grandes pour laduenir," &c. The words in italics do not seem to go well together, but thus I find them in the original. Did Chapuys mean *sa feincte sainctete et superstition?*

They say that on the next two Sundays the Nun and her companions on the scaffold will be called upon again to play their respective parts in this comedy, for it hardly deserves any other name. They will then be taken through the principal towns in the country for a similar rehearsal, that the King and his ministers may blot out from people's minds the impression they have that the Nun is a saint and a prophet. For all communities in general, and this one especially, being apt to be credulous, and much given to prophesies and divinations of this kind, and thereby exceedingly prone to riots and revolutions, it is to be supposed that in the present state of things the English will feel doubly anxious to see the fulfilment of many similar prophesies, all to the King's disadvantage, which now circulate widely through the country, to the great astonishment and awe of people; and, if so, that this will give persons innumerable an opportunity to controvert and dispute the validity of the second marriage.

Meanwhile the King has hitherto failed in his attempt to make the judges declare guilty of high treason those who have had any dealings with the Nun, in the form and manner specified in my last.* He himself is expected here on Friday next to dispute the case with the judges; and, if so, I should rather think that although some—perhaps the most learned and impartial among them—have declared that they will rather die than deal with the accused in that manner, should the King, as they say, come to dispute the case, he will have his own way; for no one in England dares contradict him in such matters unless he chooses to be treated as a madman, or, what is worse, as guilty of high treason. So that, to cut the matter short, it would seem as if this king had entirely divorced not only his true and legitimate Queen, but also the conscientious feeling, humanity, and mild temper which he used to have in former days.†

---

* See No. 1153, p. 863. ["Le roy ne a encoires peu mener ses juges a faire declaracion (*sic*) contre ceulx qui ont practique avecq la dicte nonain] selon la forme quescripviz dernierement."

† ["Il doit içy venir vendredy pour disputer laffere avec eulx, et combien [que] yl y ait de principaulx juges quayent [dict] que plustot ils vouloient morir que faire la dicte declaration, toutesfoys venant le roy a disputer y [l] ny a personne qui ose contredire, sil ne veult auoir de la beste ou du desloyal par la teste, de sorte quil semble quil ait faict totallement diuorse non seullement de sa femme, mais aussi de toute bonne conscience, humanite et doulceur quil souloit avoer."]

He sent a few days ago for those in command of his fleet, and told them to prepare all things required for the armament and manning of all his ships. This information I have from one of his own sea captains, who has also told me that the duke of Norfolk has sent orders to various English ports to have fortifications and defences raised so as to guard against any sudden invasion of the enemy,—a proof to me that these people begin to be seriously alarmed.*

In pursuance of Your Majesty's orders I wrote lately to the count of Cyfuentes.† I again write to him this very day, telling him in plain terms what the Queen's wishes are.

I have nothing more to say, save that to-morrow the marriage of the duke of Richmond to the daughter of the duke of Norfolk is to take place.—London, 24th November 1533.

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 4.

4 Dec. **1155.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 1366, f. 85.
B.M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 66.

(*Cipher :*) Having written to Your Lordship a few days ago, and to the Emperor no less than four times during the last month, I shall now be brief. Your Lordship is right; the interview between the Pope and the prince of Melfi (Andrea Doria) is very much open to suspicion, the more so that the last time he saw His Holiness many conjectures arose therefrom. I am sorry that it ever took place, and will try to ascertain whether on our voyage back anything should occur to confirm our suspicions, and, if so, will immediately acquaint Your Lordship with it.

Meanwhile, I will repeat here something I heard from the Prince's own lips. Talking about the Marseilles conferences, and the intention the king of France had shewn of coming over to Italy as soon as he saw Your Majesty engaged with the Turk, he told me in these very words: "I fancy that His Holiness would not be sorry to see the Emperor and the king of France at daggers drawn, because he thinks that might make him greater and stronger." Of this I make no account, because it is a well known thing in Italy, and especially as regards His Holiness. But he (Doria) continued: "I consider His Holiness to be the cleverest politician in Italy, but somehow or other he always chooses the worst path." Whether Doria by these words alluded to past events, or to something lately done, is more than I can say, but I repeat his very words to me.

Respecting Carnisecca's letter to Mr. de Grandvelle, I have nothing to say. I still maintain that, whatever the promises,

---

* "Il ma aussi dict que le duc de norphoc avoit envoye commande[r] en plusieurs pors de ce royaulme pour y fere faire des blocus et autres forterresses pour obvier aus soudaines invasions que lon pourroit faire içy, quest signe quilz commencent avoer craincte."]

† Don Fernando de Silva or Sylva, count of Cifuentes, Imperial ambassador in Rome since the departure of Miçer Mai in April. See above, pp. 633 and 658.

1533.

more or less sincere, of His Holiness, the Order of St. John will never take charge of the defence of Coron.

I will temporize with the cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici as long as I can, especially now that he is reported to be angry with the French. I hear that he refused to accept pensions, money, or even silver plate from the king of France at his departure from Marseilles. If Your Lordship could send me a letter, or the promise of some bishopric, I have no doubt that I could get on much better with him.

I wish to know whether I am to insist upon a cardinal's hat for Capua (Schomberg), or whether I am to drop the subject altogether. His Holiness will sail to-morrow, for the six galleys have already come, and the Prince [Andrea Doria] is hourly expected with two more.

By the enclosed despatch for the cardinal of Seville (Manrique) Your Lordship will perceive that the business of the Inquisitor of Sicily is satisfactorily arranged.—La Espezia (Spezia), 3rd December 1533.

Signed: "Conde Cifuentes."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious the High Commander of Leon, of the Secret Council of His Imperial Majesty, and his first secretary."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

5 Dec. **1156.** Lope de Soria to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1310, f. 73.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 68.

Sends a duplicate of his letter of the 19th ult° by way of Genoa, and also copies of the advices which this Signory has received from Corphu in date of the 16th, *stating how, the day before, Troylo* (*sic*) *Pignatello, a relative of the duke of Monteleone and who, they say, lives in France, had arrived in that island.*[*]

Sends likewise the copy of a letter received from the governor of Marano[†] with news of Croatia, &c.; also a summary of what the commissaries of this Signory intend proposing respecting the final settlement of the claims of the king of the Romans.

Cesaro Fragoso[‡] is expected here in three days. Has requested the Signory to accept his services, for fear he should go and offer them elsewhere.

Has received a despatch from the king of the Romans, dated the 20th ult°, saying that on that day he (Ferdinand) left for Prague in Bohemia.

The ambassador of this Signory resident with the Pope, and other private individuals who went from hence to Marseilles to hear what was going on, have now returned. All are dissatisfied with what they have seen and heard there, and *alike with Pope and King*; and it must be said *that the dis-*

---

[*] The copy of these advices from Corphu is not in the packet.

[†] See above, No. 1152, p. 859.

[‡] Also called *Fregoso*; the same who in 1528 became governor of Pavia for the League, and who some time after led the attack on Genoa, and dispossessed the Adorni. See vol. iii., part 1, p. 684, and part 2, p. 863.

content here is general. They have not, however, as they tell him, been able to ascertain *the true nature of the engagements taken;* yet as the king of France still goes on asking these people *to enter into a confederacy with him, or else not to oppose his plans respecting Milan and Genoa, and is besides making them most brilliant offers if they do not,* there is reason to believe that the conferences of Marseilles have not been, as the Pope pretends to say, for Your Majesty's benefit entirely. The Venetians, however, as the Doge has assured him, adhere firmly to the treaties made with Your Majesty, and laugh at the bravadoes (*fieros*) and designs of king Francis. They ridicule his late family alliance with the Pope, saying openly that as long as Your Majesty and they (the Venetians) are united, all the rest of the world put together will not be able to undertake anything important against your will, and, if they do, will soon be humbled and punished.

Your Majesty upon the whole may be sure that this Signory generally and privately is more attached to Your Imperial person than to any other prince in the world. They are nowadays all converted, and good Imperialists; is certain that, whenever required, they will shew it by their deeds.

Since His Holiness' arrival at Savona we have no news of him.

Count Galeotto della Concordia has lately been trying to induce this Signory to give him some command in their army, and place him under their protection; his agent or go-between being, as I understand, the Mantuan ambassador. The Signory has answered that they cannot for the present grant the Count's petition owing to his late doings* at La Mirandola, which seem to them very blameable indeed.—Venice, 5th December 1533.

Signed: "Lope de Soria."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

6 Dec. **1157.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 67.

On the eve of St. Andrew's Day the King, who, as I wrote in my despatch of the 12th of October, had promised more than a month ago to tell me his reasons for depriving the princess of Wales, his daughter, of her legitimate title and rights of primogeniture, sent me word by the duke of Norfolk, and also by Cromwell, that he wished to know through them what I had to say and propose respecting the Princess or the Queen herself. The Royal message, I was told, was not intended for the purpose of avoiding or delaying the promised audience, which the King would gladly grant, being at all times very much prepared to receive me, but because he

---

* He had murdered his uncle, Gian Francesco, and got possession of his estate.

1533.

wished to take first the advice of his councillors, and deliberate about Your Majesty's errand, whatever it might be.

Having, therefore, represented to the Duke and to Cromwell also that the King could nowise, by right, justice, or any reason whatever, declare his own daughter, Mary, to be illegitimate, or deprive her of her title of princess of Wales—which rightly belonged to her as the King's first-born—both replied that my observation might be considered just according to the dispositions and determination of Common Law, but that the latter had no force or authority whatever in the present case; the laws of the kingdom, which were inviolable, decided just the contrary. But upon my making them observe that I merely alluded to the decisions of Canon Law, which being as it was, a spiritual matter, could not be affected by any usages, constitutions, or ordinances of princes and other secular persons, they knew not what to reply, save saying they would make their report to the King, and let me know as soon as possible what his will and intentions were in that respect.

This promise, however, they have not yet fulfilled, or, if they have, the King has not yet decided, notwithstanding that the councillors meet almost every day to talk the matter over, and that several doctors in Canon Law have been summoned to take part in the deliberations.

With regard to the Queen and the compromise offered by His Holiness, they tell me that some time ago the proposition might have been worthy of consideration, but that now, after the juridical sentence pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, it was deemed inadmissible. Nothing in the world, they said, would prevail upon the King to do anything that might expressly or tacitly go against that sentence, inasmuch as it concerned his own honour and the interests of his newly-born daughter, who, they said, had already been declared such Princess, and was held and considered as such. All the ambassadors in the world, even the Pope himself might come and visit the King; they would not persuade him to act otherwise. That was their impression, they both said, though they had not yet received the King's answer to the proposed settlement.

I need not say that on this as well as on previous occasions I failed not to treat the sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury as it deserved, proving to them, by many arguments, that it was no sentence at all, and that to His Holiness alone and to his cardinals in Consistory appertained the full determination of the cause. Against that of the Pope, I observed, the King could no longer allege, as at other times, the fear in which, as he maintained, the Father of the Church stood of Your Majesty's power; for not only did he know of old how averse you were from compelling people to do unlawful and unjust acts, and on the contrary how ready to prevent such things, but the sentence, as he must know, had been pronounced at a time when Your Majesty was far away from Italy, and all your army had gone to the relief of Coron,

1533.

whilst the Pope himself was on the eve of departure to hold an interview with the king of France, whom he knew to be closely confederated and on terms of great friendship with the King, their master.

Hearing this, both Duke and Chancellor remained some time thoughtful and in suspense, until the latter replied that it could not be found that similar sentences in matrimonial causes had ever been obeyed and executed in this kingdom of England. I told him that his assertion astonished me, and that I could at any time prove the contrary to him. Even if things in England were as he said, not only the prelates and inferior clergy were to be blamed for not applying a remedy to the evil, but the King himself and his ministers were responsible for allowing such unprecedented abuse. Upon which I took leave of them, and they again assured me that I should soon get an answer.

About a month ago a number of Scots made a raid into this country, and, among other damage, set fire to and destroyed certain villages, the inhabitants of which have, I am told, sent here a deputation to ask for an indemnity. They have, nevertheless, received no help, and, what is more, no answer except that the King is no longer at war with Scotland. The French ambassador, coming the other day to return my visit, gave me to understand that the last invasion of the Scots had nothing to do with any quarrel that might exist betweeen the King of this country and his neighbour of Scotland; it merely had its origin in private feuds and dissensions between gentlemen of both countries. Yet this seems the beginning of a dangerous opening for inducing the rest to imitate and join with them.*

The ambassador seemed also to hint in his conversation with me, that, had it not been for the fear of this king's displeasure, the Pope and his master (the king of Scotland) would willingly have arranged an interview with Your Majesty, so as to tighten the bonds of mutual friendship in such a way that there would no longer be any chance of war between the king of France and yourself; *whereas, as the ambassador remarked to me, there might still lurk some shade or slight appearance of it, for want of the proposed interview,* which king James would willingly have brought about, *were it for no other purpose than to bring these people to reason and honesty.*† I believe, however, that very few, if any of Your Majesty's, servants, will be *deceived by similar assertions,* for nobody will trust to them, and *believe in their words,* and *that for good cause.*

In the same manner the ambassador to whom I allude said to me, apparently with much zeal and warmth, that it would

---

* "Si semble [t] yl bien commencemant et amorse dangereuse pour fere dançer le surplus sen addonant lopportunite."

† "Bien que comme il disoit, il y pourroit avoer quelque myne, semblance et apparence, et que ce ne seroit que pour induire le monde a rayson et honnestete et non pour autre."

1533. be desirable that some expedient should be devised by which the differences of this divorce case might be adjusted. Having pressed him to state to me his ideas on the subject, and to specify the means by which that object might be attained, he told me that, in his opinion, the principal and best way was to do something that would throw light on the question of the validity or invalidity of the marriages;[*] "but since this king's obstinacy (continued the ambassador) precludes all hope of that, a lesser evil would be to leave matters as they are at present, and insure to the Princess her title and right to the succession, which is evidently one of the things at which His Majesty, the Emperor, aims chiefly, and looks to the King's conscience for the rest; for I can see very plainly that, should the Princess marry a prince capable of upholding and maintaining her rights, the king of England may do what he pleases in favour of his newly-born daughter, the Princess will ultimately meet with the help and assistance of the English, were it only of those who are naturally fond of revolutions and civil troubles, such as these questions of relationship and succession generally bring in their train."[†]

The ambassador further assured me that he had frequently heard the King, and those who surround him, express themselves in this manner, and that he very much feared that unless some expedient *or remedy could* be found to settle this matter of the divorce, this king would ultimately shake off his obedience and subjection to the Apostolic See, and regret that he ever wrote a book in the Pope's favour, and against Luther.[‡] The King himself had said to him (the ambassador) that some days back, at the request of king Francis, and in hopes that the conferences at Marseilles would continue, and something be done in his favour, he had given orders that all preachings against the Pope should cease; but that now he would set the Clergy again to inveigh from the pulpits against His Holiness, and cause books to be written and published shewing the abuses of Popes and churchmen in general,—a thing which had not yet been done. The ambassador, moreover, thought that Lutheranism, to which a good number of these courtiers are attached, being once introduced in this country, it will be rather difficult to eradicate it, especially if they have the favour and assistance of the Germans bordering upon the sea.

---

[*] "Il me dit que le meillieur seroit de fere [quelque chose] que pourroit exclercyr la validite ou invalidite des marriages, mays puys que causant lobstination yl ny avoit en ce aprest ne espoer, le moins mal seroit dasseurer le tiltre et la succession de la princesse, que estoit a son aduys une des choses a quoy vostre maieste tachoit le plus."

[†] "Et quil voyoit bien que venant la princesse estre mariee en main forte, et que peust maintenir sa querelle, yl y auroit beau garbouge contre ceste nouvellemant nee, que ne fauldroye davoer faveur et assistense ne fust yl que des gens quaymeroient les troubles jointz avec ceulx du parentage."

[‡] "Et quil doubtoit que non entrevenant quelque moyen et remede au dict affaire du divorce, ce roy se extempera (exemptera) et alhienera (alienera) de la subiection et obeissance du siege apostolique, et que ce roy ne se repentoit de riens plus que du liure quil a compose çydeuant contre Luthere en faueur du dict siege apostolique."

1533.

I could not let the French ambassador's arguments pass without some contradiction and correction, and therefore tried to convince him that, were this king to take such a course, it would cause the irreparable ruin and destruction of him and his kingdom; for, considering the nature and temper of its inhabitants, there would be great danger for himself, as might be gathered from the chronicles of his predecessors. The King (said I) ought not to compare himself with or take example from any of the German princes; for, besides their having better means of maintaining their rule at home, many fortresses, and a nobility well trained to war, their estates rest upon older and more solid foundation, and are comparatively free from pretenders and the like.* Notwithstanding that (I added), we all know what disturbances the peasants (*villains*) of Germany caused years ago. Had there been the tenth part of such troubles in this country everything would have been irretrievably lost. If this king will only look at the chronicles of his predecessors, he will find no less than four kings who at different times acknowledged the supremacy of the Apostolic See in this kingdom. He himself owned it to me, though he added that the kings, his predecessors, had been deceived, and could not have done so to the prejudice of their succession.

It appears to me to be necessary to hold similar language to the French ambassador and others whenever they come to me with errands of this sort, that they may go back and tell their king, as I am sure they generally do. These being true facts, I have not hesitated to bring them before the duke of Norfolk and Chancellor Cromwell whenever the opportunity has occurred. The former, as I informed Your Majesty in one of my despatches, once boasted to me that his master, the King, had caused certain Lutheran books to be publicly burnt. But such are nowadays this king's blind obstinacy and disregard of the Divine precepts, that, had he feared no one else but God, he would already have carried his threats into execution, or done much worse if he could.†

With regard to other news from this country I have nothing to report, save that some days ago the King's treasurers paid part of the sum contracted for the fitting out of his ships, and that the merchantmen's fleet for Flanders is already laden, notwithstanding the publication in those parts of the executory letters (*executoriales*), and that, unless some new prohibition come down from the King, which is not considered probable, it will soon put to sea.

The bishop of Paris is expected here from hour to hour;

---

* "Et quil ne failloit quil se fondat ne print example a aucuns princes dalemaigne, car oultre quilz ont meilleur appareil pour estre maistre [s] de leur peuple, pour les forteresses, et noblesse quilz avoient exercitee en guerre, et dailleurs leurs estatz estoient plus estables fondees de toute antiquite et netz de toutes pretances (*sic*) et querelles."

† "Et fault penser que attendu le [aveuglement et obstinacion de ce roy, sil nen craignoit autre que dieu, il eust desja mis en execution ses menasses, et encoires eust pis faict sil leust peu]."

1533.

he is coming post-haste, as people imagine, to excuse his master for not having done at Marseilles all this king wished, and having failed to persuade the Pope; also to communicate part of what has been treated of and agreed to in the conference. Should I hear more particulars concerning the Bishop's mission, and likewise of what may have been done in Germany by one of those whom this king sent thither some time ago, and who has returned to London this very morning, I will not fail to acquaint Your Majesty.—London, 6th December 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor. Received the 4th January 1534."

French. Holograph. pp. 6.

9 Dec. **1158.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 69.

Since my last I have learned that the merchants in charge of the fleet that is to sail for Belgues (Belgian Flanders) had been to see the King, and learn what his pleasure was, and also to inquire whether they could safely pass on and send merchandise to those countries [of Spain], and whether, owing to the publication of the executory letters [in Flanders], there was any danger of their goods being embargoed, or they themselves molested in any way. The King's answer was that he could not give advice in such matters; he neither would encourage nor dissuade them; they might act as they pleased, *on their own responsibility and peril.* After which he began seriously to complain of the injuries which (he said) the Pope had done him,* *saying that they (the English) ought not to mind his censures in the least, and that he (the King) would do wonders against him. Besides which he assured them that Your Majesty's subjects would not ill-treat the English, inasmuch as they could not well live without the commodities of this country, as they might gather from what happened last year, when the staple of Calais was closed; for although the suspension only lasted three months, the people of the Low Countries began immediately to cry out "Murder!" If the merchants of this kingdom, he said, would only wait, have patience, and remain some time without sending their goods across the sea, the subjects of the Empire would necessarily be obliged to come to this country with a rope round their necks, begging for the re-opening of that very trade which they threatened to stop.*

These or the like arguments the duke of Norfolk afterwards reproduced to the merchants with still greater force at their appearance before the Privy Council. Indeed, when speaking about His Holiness he held still more blasphemous language, assuring his audience that the Pope was a wretch and a bastard, a liar and a bad man, and that he would stake wife,

---

* "Chargeant apres la dicte response bien asprement contre le Pape du tort et injustice que luy auoit faict."

1533.

children, and even his own person, to be revenged on him.[*] *In expressing such sentiments about His Holiness, the Duke must have changed considerably of late, for some time ago he was the only courtier who here shewed respect for Papal authority, and professed to be a staunch Catholic.*[†] *But the Duke was, no doubt, compelled to speak and act thus, for fear of losing the small credit he still enjoys, which scarcely goes beyond the limits allowed him by Cromwell, nowadays the man who has most influence with the King;* at which, as I hear from all sides, the Duke is very much annoyed, and is seriously contemplating leaving the Court and retiring into private life.

Since hearing the King's answer as above, the merchants have hit upon the expedient of sending to the dowager queen of Hungary, governess (*regente*) of Flanders and the Low Countries, a deputation, chosen from the principal and richest amongst them to inquire and ascertain before they send any merchandise thither, what assurance they are to get that their property and persons will not be interfered with. The deputation is to address itself to Monsieur de Belgues,[‡] that he may intercede with the Queen, and assist them in their inquiries. This they hope he will do with pleasure, as it is his interest. I have no doubt that the Queen, whose discretion and prudence are remarkable on all occasions, will at all events hold the deputies such language as the incredible attachment of these people for Your Majesty deserves, and is now very much required for the preservation and increase thereof.

I have been informed that this king, in order to throw contempt on the Pope's authority, and meet the vigorous censures fulminated against himself, has decided to have certain proclamations printed and spread throughout his kingdom; and that for this very purpose, and fearing lest his subjects should rise against him, he has had the facts altered and disguised at his pleasure, and has resolved to send to the countries where there may be greater need persons of a certain rank (apparence), and fit for the task of spreading the proclamations. Indeed, I hear from various quarters that the King and his Privy Councillors are in great perplexity and fear just now at the consequences that the Papal censures may bring, which fear might be terribly increased were they to know the real disposition of these people; for the English, all to a man, have rejoiced at the publication in Flanders of the executory letters, and trust that since Your Majesty has begun

---

[*] "Disant que cestoit ung malheureux fils de ribalde, manteur et meschant homme, et quil luy couteroit (*sic*) femme et enfants, sa personne, et tout ce quil auoit, ou il se vaingeroit de luy."

[†] "Il a bien change de chanson, car cestoit [jadis] luy seul icy a la court, que ce (*sic* r. se) monstroit meilleur catholique, et qui le plus favorisoit lauctorite du Pape."

[‡] "Et ont charge iceulx deputez saddresser a monsieur de Belgues pour leur assister et interceder pour eulx vers la dicte royne, ce quils cuydent fera volentiers pour linterest que les concerne."

*the game you will go on with it, and put an end to the annoyances this king is causing you and them.**

All commanders of the Royal navy, who, as I informed Your Majesty in my despatch of the . . . , had been ordered to prepare and fit out their respective ships, were the other day summoned before the Privy Council, and asked whether they thought that on the 1st *of May the whole fleet might put to sea. Their answer was that they considered it quite impossible for their ships to be ready before* 12 *or* 13 *months. Hearing which the duke of Norfolk began to say that no great reliance ought to be placed on the English fleet; for even in case of the two French ships promised joining it, the total force would amount almost to nothing when compared with Your Majesty's powerful armament, and that the best thing to be done under present circumstances was to fortify the ports and all those places on the English coast where a disembarkation might be effected. That is, no doubt, the reason why the defences of Dover Castle have been lately repaired, and that some slight works are being erected on other parts of the coast.* A number of *gunners have also been enlisted, and the process of casting cannon has already commenced.*

The King has already appointed a household for his newly-born daughter, who will within three or four days be sent to the county of Norfolk, there to be nursed. She will leave this city in full state, accompanied by two dukes and several great lords and gentlemen. The earl of Autfort (Oxford) will meet her 12 miles from hence, and the two dukes [of Norfolk and Suffolk] will then return to town. The Earl, after escorting the King's bastard daughter to the place where she is to be nursed, will go to the Princess, do away with her princely state, and conduct her by force to pay her court to her bastard sister. Eight days after the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Essex, the King's Comptroller, and Dr. Sampson will go to the Queen, and deprive her of her chancellor, almoner, receptor and other officers of her household, and remove her to a house belonging to the bishop of this place (London); and it is much to be feared that, unless God or Your Majesty remedy it, this accursed Lady will go on persecuting both the Queen and the Princess, and that no prayers or remonstrances will avail with her.

The man whom the King had sent to Lubec for the purpose of recovering the property taken on our ships has just returned with the following answer: "The people of Lubec engage to restore any and every thing taken on board Spanish, Flemish, or any other ship, except those of the Hollanders, with whom they have long accounts to settle." I must, how-

---

* "Et certainement a ce que lon ma dit de pluseurs coustes le roy et ceulx de son conseyl ce (*sic* for se) treuvent en perplexite et grande craincte; mais elle leur augmenteroit horriblement silz sçauoient entierement la volonte et disposition du peuple quil (qui) se rejouyt de la puplication (*sic*, publication) des executoriales, esperant que vostre maieste, puisquelle a commancee elle achevera de mectre fin et ordre aux facheries diçy."

1533.

ever, observe that for some time past the King has treated with a certain degree of honour and familiarity the Lubeckian captain, who, as I lately informed Your Majesty, remains here as security for his companions; for Cromwell has often invited him to dinner, and on Sunday last, as the King himself was going to mass, in the hall of his very palace, and in public, he created him Knight of the Rose, and gave him a gold chain worth 400 or 500 ducats. Upon which the elder of the Easterlings,* who accompanied the Lubeckian, and acted as interpreter, addressed the King, and said, "The captain cannot sufficiently thank the King for the honour received; he trusts to be able ere long to render such services that His Highness will not have occasion to repent having bestowed his favours on him." The King would have wished that the French ambassador had attended the ceremony, to which he was expressly invited, but the Frenchman sent his excuses on the plea that he had no business at all at Court, and no news to communicate; at which, as I am told, the King was much displeased, for he would have liked that ambassador in particular to frequent his Court more than he does at the present time, were it for no other purpose than to remove any mistrust or suspicion arising among his subjects.

To make up, as it were, for the absence of the said ambassador, the King on his return from mass spoke for a long time and in most familiar terms with the man who, as I said before, had lately returned from Germany, and whom, though only one of Cromwell's clerks, the King treated with the greatest familiarity, for he conducted him to the apartments of the Lady, resting his arm upon his shoulder, and talking to him all the time, as if he wanted the bystanders to believe that he had brought good and important news from that country; which, after all, is not true, for, as I hear, the intelligence he brings is anything but satisfactory.

It is also rumoured that the King has conferred an annual pension upon the Lubeckian captain; and, if so, it must be that the latter has, in the name of his city, promised men and ships in case of war, or, what is more likely, and this King would much prefer, that he will prevent the Lubeckians from coming to any arrangement with the Hollanders.† The captain will leave in two or three days. He intends crossing over to France, and thence going to Liege, and across Germany to his own native town. I have written to Flanders to see whether it would not be possible to prepare some ambush for him, and get hold of his papers, if he has any.

I hear that just now the King *has been trying to induce certain English bishops to consent to the derogation of Papal*

---

* "L'aldremant de la maison des hostrelins, qui accompagnoit le dict cappitaine, pourta les parolles au roy pour luy, contenant en substance," &c.

† "Lon dit aussy que ce roy a constitue aucune pension annuelle au dict cappitainne, que ne peult estre sans quil ayt promis gens et navieres, ou [ce] que le roy a mon aduis aymeroit trop myeulx, quil gardera que ceulx de Lubeke ne viennent en appoinctement avec les dicts hollandois."

1533.

authority in this country, and that for certain considerations he wished the thing to have been done before the arrival here of the bishop of Paris. But I hear that not one of them, except Canterbury, consents to this. As to the bishop of Winchester, the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci), his answer to the Archbishop's secretary, who called on him [on the matter of the annates], was that he wished to remain a bishop, and would willingly contribute a sum of money every year out of sheer generosity, not because he considered it his duty to do so. With regard to Campeggio, I believe that his answer will be still harsher.*

I forgot to say that the Privy Councillors have orders no longer to designate the Pope by his title, but to call him simply the bishop of Rome.

Should the intercourse of trade between Your Majesty's dominions and this kingdom be forbidden, I should say that great attention ought to be paid to guarding the Straits of Gibraltar; for if that gate remain open, these people might send abroad sufficient merchandise that way to support themselves for some time to come.—London, 9th December 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 5.

13 Dec. **1159.** COUNT DE CIFUENTES to the SAME.

S. E. L. 860, f. 16.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 70.

Without his having previously mentioned the subject, His Holiness said the other day to him (the Count): "What does the Emperor want me to do?" His answer was: "Your Holiness knows it already by the Emperor's letters; he wants Your Holiness to determine as soon as possible the principal cause, and then pronounce sentence 'super attentatis.' Why then have you not since your return to Rome made any stir about it? I am very desirous to do justice to the Queen, as you will see, when we come to the sentence." Told him that owing to his having returned to Rome only two days previously, and to auditor Capisucci having remained behind in France, nothing had yet been done. "Then if that be the case," said the Pope, "send in a petition, and I will appoint another auditor in his room."

He (the Count) cannot imagine what this present hurry or His Holiness can mean, unless it be one of two things: either that he is very sensitive to the appeal which the king of

---

* As the paragraph is somewhat obscure I transcribe it: "Lon me dit que ces jours le roy a fait solliciter certaines evesques pour vouloer consentir a la derrogation de lauctorite papale, et que ce [çi] fust [faict] auant larryuee de leuesque de Paris pour certains respects; mais il ny a qui y veuille consentir, saulf Quanturbery. Le dict na voulou relacher leuesque de [Vincestre], lauditeur de la chambre, et a fait response a son homme quil vouloit luy mesme estre evesque, et quil luy vouloit bien donner quelque chose annuellement, non point pour deuoir ains seullement de sa propre liberalite. Touchant le cardinal Campeggio je crois quil en sera encoires pis que lautre."

England is now making to the future Council (*ad futurum concilium*), or that he wishes to create difficulties between the Emperor and him, because immediately after the above unprecedented hastening to action he (the Pope) said to him: "The Emperor ought now to take away from the King the trade of Flanders and Spain; that would be, in my opinion, the best way of bringing him to terms."[*]

Spanish. Original abstract for the Emperor's inspection.

---

16 Dec. **1160.** The Emperor to prothonotary Caracciolo.

S. E. L. 1560, f. 103.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 72.

. . . .

You must by this time be aware, as likewise the Duke [Francesco Sforza], of what passed at the interview between the Pope and the king of France [at Marseilles]. What We know for certain here is the marriage of the duke of Orleans to the Pope's niece, the creation of certain [French] cardinals with unusual haste, and what was generally said there on matters of Faith, and respecting the resistance to the Turk, the security and preservation of peace, and the general welfare of Italy. What has been decided on each of these matters We know not, though His Holiness' affection and regard for Christendom, as his rank and authority demand, must be such that We have no doubt he will have carefully attended to them. Such results, at least, We have reason to expect from the despatches of count de Cifuentes, our ambassador, as well as from the letters of Juan Poggio,[*] His Holiness' collector in these our kingdoms, who left this for Marseilles, as well as from captain Aponte, who, before coming to Spain, spoke to him on this subject. Yet it would appear, from what our said ambassador writes, that both in the discussion of the Turkish war, and in the assistance to be afforded by the Christian princes, the king of France had shewn much unwillingness, giving him [the Pope] plainly to understand, without equivocation or double meaning, that he would not help in, or treat of, such an undertaking unless the Milan question was conjointly discussed.

As We do not know for certain what has been done since, and the advices received from all parts are that the Turk will most likely invade Christendom again, We now send to

---

[*] On the margin of this paragraph is the following note in the handwriting of secretary Covos: "All this is very well, and the considerations offered by the ambassador may be just; but let him bear in mind that Capisucci's stay in France might be a stratagem of His Holiness in order to appoint another auditor in his room, not so favourable to the Queen as that one is supposed to be.

"Should His Holiness speak again about the Council, he may be told that His Imperial Majesty has already written to Flanders to do what is fit, and shall not fail to do in time what is proper and convenient. This, however, must be said in general terms without taking any special engagements one way or the other, but always soliciting the execution which His Holiness is bound to make, and the final determination of the affair."

[*] Bishop of Tropea. See above, pp. 848 and 851.

1533.

Rome captain[*] Aponte with our instructions to the Count [de Cifuentes], that he may beg His Holiness in our name to do in the above matters everything that, as a shepherd of the Christian flock, he is bound to do; and assure him that We, on our side, will do all that is expected from us.

You will inform the Duke [Francesco Sforza] of all that has been done and said at Marseilles, that he may know how matters stand. You will also tell him that We will acquaint him with His Holiness' answer, and with the resolutions that may be taken thereupon. His ambassador here has been told the same.

. . . .

Monçon, 16th December 1533.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5.

16 Dec. **1161.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 70.

In consequence of the King's resolution and order as to the respective treatment of the Princess and of his bastard daughter, about which I wrote[†] last to Your Majesty, the latter was three days since taken to a house distant 17 miles from this city; and although there was a better and a shorter route thither, yet, for the sake of pompous solemnity, and the better to impress upon the people the idea of her being the true princess of Wales, the King's bastard daughter and her suite, composed of the noblemen specified in my last, were made to traverse this city. On the ensuing morning the duke of Norfolk went himself to the Princess, and signified her father's pleasure that she should attend Court, and enter the service of his other bastard daughter, whom the Duke deliberately, and in her presence, called princess of Wales. Upon which princess Mary replied: "That is a title which belongs to me by right, and to no one else;" after which she addressed to him many gracious, honest, and very wise remonstrances, all tending to shew that the proposals the Duke had brought from the King were both strange and unfitting.[‡] Which argument on the part of the Princess the Duke was unable to combat, so much so that he said to her that he had not gone thither to dispute, but to see the King's wishes accomplished, and his commands executed, namely, that she should be removed to the house taken for the bastard. Upon which the Princess, seeing that all her arguments and excuses would be of no avail, asked for half an hour's time to retire to her private chamber; where she remained, as I am given to understand, all the while, or nearly so, *occupied in drawing out the protest whereof I once gave her the words. Thus, should she in any way be compelled by force or persuaded by deceit to renounce her rights, marry against her will, or enter a cloister, no prejudice should result to her hereafter.*

---

[*] Elsewhere called Field Master (Maestro de Campo).

[†] See his despatch of the 16th of October, No. 1137, p. 829.

[‡] "Luy faysant pluseurs honnestes, gracieuses et tres saiges remonstrances comme ce quil avoit propouse estoit bien mal duysant. extrange et exhorbitant de lhonnestete."

When she came out of her room the Princess said to the Duke: "Since such is my father's wish, it is not for me to disobey his injunctions; but I beg you to intercede with him that the services of many well deserving and trusty officers of my household may be rewarded, and one year's wages at least given to them." After this she asked the Duke how many of her own servants she would be allowed to retain and take with her. The answer was that as she would find plenty of servants to attend on her where she was going, no great train of followers was needed. Accordingly the Princess set out on her journey, accompanied only by very few of her household. Her governess, daughter of the late duke of Clarence, and the King's near relative—a very honourable and virtuous lady, if there be one in England—offered, I hear, to serve the Princess at her own cost, with a good and honourable train of servants, but her offers were not accepted; *nor will they ever be, for were the said lady to remain by the Princess they would no longer be able to execute their bad designs, which are evidently either to cause her to die of grief or in some other way, or else to compel her to renounce her rights, marry some low fellow, or let her fall a prey to lust, so that they may have a pretext and excuse for disinheriting her, and submitting her to all manner of bad treatment.*[*]

As, notwithstanding all my remonstrances against the bad treatment offered to the Princess—to which remonstrances no answer has yet been returned—this king has gone so far; considering also that all I might say would only over irritate and render him more obstinate and proud—especially when he sees us despairing of the remedy and looking to him for it,—I am determined, unless I receive new mandate to the contrary, not to say one word more on this subject unless the King himself drives me to it.

That the Queen may not have occasion to envy her daughter, the visits of the King, her father, several personages—the same about whom I wrote in one of my despatches—have this very morning departed from this city on a mission to her, requesting, as I am given to understand, that she will consent to ratify the sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury,[†] and cause the excommunication and interdict which, they say, the Pope has, at her solicitation, so unjustly and injuriously fulminated against this king and kingdom, to be revoked.

---

[*] "Et par ainsy se partist tres petitemant accompagnee de ses gens. Sa gouvernante, fille du feu duc de Clarence, et proche parente du roy, dame de vertu et honneur, sil y a une en Angleterre, sest offerte de vouleoir suyvre et seruir la dite princesse a ses propres despens avec bon et honnourable train; mays yl na este question laccepter [et ne laccepteroient pour riens, car ilz ne sçauroient a lheure iouyr de la princesse, la quelle commil est a doubter et croire veullent [ils] fere morir ou de deul, ou dautre sorte, ou [la] fere renoncer son droit, ou marier bassement, ou la fere trabucher en lasciuite pour avoir occasion de lexereder et fere tout autre mauvais traictement."

[†] Affin que la mere naye occasion de porter envye a la fille destre visitee de la part du roy, auiourdhuy sont partys ceulx dont escripvis dernierement a vostre maieste pour aller resolliciter la royne de a ce quentens rateffier la sentence de Conturbery."

1533.

Should she decline to do this, the deputies are to threaten her, in the King's name, with such penalty and punishment as may be considered most fit, beginning by a considerable reduction of her household and yearly allowance.* It is to be supposed that the deputation will get a fit answer to a proposition of this sort, and, if so, I will not fail to acquaint Your Majesty by the first post of the tenour both of the deputies' speech and of the Queen's reply.

Meanwhile no words can describe the sorrow and regret which such abominable conduct on the part of this king and his ministers has caused among the English people, all of whom are sensibly affected by what is now passing, and are truly indignant at his treatment of the Queen and Princess. Indeed, without taking into account the innumerable considerations, which Your Majesty's incredible wisdom will sufficiently appreciate, they are complaining to me loudly of want of action on Your Majesty's part.† For many respectable and well-to-do individuals keep telling me, or sending me daily messages to the effect that they have no other wish than, and in fact only await the arrival of one of Your Majesty's ships on this coast, to rise "en masse;" and that if they only had here in England a chief, able and willing to command them, and who dared take the initiative, they would do enough by themselves without any foreign aid. They mention to me, as an instance, the case of Warvicq, who dethroned king Edward [IV.], and that of [Henry VII.], the father of this one, who dethroned Richard [III.] And there are not wanting some among them who maintain that Your Majesty has much better right to this kingdom than this present king [Henry VIII.], inasmuch as his title to the crown is only derived from his mother, who, as well as the other daughters of king Edward [IV.], was declared illegitimate, by sentence of a certain bishop of Baden (Bath and Wells), at the instigation and by the command of king Richard himself, on the ground that Edward was, as they assert, married to another woman at the time that the said daughters were born to his Queen.‡ That is the reason why Madame, the great

---

* "Et de ce faire la commineront des paumes (?) et pugnition quils se sçauroint aduiser, et quant [mesme] luy raccoursieront (*sic*) son train."

† "Il nest a croire, dire ne penser le regret et dueul que tout ce peuple a de cest abhominable regne et gouuernement, et est tout ce dit peuple tant transporte daffection et indigne des choses que passent, que sans consideracion des innumerables respetz que vostre maieste pourra par sa incredible prudence entendre, ils se plainnent (plaindroint ?) de ce que vostre maieste ny pourvoyt."

‡ "[Et si me mectent en auant, a ce que ay autresfoys escript a vostre maieste, warvicq, quil (qui) deschassa le roy Edouard et le pere de cestuy Richard, et si ne faillent gens entre eulx quilz (qui) mectent en auant que vostre maieste a meilleur tiltre en ce royaulme que le roy de present, que ny pretend tiltre que de la part de sa mere, la quelle et toutes les autres filles du roy Edouard le roy Richard fit par sentence dung euesque de Baden (Bath) declairer bastardes a cause que le dit Edouard, comme il affirmoit, auoit espose une autre femme auant que la mere des dites filles, pour quoy madame la grande douaigiere, ayant cause delle comme vostre maieste, et precedant en tiltre et succession les dites filles et leurs successeurs], et en cas, sire, que vostre maieste ne voulust entendre a la dite emprinse ilz desirent presque tres tous les bons que vostre maieste deffende la contractation."

dowager,[*] *as well as Your Majesty, has a better title to the succession than the illegitimate daughters of king Edward and their descendants.*

However this may be, and should Your Majesty decline the undertaking, *the desire of the English people in general—I mean of almost all good Englishmen—is that Your Majesty at once put a stop to the intercourse of trade; for, as several of the principal English merchants, who carry on business with Flanders and Spain, sent me word only three days ago, these people would lose comparatively more by the closing of the ports than the merchants of Your Majesty's dominions. Indeed I am assured, that ever since the above measure was spoken of, the common opinion in this city, nay, in the rest of the kingdom, for they make no mystery of it, has been that, should Your Majesty order the closing of the trade for a few months only, this country would be irretrievably ruined.*[†] *Your Majesty, therefore, would do well in ordering the said suspension, and thus putting a check on the doings of this king and his ministers; for I can assure you that there is nothing they are more afraid of than the above prohibition or suspension of trade, knowing very well that in that event they would have no means in their power of obviating the rebellion of the people, unless the King paid the cloth-weavers, who constitute more than half the population of England, out of his own treasury. This would require twice as much money as he (the King) can devote to that purpose, besides which, he could only do so in the expectation that the merchants of the Low Countries, being also great sufferers through it, would of themselves apply to Your Majesty for a revocation of the measure. Certainly, were the King to decide upon such a course, it would be, no doubt, the best for him to pursue, for whilst he felt the inconvenience* [*of having to support weavers without employment*] *he would by so doing gain much credit and reputation among his subjects It is, however, the misfortune, entailed by his sinful course, that it will prevent his taking this or any other resolution profitable to himself.*[‡]

There is no longer any hope of this king ever being brought to the point through persuasion, for his sin enthrals him more and more, besides which this accursed Lady has so enchanted and bewitched him that he will not dare say or do any-

---

[*] This can be no other than Joanna, the Emperor's mother, still living at Tordesillas in Spain, or else her mother, Isabella, descended from the house of Lancaster.

[†] "Comme mont dit et faict dire encoires depuis trois iours en ça pluseurs des principaulx marchans anglois, qui traffiquent le plus en Flandre et Espaign [se sont eulx] qui perdroint le plus a hault serrer la dicte contractation parceque [a ce que] lon ma rapporte lon ne sçait dire autre chose par ceste ville et la reste du pays synon que estre sarree (*sic*) la dicte contractation, quilz sont tout a fait perdus, et que vostre maieste feroit bien dainsi le commander pour rabiller le commandement diçy."

[‡] "Si le pouvoit fere se seroit le myeulx du monde pour luy, car oultre quil senteroit le dit inconvenient, il acquerroit quelque credit vers le peuple; mais je pense que le malheur du pesche ou il est ne le permecttra fere celle (*sic*) ne chose que soit duisante pour luy."

*thing against her will and commands.** *There is still another danger to run by waiting, which is that the more forbearance Your Majesty shows in this affair, the more this king will be encouraged to persevere, or even do worse. Indeed, in my opinion, it is only his present inability which prevents his causing Your Majesty still greater annoyance; for he holds you, as he says, as his sworn enemy, and will treat you accordingly. May God inspire him with more Christian and charitable sentiments!*

Yesterday a Scottish gentleman of the name of Didam,† a man of sense and substance, and enjoying great authority with his master, the King, arrived in this city for the express purpose, as it is said, of representing that the last truce, which was brought about with so much trouble to both parties, had been principally designed to settle their mutual differences, and bring about a lasting peace. That his master, the king of Scotland, being desirous of such a peace, would at once send a fitting and numerous embassy, and such as the importance of the affair required, provided he knew beforehand how far this king would agree to certain preliminaries. The Scotchman was this very morning conducted by Cromwell to the King's presence, and I hope that on his return to town I shall be able to learn something more about his mission, and the answer made to his application. Should I hear anything I will not fail to apprize Your Majesty thereof.

The bishop of Paris has not yet come; *but, if we are to believe what the King and his Lady say about him, he will bring a bagful of excuses and lies. I am told that the Lady strongly inculpates the French. Since his return from Marseilles, Brianturcq (Brian Tuke) has done nothing else.*‡

Many among these courtiers are anything but pleased at the arrival in London of this Scottish ambassador, because they say that whenever the Scots wish to undertake anything [against them] they invariably send an embassy, either to deceive the people as to their plans and intentions, or else to spy out the state of opinion and condition of this kingdom.

The casting of certain pieces of ordnance of middling calibre has just commenced; I cannot say whether to be mounted on ships, or to defend the ports, which up to the present have not been otherwise fortified. The number of pieces hitherto cast amounts to 15, and the report is that by Candlemas (*la Chandelleuse*) as many as 24 will be ready, and that, to mount these 24 and more, 300 gun carriages have been ordered.

The lieutenant-governor of Ireland,§ notwithstanding the King's repeated orders, has not yet made his appearance at

---

* "Il ne fault desormais plus penser que ce roy vyenne au point par doulceur, car le pesche le meyne, et ceste mauldite femme la enchante et ensourcele de sorte quil noseroit dire ne faire synon tant ainsi quelle veult et commande."

† Hier arriva icy ung gentilhomme du roy descosse, nommé didam (?) quest homme de sens," &c.

‡ "Le quel a ce que le roy et sa dame dient leur appourte ung sac plain dexcuses et menteons (*sic*). Lon me dit que la dite dame deculpe fort les francoys," &c.

§ The earl of Kildare, named in a former despatch.

Court; and I am told that the duke of Richmond is to leave soon for Wales at the head of a force, whether to cross over to Ireland, or to guard that principality against foreign invasion and any stir of the inhabitants, I have been unable to ascertain.

Since his recently conferred knighthood the Lubeckian captain has much frequented Court, often conferring with the Privy Councillors, as if they wished to make us believe that they were discussing important matters. He left this city the day before yesterday, with the intention, as they say, of doing all the service he can to this king.

Some Lutheran preachers have already commenced speaking against the Pope, and spreading their accursed and pestilential sect; all this being done by the express command of this king, who in his blind obstinacy does not see the danger into which his kingdom, as well as his own person and soul, are being precipitated; for certainly, unless God remedies it, *there is great danger of this country being infected by the Lutheran errors, though, as I said above, this is the proper season to obviate such an evil, and at the same time help the Queen in her distress.*—London, 16th December 1533.

Indorsed: "Received the 4th of January 1534."

French. Original almost entirely in cipher. pp. 7.

17 Dec. **1162.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to CAPTAIN APONTE.

S. E. L. 26, f. 3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 74.

What you, captain Aponte, are to do in this your mission to Rome and Naples is as follows:

On your arrival at Rome you will deliver our letters, and relate to the Count [of Cifuentes] what His Holiness told you at Marseilles. After conferring together, and agreeing as to what you are to say to His Holiness, you both, the Count and you, shall wait upon him, and say that since, from the message he gave you for us it is evident that he knows perfectly well the intentions of the king of France, it is for him (the Pope), in his prudence and with the celerity that is desirable, to take that resolution which may best promote the good of our Faith, and the welfare of Christendom, assuring him that, should His Holiness do what is incumbent upon his dignity and authority, as we expect, We shall not be in fault, &c.

After addressing His Holiness in the above words or the like of them, you will, if necessary, and should the Count agree to it, stop in Rome two or three days more, during which you will again speak to His Holiness or to his cardinals on the subject. After that you will go on to Naples and Sicily with the letters you have for our viceroys, bidding them attend immediately to the fortification and provisioning of the maritime towns, &c.—Monçon, 16th December 1533.

19 Dec. **1163.** COUNT CIFUENTES to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. May T. L. 3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 76.

Having written of late many letters without getting an answer from your Lordship, and communicated to the Emperor the news of Marseilles and of the conferences, I will not

1533.

trouble you with further details; yet I cannot let this courier of the Portuguese ambassador go without a few words from me.

The Pope has actually sent word to the Verulan (Ennio Filonardo), to return to his post in Switzerland, and I have written to the prior of Besançon to hasten in the meantime the conclusion of the league of the Swiss cantons until the said bishop or some other delegate from His Holiness arrives.

(*Cipher:*) His Holiness said the other day to a certain individual—as I believe, that it might come to my ears—that he knew for certain that whilst at Marseilles people had come to me with false reports about him and his doings, which reports I had forwarded to His Majesty. He further said that he had to complain of me, because, if I had anything to say, I ought first to have mentioned the fact to him, and heard what he had to plead as an excuse, instead of writing to the Emperor. In my opinion, this accusation on the part of His Holiness, though indirectly made, can only proceed from two causes: either his collector (Poggio) heard our Emperor say something unpleasant about the Pope's doings at the late conferences, and transmitted it to his master; or else the Pope is artfully trying to ascertain whether I have or have not written home what my impression was about his dealings with the king of France, and what His Majesty had written to me in consequence. But, as I have had the honour of informing the Emperor, ever since we left Marseilles I have purposely refrained from alluding to the subject; nor have I complained of what was done or hinted at during the conferences until I should get an answer to my several despatches, as well as instructions how to act, and what to say to the Pope in future. I say this that Your Lordship may understand that the negotiations with the Papal collector (Poggio) must be conducted in such a manner that he may not write things likely to make me lose credit with His Holiness, &c.

At one of the consistories held after our return to Rome an abbey with an income of 3,000 ducats a year given by king Francis to cardinal Gaddi was proposed, at which all his colleagues who expect His Majesty's favours, such as Matera, Naples, La Valle, who has one foot in the grave, Campeggio, and others of the Emperor's servants, have been considerably excited. Your Lordship ought to consider that *since cardinals sell themselves so cheap*, it would be unpolitic to defer rewarding those who are our friends.

The Capuan (Schomberg) is very much out of temper (*fatigado*) because, when the four French cardinals were made, we did not procure him a hat. He complains of me, and particularly of His Majesty, who, he suspects wrote to me not to propose him. (*Cipher:*) He himself has told me so, and so has the cardinal of Jaen. I have given them both to understand that if there be any fault, it is entirely on my side, because as the Pope had told me before leaving Marseilles that the king of France did no longer insist upon the cardinals' hats for his subjects, I made no further application for his. I was, therefore, taken by surprise, and the creation was made before I could think of it. It was not natural (I said) that whilst the king of France at Marseilles was asking the Pope for *four* cardinals' hats, I should demand *one* for a subject of the Empire. Rome, after all, was the proper place for such concessions; and I had no doubt, as I told the cardinal of Jaen himself, that the Capuan's services to the Empire and to His Holiness would be shortly rewarded. With these and other similar excuses am I keeping the Capuan amused until I hear what the Emperor's wishes are in this respect.

(*Cipher:*) The more I think of this matter, the more inclined I feel to suggest that, for the Emperor's best service, as well for meeting the danger and inconvenience likely to arise in the Holy Apostolic See from the fact of having so many cardinals of the French party, it would be desirable that His Majesty, the Emperor, should ask at once for four hats: namely, one for Capua, another for Symoneta [and the other two for archbishops in Spain and Flanders].* The only drawback to this is that if the Emperor asks for two hats His Holiness is sure to create three more cardinals among his own personal friends, who, though not made at the express request of France, yet are so openly the partisans of France that it will come to the same thing; such are, for instance, the bishop of Verona (Gian Matheo Giberti), the Auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci) and the bishop of Faenza (Pio da Carpi). I am not partial to having too many cardinals, because it is very hard to be on good terms with all, and keep them contented; but *still I must say that the Capuan* (Schomberg) *is such a good servant of the Emperor, and otherwise so well qualified for that dignity, that I should be glad to receive the order to solicit for him.*—Rome, 19th December 1533.

P.S.—Nothing is being done in the affair of the "Quadragesimal" Indulto and "Cruzada," nor in that of the brief for the abbey of Monferrara, owing to Queva† not having yet arrived.

Subjoined is a packet with despatches from the viceroy of Naples.—Rome, *ut supra.*

Signed: "El conde Alferez."‡

Addressed: "To the very illustrious the High Commander of Leon, &c."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

---

* "Algunas personas paresce que serian bien asi para el servicio de Su Magd. como para el remedio de los inconvenientes que podrian subceder á la Sede Apostolica en hauer tantos cardenales franceses, que Su Magd. *hiciesse quatro cardenales*, los quales fuesen Capua y Symoneta."

† Read Cuevas or Cueva, Imperial solicitor and attorney at Rome; if so, his Christian name was Alfonso. See vol. iii., part 2, p. 991.

‡ Alferez is an Arabic word preserved in Spanish. *Fáres*, pronounced *féres*, means a horseman, with the article *al-féres*. In old Spanish the word meant "the standard-bearer," because the colours of a knight were generally carried by one of his mounted retainers.

1533.

23 Dec. **1164.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 71.

As the bishop of Paris, who arrived only last Wednesday, made no great haste, and exhibited but little desire of coming to this Court, neither has the King been in a hurry to receive him, and consequently the audience has, contrary to custom, been put off for four days, *which, in my opinion, is a strong indication of this king's disappointment and displeasure, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty by my despatch of the 20th ult. I have no doubt, however, that the Bishop will be able, by dint of fine words and specious lies (bourdes), to efface the bad impression and remove the suspicion that his master's late doings [at Marseilles] have raised in the minds of these people; and that this king and his ministers,* finding no help or support *elsewhere, will easily accept Francis' excuses, and believe anything the Bishop may tell them; at least, that they will dissemble for fear of losing altogether the friendship of their ally. Not later than a week ago the French ambassador, who resides here, complained to a worthy man of my acquaintance of the mistrust with which these people looked upon his master, and said to him: "If the English go on in this way, speaking unfavourably about us, and persevering in their bad government, they will certainly anger the King, my master, and may have hereafter cause to repent."*[*]

The day after the Bishop's arrival, and in order to return the compliment of his colleague, who had courteously called on me, also that I might learn what news I could, I went to visit them both, for they happen to lodge at the same house. Among other things the Bishop told me, with which I will not trouble Your Majesty, as they would be too long and tedious to relate, one is that nothing definitive had been resolved or concluded at Marseilles respecting the Genoese,[†] inasmuch as their deputies were not furnished with sufficient and legitimate powers to represent their country as the true subjects of the King, his master, which they really were. The Bishop did not explain his ideas on the subject; but he has since told his host that next April the King, his master, will have 40 armed galleys [in the Mediterranean]; and that as Andrea Doria would soon be obliged to sail for the relief of Coron and of its garrison, hard pressed by the Turks, that would be the time for the Genoese, during that captain's absence, to come forward and speak out their sentiments, when they would be treated according to their merits and deserts.[‡]

---

[*] "Il ny a poinct huit jours que l'ambassadeur de France icy resident se plaindoit a quelque homme de bien de la dicte diffidence que ceulx-cy prennoient de son maistre, disant quil estoit certain que silz continuoient a quelques propos quilz disoient, et aussy a leur maulvais gouvernement, ilz irriteroient son dict maistre, dont ilz se pourroient repentir."

[†] The original reads Gennevoys (Genevese), which I believe to be a mistake for "Genneois."

[‡] "Mais depuis il dit a son hoste que dans le moys davril le roy, son maistre, auroit xl. galleres armees et questant alle messire Andreas Doria a ravitailler et seccourir Coron, commil seroit contrainct de fere, que lors les Genevois parleroient a lhaste, et seroient gallez (traytez ?) selon leurs merites et desserues."

1533.

In the course of conversation the Bishop alluded to the case of Marveilles (Meraveglia), and his execution by the duke of Milan, which he failed not to exaggerate beyond measure, as well as the grief which, he said, the king of France had felt at it. Instead of exculpating his master (said the Bishop), the Milanese ambassador sent to Marseilles for the purpose had made matters still worse; for in his speech before the King he had tried to prove that the said Merveilles had been plotting against the authority of the Duke, which, as the Bishop said, had been the cause of exasperating his master beyond measure. "I wish (said he) that such an event had never taken place; I would willingly have resigned one of my best abbeys that Marveilles had not been executed at Milan by the Duke's orders, for I foresee that his death will be the cause of many troubles and annoyances; for you must know that so magnanimous a prince as the King, my master, cannot tolerate such insults and wilful injuries to his honour. The King, my master, trusts that, as much for the sake of the great friendship now existing between him and the Emperor, as well as for that of the close relationship which unites them, and which I consider as binding as true fraternal consanguinity—(since there is no brother King or near relation whom my master holds in greater esteem,)—I trust (I repeat) that the Emperor will not allow his brother, the king of France, to be thus publicly insulted." "To deny (continued the ambassador) that Marveilles was a true and *bonâ fide* ambassador of the King, my master, was out of the question, for the duke [of Milan] himself had acknowledged him as such in his letters to king Francis."

On many considerations, and principally because I did not think at the time that it was my province to discuss the Marveilles case with the ambassador, I avoided as much as possible any further dispute, and tried to soften it down by assuring and trying to persuade him that not unjustly did the King, his master, consider Your Majesty as his true and real brother, for you thoroughly reciprocated those sentiments, and held him as such, &c.

After this, having insensibly come upon the subject of this wretched divorce, the French ambassador said to me: "Nothing is truer than the fact that the King, my master, has written to the Pope in favour of this King. He has certainly done in this particular affair, as well as in many others in which this King is or was concerned, all he could to please him; he could not do otherwise considering the intimate friendship now existing between them.* As everyone must know by the experience of the past, whenever the King, my master, forms an attachment he is a true friend, not one of the

---

* "Au quel en çe et toutes choses ou il sçauroit ou pourroit vouldroit [il] complayre pour la grande amitie questoit entre euls deux."

1533.

false and "borrowed ones,"* as people call them. And upon my replying to him that I was sure his master, as a most virtuous and Christian prince that he was, could never have asked His Holiness for anything that was not perfectly just and reasonable especially in a case in which Your Majesty was so deeply interested, he started up, and answered abruptly, as if afraid of touching on matters concerning Your Majesty: "The divorce is not in reality the Emperor's affair; had it been so, a different line of conduct would have been followed;"—intimating that, such being the case, the King, his master, would willingly have abstained from exerting his influence. As to the divorce itself, its justice or injustice, his master, the king of France, was not sufficiently learned and conversant with Canonic Law to decide; he referred that entirely to this king's conscience, with which, since he was neither his confessor nor his curate, he declined in any way to interfere."†

The Bishop ended by extolling the singular devotion and reverence which at all times the kings of France had shewn towards the Holy Apostolic See, owing to which they had justly acquired the title of "Most Christian." "The present King (he said) among others, following on the steps of his predecessors, has thoroughly and most effectually acquitted himself of that duty. As a proof thereof he went to Bologne to pay obedience to Pope Leo X. at a time when he could easily have taken possession of that city and other towns and territories belonging to the Church, such as Parma and Piacenza."‡

What the most Reverend Bishop could mean by alluding to the latter two places I cannot guess; for, certainly, at the time referred to Parma and Piacenza were not in pope Leo's hands, but fairly and absolutely in those of the French. *Perhaps he meant tacitly to imply that if the present Pope, as some people say (though it is hardly to be believed), has actually promised the sovereignty of those two cities to the king of France, this will be but a mere restoration of what in former times king Francis might have had if he had chosen, but had left in His Holiness' hands.*

"Towards pope Clement," added the Bishop, "my master

---

* "Et que comme tout le monde avoit peu par çy devant cognoystre ce dict seigneur roy son maistre ou yl se addonoit nestoit fainct amy ne des empromptez, comme l'on dit."

† "Il me respondist tout soudainement en resallisant, comme sil eust peur de toucher en chose appartenant a vostre maieste, que le dict affaire nestoit de vostre maieste, et que si ainsy eust este lon y eust heu de lautre respect, veuillant inferer que le roy son maystre se fust despourte den fere faire porsuytte, et que qnant [a] avoer regard a la justice de la querelle, ou injustice, que le roy son maystre nestoit assez sçavant pour la discerner, et quil sen remettait a la conscience de ce roy, la quelle puisquil nestoit son confesseur ni son cure yl ne vouloit examiner ne prendre en charge."

‡ "Comme yl avoit monstre quant yl allast fere la hobeissance au pape Leon dans Bologne, au quel temps yl estoit bien en sa main de se saysir du dict Bologne, et de plusieurs terres de lesglise, entre les quelles yl me nomma Palme (Parma) et Playsance (Piacenza)."

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

has more than acquitted himself in many ways, of which there are several very manifest proofs; among others, by his delivery from captivity, in which attempt he had spent two millions of gold, and lost besides innumerable followers. Though people might affect disbelief on this point, it is no less certain that His Holiness has lately confessed it, owning significantly the very great obligation under which he stands to the King, my master."

Such was the ambassador's remark respecting the Pope and King Francis. But I cannot help observing that if His Holiness *has allowed himself to be duped by such language, which is not likely to be the case, considering his great common sense, he must have feigned it in order to derive some profit from the treaty of alliance which king Francis is now bringing forward to make up for his pretended losses and expenses* [*in Italy*].

The inopportunity of the hour, and the flock of visitors who at that time called on His Reverence, prevented *my inquiring for particulars in many other affairs, as likewise ascertaining* by way of *conjecture whether a new meeting of the two kings had been discussed and agreed to, as some people will have it. Though I myself see no sign whatever of it, I have set people to get the truth out of him, and likewise to know whether it be true or not that Rincon has gone to Constantinople on a mission in company with Barbarossa's ambassador; also whether the Vayvod's agents and Danish ambassadors are at Vienna* or not. Should I learn anything on these various topics, I shall not fail to apprize Your Majesty.

The duke of Suffolk and his colleague in the deputation, of whom I wrote in my last despatch, have not yet returned from the Queen. As far as I can gather, their mission has been unsuccessful. After using very strong and disrespectful language to her they proceeded to suppress all the offices of her household, such as chamberlain, chancellor, almoner, groom of her stables, and others. Next day the remainder of the Queen's male and female servants, including her own ladies in waiting, were dismissed, and replaced by men from the Northern counties, who, being more trained to war than to the usages of a Court, are supposed to have been engaged for other purposes rather than for the Queen's service. The deputies have charge of conducting the Queen, whether she will or not, to a house surrounded by water and marshes, the most insalubrious and pestilential residence in all England,* as the Queen herself has been informed; owing to which, and considering the evident danger of living at such a place, she has decided not to go thither unless taken by their force.

---

* "Les susdits commis ont charge de menner la royne bon grey maugrez et par force a une mayson toute environnee de grandes eaulx et de marez, quest, comme lon a informe la royne, la plus mal sayne et pestilencieuse mayson que soit en Angleterre."

1533.

Perceiving the Queen's stout resolution, and fearing lest some commotion or disturbance should arise [*on the spot*], *the Royal Commissioners provided themselves with a numerous suite of retainers (those coming from the North having done the same). Besides which, the more to intimidate the Queen, her friends and servants, they summoned to the spot the magistrates of the neighbourhood, that they might help in the execution of the King's orders.* The duke of Suffolk himself, before he left this city on such an errand, confessed and partook of the Communion, as his own mother-in-law sent to inform me, declaring at the time of his departure that he wished some accident might happen to him on the road that should exempt him at once from accomplishing such a journey and mission.*

Thus, at the request and solicitation of the Lady [*Anne*] *whom the King dares not contradict, the Queen has by force been removed to the said house, either that they may the sooner get rid of her or else for greater security; for the place is strong, and besides is seven miles from any other, built in the centre of a lake and of certain marshes, and not to be approached,* except on one *side at the distance of six miles. In fact, it has been settled between the King and the said Lady that they are to look out for all occasions and ways of keeping the Queen locked up in the said island, which, as I said above, is one of the strongest places that could be imagined, for the purpose, as I hear from good quarters, all other ways and means failing, to make out that the Queen is out of her senses.† The King, moreover, wishes and intends that at the next meeting of Parliament a law, statute, and ordinance be made to declare the Princess illegitimate and incapacited from succeeding to his Crown, and that all signs of royalty in her mother, the Queen, be at once revoked and obliterated; after which, as the Lady very properly and honestly remarks, the King may take possession of all her property in land, jewels, house, furniture, and so forth, that she may be unable to dispose of, or bequeath one single farthing.‡ In a like manner, as I am informed, the King wishes Parliament to declare that*

---

* "Et pour ce que venant en telz termes de force les ditz commis se doubtoient de quelque emotion et garboille, ilz menerent fort grand nombre de serviteurs, si ont ffaict ceulx qui vindrent du nort (?), et oultre pour le dict respectz et pour donner plus de craincte a la royne et aux siens ilz feirent la venir ceulx qui ont charge de la justice la autour."

† "Le roy a la sollicitation de sa dame, a la quelle il ne sut (*sic*) contradire, a ordonne de mectre la royne en la dicte mayson, ou pour en estre bien tost quiecte (*sic*), ou pour estre asseure delle, car la mayson est forte, et davantage elle est a vii. milles dune autre, questassise en ung lac et des estangs que lon ny peut abourder vi. miles pres sinon dung couste, et a este conclud entre le dict roy et sa dicte dame de sercher toutes les occasions possibles pour la royne faire serrer dans la dicte ysle quest des fortes que lon sçauroit veoir, et ont pourpose se defaillant autres occasions luy mectre sus quelle nest en son bon sens, dont suis adverty de tres bonlieu."

‡ "Le roy veult aussy totalement que aux prochaines estatz soit faicte loy, statutuz et ordonnance declairant la princesse illegittime et incapable de la succession, et que tous les assignalx (?) de la royne soient reuocquez et aneantiz, et dois la il prendra comme la dicte dame le dit onnestement, tous les biens meubles et immeubles de la royne, et [elle] naura faculte de disposer dung seul denier."

1533.

in future the Pope will have no control over the ecclesiastical affairs of this kingdom, and that all the authority will rest in future with the archbishop of Canterbury.

Your Majesty may well consider that if such cruel and abominable insults as these are tolerated, these people will not only be encouraged to accomplish their wicked and detestable purposes against the persons of the Queen and Princess, but will likewise concoct all sorts of intrigues to the prejudice of Your Majesty, whom this king has so much offended, and whom he has consequently reason to fear.

Since my last despatch I have received no answer from the King on the subject of my conversation with the Duke [of Norfolk]; and I can assign no other reason for it than the opposition of the Lady, without which, as I am given to understand, he would have sent for me, and made an answer to my application. This, of course, I have since ceased to solicit, for the considerations laid before Your Majesty in my despatch of the 16th inst. and likewise in order to wait for the document containing the whole business.

As I informed Your Majesty, the Princess, attended only by two maids in waiting, was conducted by the duke of Suffolk to the residence of the King's bastard daughter. Arrived there the Duke asked her if she did not like to see and pay her court to the Princess [of Wales]. Upon which she answered that she knew of no other princess in England but herself; that the daughter of Madame de Penebrok (Pembroke) was no princess at all. True, if the King, her father, acknowledged her as his *daughter*, just as he called the duke of Richmont his *son*, she could treat the latter as brother, and her as sister, but in nowise as princess of Wales.* Before taking leave the Duke asked her whether she had any message for the King. To which she replied: "None, except that the princess of Wales, his daughter, asked for his blessing;" and upon the Duke observing that he would not dare take such a message to the King, she interrupted him by saying: "Then go away, and leave me alone." After which having repeated over and over again her former protest, and declared that what she had done and might hereafter do by the King's commands ought in nowise to prejudice her right, she retired to her chamber to shed tears, as she is now continually doing.

And I have been told that although the Duke treated the Princess rudely enough, yet upon his return to Court the King reproached him for not having faithfully accomplished his mission, but treated her too mildly, adding that he would soon find the means of humiliating her, and *subduing her temper.*

I understand that good hopes have been held out to the Scottish ambassador of a speedy settlement of the differences

---

* "A quoy respondit quelle ne cognoissoit autre princesse en Angleterre que elle mesme, et que la fille de madame de Penebroke navoit tel nom, et quil estoit vray que puisque le roy son pere lavouyroit (l'avouait) pour sienne quelle la pouvoit appeler seur comme le duc de Richemont frere, mais encore nestoit elle princesse de Galles."

1533.

about the frontiers, and of matters being amicably adjusted, and that in consequence of this the King has sent an express to Scotland. So much so that the French ambassador thinks of staying in this city until Lent, and is actually about to leave the hotel, at which he lodges, and hire a more suitable residence.

In two days hence this king is about to dispatch to the Anseatic towns the same Doctor who went formerly with a mission to Denmark, Lubeck, Ambourg (Hamburgh), and those countries.

As far as I can hear, the Doctor's mission has reference, among other things, to the captain of Lubeck, of whom I wrote in my last despatches. He is to prosecute the negotiation already commenced with him, and furnish all the money that may be wanted.—London, 23rd December 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor. Received at Medina Celi [in Castilla] on the 24th of January 1534."

French. Holograph. pp. 9.

27 Dec. **1165.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 72.

Since my last I have heard that, among other things which the duke of Suffolk and his colleagues told the Queen in the King's name, one was that they begged particularly to remind her* of the many singular favours and great assistance which this king and his father [Henry VII.] had at all times done to the Catholic King Ferdinand, to Your Majesty, and to the kings your ancestors on the paternal as well as maternal side, which had not been effected but at the cost of incalculable sums of money. This she could not ignore nor forget, but she ought (they said) to use discretion, and consider that all of it had been done for her sake, and that yet in return for those favours, and for the good treatment she herself had experienced at the King's hands, she had behaved most unkindly, for she had molested and worried him for many successive years, causing him to send continually messages and ambassadors to Rome and elsewhere, for the preservation of his rights and privileges, making him spend large sums of money in that service. By this time, said the Duke, she ought to be tired of tormenting and goading the King, especially now that the archbishop of Canterbury has, with the common consent (as is said) of the Anglican Church, and to the great satisfaction and repose of the kingdom, pronounced a sentence in the divorce case. Should she consent to obey that sentence, and at the same time recall her proctors from Rome, and renounce whatever had been done there in her favour and against the King, their master, she would be most greatly esteemed and beloved by the whole kingdom, besides which the King would treat her to her heart's content. If, on the contrary, she persisted in her obstinate refusal, the King would be obliged to shew his displeasure with her, would clip her wings, reduce her estate, and diminish the number of her servants, as much as he might consider necessary for her punishment. As a beginning, the King (he said) had already given orders that she should be removed, as she has actually been to the house mentioned in my last.* All this, moreover, *was signified by the Duke and the rest of his colleagues to the Queen, in words exceedingly bitter, rude, and uncourteous*, and with many protests that, should she not comply with the King's wishes in this respect, she might be the cause of incalculable evils, effusion of blood, and great trouble in Christendom, which every good Christian ought to avoid by all means in his power. She was to take no heed (added the Duke) of the sentence given at Rome in her favour, inasmuch as, not having been pronounced according to law, and being besides unjust, it could not avail her in the least, as it contained no declaration respecting the legitimacy of her second marriage.

---

* "Entre pluseurs propos ylz lui rememourarent (*sic*) bien prolixemant les grans playsirs, faveurs," &c.

To these and other like charges the Queen replied in the most prudent, discreet, and masterly manner, without omitting to refute any of the arguments brought forward by the Duke and his colleagues. With regard to the recall of her agents and proctors at Rome, which she was desired to order, and the annulling of any sentences which the Pope might have given in her favour, she said that it was not in her power to do so, but in that of the King, who was nevertheless bound to obey the Papal precepts. Were she to consent to the relaxation of the ecclesiastical censures, which she would never do, His Holiness would never consent to their revocation. It was to him (the Pope), not to the archbishop of Canterbury, that the decision of the case appertained "ex officio." It was for him to prevent the King from living in mortal sin, not only on account of his ecclesiastical authority, which was much greater than that of the said Archbishop, but because the King himself had in the first instance applied to him for a decision.

After answering in this way each and every point touched upon in the Duke's address, the Queen ended by saying that she would suffer one thousand deaths rather than consent to or allow a thing which was so decidedly against God's law, and against the King's and her own honour and conscience. She would certainly grieve at the ill-treatment of her followers, but not even that or any other consideration would make her swerve or deviate from what she considered to be her duty. The King might treat her as he pleased, but she would never enter the mansion, of which they (the Commissioners) had

---

* "Que le dit seigneur roy leur maystre seroit constrainct luy monstrer nestre content delle, et quil luy raccourceroit les esles (*sic*), luy hottant de son estat et de [ses] serviteurs ce que bon luy sembleroit, et que en cas du dit reffuz le dit seigneur roy entendoit quils la mennissent (*sic*) en la mayson mencionnee en mes dernieres [luy usant de pluseurs parolle srudes et aygres et fort descourtoises."

1533.

spoken, unless she were dragged to it by sheer force, as otherwise she would incur the guilt of voluntary suicide, inasmuch as that which they destined for her residence was so insalubrious and pestilential.*

After this the Duke and the rest of the Commissioners left the room, and summoned to their presence all the Queen's servants: some they dismissed; others they then and there arrested, and among them two very good priests, who have since been brought to this city and lodged in the Tower. Nor were the dismissed officers better treated, for they were ordered to quit the place within four-and-twenty hours under pain of death. There was also an attempt made to remove her confessor, a Spaniard and a bishop; but on the Queen alleging that she had never confessed in any other language than Spanish, they allowed him, as well as the physician and apothecary, also Spaniards, to remain in her service. They had likewise dismissed every female servant,, not leaving even one of her chamber-maids; but hearing the Queen say and affirm that she would take no others into her service, that she would not undress to go to bed, and would lock the door of her chamber herself, they allowed two of them to remain; not those, however, whom the Queen would gladly have chosen. All the Queen's present servants, with the exception of her confessor, physician, and apothecary, who, as above stated, cannot speak a word of English, have been sworn upon oath not to call her by the title of Queen; against which she duly protested before the Commissioners at the time and afterwards, telling them that she should never repute them as her servants, but merely as guards, since she considered herself a prisoner from that moment.

The Commissioners remained six days at the place, that they might lock the house door and take away the keys, also that they might hear whether the Queen, through the dismissal of her servants, the threats and the manifold bad treatment she was undergoing would not change her mind; but seeing her constant and unmovable, they caused all the baggage to be packed, got litters and hackneys ready, and made other preparations for the journey. The Queen, however, on the morning of that day, locked herself up in her room; and when the Commissioners came to fetch her, she spoke to them through a hole in the wall, and said, "*If you wish to take me with you,* you must break down the door." But they dared not; for, as one of the Commissioners has since owned, such a number of people had collected there, all crying and lamenting at such unheard of cruelties, that they were actually afraid of coming by the worst (*assommes*).

I have been told that the place where the Queen is at

---

* "Et que le roy pourroit fere delle a son appetit, mays quelle nentreroit la en la mayson dont les dits commis luy avoient parle, si elle ny estoit mennee par force, car autremant elle se mettroit en dangier de dampnation de vouloer estre homicide delle mesme, attendu que icelle mayson estoit si mal saine et pestilencieuse."

1533.

present is bad and unhealthy enough, and that there will be no need of a worse one. But such are the iniquity and detestable wickedness of the Lady (Anne) that she will not be satisfied until she sees the end of both the mother and the daughter. The latter has since been deprived of the only two maids of honour, who accompanied her when the duke of Norfolk took her down to [Hatfield]. She has only one common chamber-maid, who was lately engaged for her service; and I hear that the usual practice of making her taste first the Princess' food as a precaution has been done away with, which is equivalent to opening *the gates to the perils and insidious dangers from which may God Almighty preserve her !**

Many Englishmen, both high and low (*grans et menuz*) who desire the reformation of these affairs, moved to pity, and out of affection for the Queen and for her daughter, the Princess, without taking into consideration the present state of affairs [throughout Europe], and the reasons Your Majesty and your Privy Council may have for not resenting immediately such insults, are very much scandalized at the Flemish Government having suddenly granted the intercourse of trade, as in former times, without difficulty or fear of any sort for these merchants. They had thought this a favourable opportunity at least for the Governess of the Low Countries to delay giving an answer until Your Majesty should be apprized of the state of things. True, those who think so are somewhat comforted by the idea that, perhaps, previous to the arrival of the English ships in those parts, or at least before the goods have been disposed of, the term fixed for the ecclesiastical censures and interdict will have expired; and that the Queen Regent in Flanders will then be better able, without further trouble or discussion, to forbid the inhabitants from entering into mercantile transactions with the English,—which would be a much harder blow to them,—whilst they would still be obliged to Your Majesty for allowing them to bring back their merchandize. This would be, in my humble opinion, the best, the quickest, and *the most lawful remedy to be applied under the circumstances. During this time the King would, no doubt, cause all manner of measures to be taken against the Queen and the Princess, and will more and more oblige his people to maintain and support any such measures he has taken, or intends taking in future,* and he himself will be encouraged to attempt or allow any bad turn against the said Queen and Princess, of which I am constantly hearing, coupled with all manner of suspicions and conjectures. Indeed ever since the Commissioners' return a rumour is being circulated at Court that the Queen is in bad health, and

---

* " Mais liniquite et detestable malice de la dame naura repoz quelle ne voye la fin de la mere et de la fille a la quelle lon [a] oste les deux demoiselles que laccompaignarent avec le duc . . . . et na avec elle que une simple chambriere, questoil venue nouvellemant a son service, et nest question de plus luy fere essay de viandes, quest pour donner lieu et ouvrir la porte aux incidiacions (*sic*) et perilz dont dieu vouille (*sic*) la preserver."

1533.

cannot possibly live long; which happens to be exactly the same trick of which they made use some time before the Cardinal (Wolsey) died, or even before he was ill,—thus covering beforehand any secret designs they may have formed respecting her. *A worthy Englishman sent me word the other day that I ought as soon as possible to warn the Queen to take care that at night the door of her bed-chamber should be well closed, and the room itself carefully inspected for fear of anyone being there concealed,* for he had heard from a good quarter that she was in danger of some trick being practised one fine night upon her. He could not positively say which, —whether to inflict bodily harm, or accuse her of adultery, or pretend that she was planning a flight to Scotland or to Wales, in order to raise there a rebellion against the King; but he assured me that the Queen is really in danger of some sort, and that he knows it from a very good source.

However incredible these things may be, I have considered it my duty to report them, and I must also say, that, besides the above-mentioned dangers to which the Queen is now exposed, there is another, and a very great one, which in my opinion admits of no remedy whatsoever, except that which has been pointed out in some of my despatches. I mean that in order to guard against the supposed designs of the Queen the King will apply to his Parliament for help in money, *which he will spend in annoying Your Majesty in all manner of ways.* I have written to Flanders to acquaint Madame, your sister, with all this, that she may be on her guard, and provide for all contingencies *in accordance with Your Majesty's good pleasure.*

The day before yesterday, on Christmas eve, the bishop of Paris [Jean du Bellay] and the other French ambassador residing here came to visit me. The Bishop failed not on this occasion, as on a previous one, to preach to me a long sermon about the friendship and complete brotherhood existing between his master and this King, owing to which (he said) king Francis could not do less than bestow upon him all the help and favour that was in his power if he ever wanted it. Though our conversation was not on this theme, His Reverence kept continually referring to it, so much so that I could not help answering him in the very same terms I did once to this king when he spoke to me about his indissoluble alliance and intimate friendship with king Francis: "That (I said) will be very agreeable news indeed for the Emperor, my master, for there is nothing he desires so much as the union of all the princes in Christendom, and especially of the two Royal Houses of France and England, the differences between which once caused the loss of the Holy Land, and particularly of two princes, both of whom are his relatives, allies and friends. Whatever difficulties and scruples may exist with regard to the Most Christian King and the

1533.

king of England, I can see nothing to the contrary up to this moment; for, matters well considered, king Henry will acknowledge that the Emperor in this business has behaved towards him as his true friend, and one who has regard for his honour and conscience. Sick people often hate medical men because they give them at first bitter drafts, but when convalescent they esteem them a good deal more than those who, against the prescription of their physicians, have given them wine, fruit, and other hurtful things."

The conversation ended by the most Reverend Bishop telling me of the gracious reception the Lady had made him, even going so far as to kiss his cheek when he presented to her the letter which the King, his master, had addressed her. Upon which, and coming to the subject of the present differences between the Queen and the King, the Bishop owned that the King, his master, had in reality spoken to the Pope and to his cardinals, begging them to consider whether some means could not be found of conciliating this king, and securing the obedience of his kingdom, which might otherwise be entirely lost to him. "My master (said the Bishop) has been unjustly accused by the greatest princes in Christendom of having upheld and supported this king's pretensions, but I do not hesitate to declare on my honour and conscience that he has not. As to my brother, Monseigneur de Langey, he only acted in that business as he was instructed. But it seems (exclaimed the good Bishop, with a certain compunction), as if God would not leave the world without some cause or other for quarrel and dissension; for, as you may have observed, immediately after the Burgundy question came that of king Francis' captivity, and now this present one, which is no trifle; and though, in the interest of the King, my master, I ought perhaps to wish for dissension, discord, and dissimulation among the princes, his neighbours, so that he may be more at liberty and free from engagements, and be sought and requested by either side, yet, having regard to conscience and the public weal, I would rather pay a good sum of money out of my revenue to see all matters peaceably arranged." "The Emperor," continued the most Reverend Bishop, "the King, my master, and this one [of England,] ought each to have disbursed 100,000 crs. that this wretched divorce question might never have arisen, or that the suit might have been determined at once to the mutual satisfaction of the parties therein concerned. Having done his duty towards the Queen, his aunt, in so perfect a manner, as everyone acknowledges, His Imperial Majesty would lose no credit with the people, if, in order to avoid war and the calamities consequent upon it, he would now yield a little of his pretensions.

I could not possibly let pass the Bishop's peroration *without correction. I told him that the affair in question concerned many people, and was one fraught with mighty consequences; that it was bringing great scandal upon Christendom and*

1533.

*inducing contempt of the Holy Apostolic See.** *If he were to know what people said about it, both in Spain, and here in England, he would be compelled to own that Your Majesty could not discharge your duty towards God and the world at large, unless by pursuing this affair to the very end; and that the bad treatment of the Queen would very soon disgust Your Majesty, and make you put aside all other considerations. That, no doubt, (replied the Bishop,) was a rash and a foolish act on the part of the King. I have spoken about it to the duke of Norfolk, and he owned to me that he entirely disapproved of it, but could not and dared not contradict the King and disobey his commands.*

Such were the Bishop's words; but my impression is, that, whatever he and the other Frenchmen may say to the contrary, they would not like to see the affairs of the Queen in a better position. This, notwithstanding, I felt it my duty to hint at the Queen's late treatment, and to remind him at the same time of the interest which the Most Christian Queen (Elinor) must naturally feel for her Royal aunt.

In short, after many arguments of the same sort I told the Bishop that those who surrounded Your Majesty and king Francis could not do better service to God and to their respective masters than by preserving and fostering friendship between them; and that I had no doubt that he, being the sort of personage I had known and experienced him to be, would work towards this with all his might. This I begged and entreated him, in the name of the faith and loyalty he owed his master, to do. Which the Bishop readily promised, in words both affectionate and courteous, assuring me that he had hitherto done, and would in future do, all such good offices, and that he prayed to God not to let him live if he were to think or act otherwise; and that the friendship of so powerful and virtuous a prince [as Your Majesty], and your constant and strict adherence to your engagements, were things to be valued and secured at any price. *I really believe that this very cordial and polite reply in the mouth of the Bishop was partly intended to counterbalance the very exaggerated and highly eulogistic terms in which he had previously spoken of the affection and friendship existing between his master and this king.*†

The Bishop went yesterday to Court at Grynuic (Greenwich), and will not come back to London, as he himself told me, until the business for which he came is over. What this can be I have been unable to learn, and up to the present moment nobody knows anything about it. *I am told that those*

---

[*] "Lui remonstray comme cecy touchoit a tant de gens, tirant apres soy grande consequence, et dauantage cela estoit scandale de la religion chrestienne et vilipension du sainct siege apostolique, &c."

[†] Je crois bien que ceste cordiale responce procedoit en partie pour effacer la desordonnee affection que par exhorbitant propoz il auoit enrichi entre le roy son maistre et cestuy."

who follow the Lady's party seem to have been in good spirits since the Bishop's arrival ;—[*] though, after all, that might only be a feint to make people believe that everything is going on right.

Whilst writing the above, a small book (*petit livret*) in English has been brought to me, containing nine articles, which the Privy Councillors, previous to the King's consent, have drawn up, on the validity of this his second marriage and against the Pope ; of whom they tell great blasphemies, as Your Majesty will be able to judge by the tract itself herein enclosed, which is full of malice and venom, and has no doctrine or foundation whatever. The said tract was yesterday distributed with profusion about Court, and one of the first to whom a copy was given happened to be the Scottish ambassador, who is at present very assiduous there [at Greenwich]. *It is the determination which, as I wrote to Your Majesty, this king wished to be published before the arrival of the bishop of Paris.*[†] I cannot guess how these people will be able to conciliate the fact of the Most Christian king of France] who professes to be the very devout and very obedient son, and likewise the particular friend and ally, of the Apostolic See, being in an affair of this kind in favour of His Holiness, and at the same time of this king, whose intimate friend he is, as the Bishop assured me only the other day. I have sent to the count of Cifuentes a copy of the articles themselves, that he may, if he deems it opportune, shew them to His Holiness *press him to pronounce sentence at once, and provide a prompt and efficacious remedy to so many scandals and such unheard-of insults.*[‡]—London, 27th December 1533.

Signed : " Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed : "To the Emperor."

Indorsed : " Received at Medina Celi,[§] the 24th of January 1533."

French. Original partly in cipher. pp. 9.

---

[*] " Ceux qui tiennent le party de la dame monstrent estre acruez (*sic*) de bon cueur depuis la venue du dit euesque."

[†] See above, p. 877.

[‡] " Je ne sçay comme lon pourra accorder ces challemeaux (*sic*, chalumeaux ?), que le roy tres chrestien, que se dit tres devote, et tres hobeyssant du siege apostolique, et tres chrestien, et particulierement amy et alie du pape pourra en ces afferes favouriser a sa dite sanctite et a ce roy, selon que le dit euesque de paris generallemant affirme et asseure. Jay envoye au conte de Cyfuentes les mesmes articles pour selon quil iugera et verra estre expedient les communiquer a sa sanctite [afin de accelerer la sentence et penser plus avant et tost pour le remede de telz esclandres et inaudites insolences."

[§] The business of the Cortes at Monçon once over, the Emperor hastened to Toledo, passing through Madrid. He is reported by Vandenesse to have arrived at the latter place on the 15th of January ; but the statement that he remained at Montison (Monçon) till the last day of December 1533, as stated in the Itinerary translated by Mr. Bradford (p. 499), must be incorrect, since the above despatch bears the date of Medinaceli, the 27th of December. This town being situated in the province of Soria sixty miles at least from Monçon, he must have left about the 23rd.

1533.

27 Dec. **1166.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 268.

. . . .

I have written twice to Your Majesty about the resolution taken respecting Coron, and likewise about the Emperor's misgivings as to the issue of the conferences at Marseilles between the Pope and the king of France. That, however, of ultimately abandoning Coron has not been taken without mature deliberation in the Council. The members present were, Granvela, Cobos, Don Garcia de Padilla,[*] the count of Miranda (D. Francisco de Zuñiga y Avellaneda),[†] and Norquemes (Noircames). The warning contained in one of my former despatches, for Your Majesty to abstain in future as much as possible from interfering in small affairs (*menudencias*) in Italy, had its origin, as I learned at the time from Granvelle, in the following remark which the Emperor once made to him. It appears that at the time Your Majesty was interfering about the Mantuan marriage the Emperor suspected that it was done at the instigation of the cardinal of Trent. Granvelle told me so in secret, that I might apprize Your Majesty thereof.

Dr. Mathias, &c.—Besançon in Burgundy.—Jean Erthernin gen.—Knighthood for the Apostolic Nuncio.—Secretary Desideradio,[‡] and the survivorship (*expectativa*) he has applied for.

I showed to Granvelle the letter of Your Majesty conveying expressions of regard for his services, as well as the promise of future favours. He is much pleased at it, and says that for the present he would be satisfied with the title of ordinary councillor to Your Majesty, and a sum of 300 gold florins[§] yearly by way of salary. My opinion is that a personage of his quality and parts ought to be kept contented at any cost.

Your Majesty enjoins me to procure him in this country one of those quacks[‖] who have the reputation of working miracles. I will do my best to find one, though in such matters I am as incredulous as the people of Germany. Should I meet with a man of that sort, I will try to engage him and send him on; but it will be a rather difficult task, because they are generally good-for-nothing wretches, and great scoundrels, and it would be necessary to send with him some one to watch him. Some I have seen flogged, notwithstanding the

---

[*] President of the Council of the Military Orders of Calatrava and Alcantara, who died on the 16th of September 1542.

[†] Third count of Miranda, and sixth lord of Peñaranda, viceroy of Navarre, and Grand Steward to the Empress Isabella; died 5th October 1536.

[‡] Simandres? *Expectativa* means the promise of a place after the death of the individual who is holding it.

[§] "Con gajes de 300 florines de oro de pension."

[‖] "V.M^{t}. manda que se procure un *saludador* de los que aca dizen que hacen miraglos; yo lo procuraré porque lo quiero ver, por que en quanto á este paso tan yncredulo estoy como los de allà, y [h] allado trabajaré de lo enbiar, aunque creo será difficultoso, porque todos son gente perdida, y seria menester que [el tal] fuese en conpañia de quien le gobernase. Alguno y tunantes he visto açotar sin enbargo de la gracia. Yo trabajaré de hazer lo que V. Mt. me manda."

1533.

grace with which they say they are gifted. I will, nevertheless, try what I can do.

I sent the queen of Hungary* by the way of Bilboa the two cross-bows made at Barbastro. They safely reached their destination on the 15th ult^{o}, as I hear, and were delivered into the hands of the person who has charge of presenting the same to Your Majesty.

Luis Tobar left behind him the fruit stones (*cuescos*); Cornelio will take them when he goes.

The memorandum containing the provision made for Ragusa was delivered to Granvelle. The advice about the fortresses of Salsas and Gaeta was likewise thankfully received. The Emperor gave immediate orders for their defence to be seen to in case of a sudden attack from the Moorish pirates. The news of the defeat of the Turk by the Sophy of Persia the Emperor had already received by way of Italy; he was, nevertheless, thankful for the intelligence sent by Your Majesty.

Gave Mr. de Granvelle the message about his brother-in-law (Bonvallot), and advised him to desist altogether from the suit at Besançon, or else to have it conducted in a different manner. His answer was, that the claims of the Englishman (?) were groundless, because the matter was entirely an ecclesiastical one, and related to lands belonging to the Church, and situated within the archbishopric of Besançon. He (Granvelle) had no doubt that some one interested in the process among the leading magistrates of that town had misinformed Your Majesty.†

Mr. de Nasaot (Nassau) was expected here on his way to Navarre; but he changed his mind and went to Barcelona, where, I hear, he arrived a few days ago. I do not believe that his arrival will make any change, because he himself is not naturally fond of changes.‡

Cornelio arrived here on the 2nd of December; he will start soon [for Austria].

The Cortes have lasted a long time, as I believe, not altogether unintentionally; for at the very first there seemed to be no hurry at all, whereas of late business has been got through in a most wonderfully quick manner. At any rate, they have been closed, to His Imperial Majesty's great annoyance, and the satisfaction of the deputies themselves, who have worked most assiduously, and finally carried all the petitions they brought forward. The Emperor has spent full seven months at it. Had he consented at first to grant what he has now reluctantly conceded, he would have finished his work on the very day of the opening. As it is, imagining that everything would be over before the festivals of Noel, he sent the Empress to Saragossa to wait for him there, and did his work by piecemeal—firstly Aragon, secondly Valencia, and thirdly Catalonia. It is now complete, or nearly so, and to-morrow the Emperor is to leave for Saragossa. He will not stay long at that city, but depart for Castille almost immediately; for what particular town it is not yet known for certain, perhaps for Valladolid, in order to visit the Queen mother,* and stay in that province, where the public health is now very good, according to report.—Monçon, 27th December 1533.

---

* By queen of Hungary, Mary the dowager, widow of Louis, slain in 1526 at Mohatz, is meant, not Anne the wife of Ferdinand.

† "A Mos. de Granvela ablé lo que V. M^{t}. manda para que su cuñado se dexase de seguir el pleito por la via que lo lleva en bisançon; á lo qual me respondió *que los de Ynglese* (?) no tenian sustancia, por que el pleito hera (*sic*) de ecclesiastico á ecclesiastico y sobre cosa de la yglesia, y que era sufragano á besançon, donde lo semejante se juzgaba y que [á] alguno del regimiento devia tocar el procéso de donde hazen á V. M^{t}. tal reporte."

‡ "Yo creo no habra novedad ninguna por su venida por que él no la querra devia hazer de su acostumbrado."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

29 Dec. **1167.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 270.

After closing my letter of the 27th a courier arrived from Germany with despatches for Mr. de Granvelle, and among the rest a letter from Coron, written in French, of which I now enclose copy. Those in German, which came by the same courier refer, I am told, to other affairs, mostly private. In one of these last the speedy arrival of Dr. Mathias is announced. They say that the Doctor will soon be here; but Your Majesty knows that personage well, and will understand the matter better than I myself can.†

Conrrat writes also to the aforesaid Dr. Mathias that his masters, the dukes of Bavaria, had duly received the letters from this place, which letters Your Majesty had caused to be published and printed. But this, he fears, will rather prove an obstacle to the good issue of the affair. Conrrat's letter is short and concise, but shews very good intentions on his part.

Enclosed is copy of a letter which the Pope received some time ago from Constantinople. Your Majesty will judge thereby of the state of affairs in that capital.—Monçon, 29th December 1533.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

30 Dec. **1168.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 171, f. 270*b*.

(*Cipher:*) Respecting the Monferrato affair I must say that the letter for Mr. de Granvelle was duly delivered, and that I myself spoke to him about it, as to one whom I know ready to serve Your Majesty in all matters. I, therefore, took his advice, namely, not to mention for the present the marquisate of Monferrato, for certainly it would be highly imprudent to

---

* Joanna was still at Tordesillas, five leagues from Valladolid. Charles, however, did not visit his mother on this occasion, for he left for Madrid, where he arrived on the 15th of January 1534.

† "No hazen á este proposito, sino de cosas particulares, y por lo que escribe[n] al doctor Mathias dize[n] que el doctor estara aqui muy luego, y[a] esta no dan rrespuesta (?). V. M^{t}. conoce el personage y podrá entender la materia."

1533.

stir up that affair just now. There is, I think, danger in the attempt, and Your Majesty would get nothing by it. That is the reason why I have alluded in some of my former despatches to the wish expressed by the Emperor, and communicated to me by his minister. "The Emperor," said Granvelle to me, "wishes his brother, the King, to meddle as little as possible with the affairs of Italy. Before he left that country to come to Spain the investiture of that estate had been secretly granted to the duke of Mantua, who, owing to his past services as well as to his power and influence in Italy, deserves it above all others."

The letter that came for the High Commander (Covos) I did not deliver, because he is evidently in favour of the Duke [of Mantua], and begins to suspect (as does the Emperor also) the steps which Your Majesty has taken and is still taking to secure that estate. If so, he is sure to guess what we are about, and there will be nothing gained for the future. I, therefore, conclude that, whatever our disclosures in other quarters, the High Commander is to be kept ignorant of our doings and aspirations. Such, at least, is the opinion of Mr. de Granvelle and mine. I read to him (the High Commander) the paragraph of Your Majesty's letter relating thereto, and told him of the offers I was authorised to make in your name; but to no purpose; he persisted in his opinion, and said to me that he regretted very much to see Your Majesty take this thing so much to heart. My reply was that neither in this instance nor in any other would Your Majesty accept or make use of anything that might be given to you without his advice and counsel, persuaded as you are of his good-will and affection towards you, in which, he says, no one ever surpassed him. In short, Your Majesty must believe me when I say that Granvelle is of all the Privy Councillors he who has most influence over the Emperor in State matters. The rest of the Councillors do not understand politics as thoroughly as he does, nor see things in the same light. Even if they did, I fancy that very few, if any, would follow his opinion. —Monçon, 30th December 1533.*

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

---

* The letter, which is nothing more than a postcript, has no heading or direction, and is merely separated and distinguished from the above by the insertion of XXX. on the margin, which I take to be indicative of the date, 30th of December.

SUPPLEMENT.

1531.

25 May. **1169.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 246.

Has spoken with Ancona concerning the Scotch business. The Cardinal thinks that the king of Scotland [James] will be satisfied to marry a daughter of the king of Denmark [Frederic], as the letters of his secretary (Erskine), who has probably returned to Scotland by this time, seem to imply. They (the Scots) have already written a formal letter to the duke of Albany, informing him that any engagements he may have taken respecting a marriage of their King to the Pope's niece are at an end. The Cardinal, moreover, says that if the Emperor approves of the King's marriage to one of the daughters of Denmark, he is willing to commence negotiations at Rome immediately, and with the greatest secrecy.—Rome, 25th May 1531.

Indorsed: "Abstract of a letter from Miçer Mai dated the 25th of May."

Spanish. In the handwriting of Secretary Idiaquez.

25 May. **1170.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 44. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 247.

Duke of Mantua.—Prothonotary Gattinara, &c., &c.

Has already said in former despatches how desirable it is that the papers expected from Spain should arrive, and be handed over to the auditor of the Rota. They would be most beneficial, not only to the English cause, but in many other respects.—Rome, 25th May 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Majesty the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

26 May. **1171.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 853, f. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 223.

A consistory was held the other day, at which His Holiness proposed the right of nomination which the French king asks for, and the cardinal's hat for which Tarbes has lately applied. He also proposed the one for the lord of Monaco, but not that for the Capuan (Schomberg). It was resolved not to give them either to the one or to the other of those ecclesiastics; and, respecting the right of nomination, the resolution was to refuse it altogether, and that an inquiry should be made into the irregularities (*deshordenes*) of which Tarbes complains, and which are the pretence for his asking for such a concession. He (Tarbes) is exceedingly hurt at this. Though the loss is equal on both sides, His Imperial Majesty need not regret the non-success of our negotiations on that score, especially as the cardinals raise many objections against the lord of Monaco, saying that after all he is a Grimaldo, has been cruel, committed many murders, and been mixed up with political intrigues of all

1531.

sorts.* The Capuan, on the other hand, has been duly informed of the bad result of the application made in his favour.

Hears that, owing to the great number of cardinals, His Holiness is thinking of issuing a bull enjoining that upon the death of any pope they are to be shut up in conclave for three days after, and that those who may come too late shall not be admitted;—a measure, in his (Mai's) opinion, which it will be rather difficult to put into practice.

The Pope told him the other day that Tarbes pressed him so hard in the affair of the marriage contract that he was afraid the string would snap one of these days; he had, therefore, appointed cardinal Salviati and his father [Jacopo], besides his own secretary (Sanga), to hear him, and conduct the negotiations, &c.

Advices from Hungary, confirmed by letters from Venice, have been received, stating that the Sophy [of Persia] had defeated the Turk in an encounter, and that Habrayn-basa (Ibrahim Bashá) had gone from Constantinople to Alessandria.

Antonio Doria, formerly in the service of France, has quitted it, and gone to Genoa with his three galleys. Not knowing whether the Emperor would like to engage him, he has offered his services to the Pope, who has not yet either accepted or refused them. This business requires consideration, because, should the king of France lose these and other Genoese galleys, he will be prevented from undertaking anything serious against that city.—Rome, 26th May 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

---

21 July. **1172.** The EMPEROR to his brother, the ARCHDUKE, king of Bohemia and Hungary.

Lanz. *Corresp. d. Kai. Karl.* v. i., p. 506.

I answered on the 8th inst. all your letters brought by the bastard of Roeulx and secretary Cornelis, and sent you besides the copy of my answer to the duke of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and their adherents.

I have communicated with counts Nassau and Newenar, who start this very day on their commission to the Palatine (Frederic).

You will see by the copy that accompanies this what my answer has been to the objections raised by the Legate against the Council. The further we go, the more persuaded I am that the Pope is unwilling to summon one, and that the king of France encourages him, thinking by that means to make himself agreeable; so much so that the cardinal of Grammont, bishop of Therbes (Tarbes), makes no mystery of it, and has said to whoever would listen to him, both on his road to France and at Court, that the marriage between the duke of

---

* "Mayormente que al de Monaco le ponen muchos impedimentos diciendo que es Grimaldo, y que ha sido cruel, y hecho muchos homicidios y [malos] tratos."

Orleans and the Pope's niece is a settled thing. Although His Holiness keeps denying the fact, and my ambassadors at Rome seem to think that nothing has yet been concluded, I cannot help thinking that there may be some foundation for the report, since the Cardinal has published it, and the king of France himself has told my sister, his Queen. However this may be, I care not what happens in that respect as long as the tranquillity of Italy, the welfare of Christendom, and the interest of our Holy Faith are not affected by it. The thing cannot remain long a secret, and, therefore, when the truth becomes known we shall judge how to conduct ourselves. Meanwhile there is no need of dissembling, nor of expressly speaking about the Council until one can see what can be done at the next Diet.

I also send you the copy of my answer to the Papal Legate touching the difference and the suit between the king of England and the Queen, our aunt; the process of which His Holiness, at the urgent request of the said king, and in order, as I have reason to suppose, to favour the king of France would willingly commit elsewhere out of Rome, or make it lag through arbitration, perhaps, too, mix up the king of France with it on the plea that he is their common friend. All things considered, should the Pope determine upon such a course, there is no saying what disputes, inconveniences, and causes for enmity would arise therefrom; and for that reason I have insisted on the said paper, of which I enclose you a copy, for the matter to be tried and decided without any further delay at Rome, where it was first instituted.—Brussels, 19th July 1531.

French. pp. 4.

26 July. **1173.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 64.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 323.

Since writing by Peñalosa he (Mai) has received the Imperial letter of the 24th of June last, announcing that Gritti had been set free, and his papers restored. Failed not to communicate the intelligence to His Holiness, to the Venetian ambassador, and to the Orsini. All praised the Emperor's magnanimity.

(*Cipher:*) Has lately been urging the Pope to decide at once what matters ought to be discussed at the German Diet, so that no time should be lost. His answer has been that cardinal Sant Sixto had brought in his report, and that three principal points have been settled. 1st. All matters not "de jure divino" to be reduced to venial not to mortal sin;*—which is a very important concession for all people of tender conscience (*gente de timorata conciencia*), whether heretics or Christians. 2nd. The consecration and communion to be under two kinds (*super utraque specie*). And, 3rd. The marriage of the Clergy to be allowed according to the use of the

---

* "Que todo lo que no es de *jure divino* se reduxese á que no obligase á pecado mortal syno á venial."

Greek Church.* These three things open a wide path to conciliation (*concordia*). His Holiness begged him (Mai) not to communicate this intelligence, but keep it secret, for he intended these things to be granted or promised little by little, not all at once. Has, however, contrived that the Pope write to his Legate at the Imperial court, and he himself (Mai) has not hesitated to make the announcement in order that he (the Emperor) may be prepared.

Wrote to His Imperial Majesty that Tarbes, on his departure for France, had promised to send the Pope a memorandum of the means which the king of France thought might be adopted for the reformation of the treaty of Cambray; but although three or four posts from France have come since, it is said that no letters from him (Tarbes) have been received. He (Mai) can hardly believe this to be the case, for on the 27th of June he (Tarbes) was already at Lyons. There may have been since some great disagreement (*desconcierto*), of which the Pope is ashamed, and which he is trying to patch up before making it public, because (*cipher*:) he still keeps holding long conferences with the duke of Albany. He (Mai) is trying to ascertain what they are about now, and fancies it will not escape him (*que no se le escaparan*).

A week ago the Pope told him (Mai) that the duke [of Albany] had shewn him letters from the French ambassador in Venice, announcing great preparations of the Turk to come down next year upon Italy, and even as far as Rome. His Holiness (he said) ought to compel the Christian princes to a sincere union (*honesta concordia*). As the last letters from Rodrigo Niño said nothing about this, he (Mai) naturally concluded that it was merely a stratagem of the French to try their depth (*para tentar el vado*). On another occasion the Pope said that Albany had spoken to him about Milan, and remarked that if the Emperor thought that too great a price to give away, he could not reasonably complain of Genoa being attacked. Now, as it is publicly stated here at Rome, and all over Italy, that *the French intend attacking Genoa* sooner or later, and advices have come that three quarters (*quarteles*) had been paid to the galleys, and two to the land forces, and that, besides, they (the French) wished to make levies in Provence, he (Mai) came to the conclusion that something was in the wind. Imparted his suspicions to the Pope, who told him not to believe that the French, however boasting and insolent they might be, could declare war for the present. Madame the Regent (Louise) had always been opposed to it, and was so now more than ever, &c.

(*Common writing*;) The French here at Rome, and a good number of the Italians also, are rather alarmed (*stan en umbra*) as to what may be done at this next Diet; even the

---

* The Emperor wishes that the ambassador had not spoken to the Pope about this, because these are matters which, if divulged, might lead to great inconvenience. So it is the Emperor's pleasure that no more be said about the Diet and the Lutherans.—*Marginal note by Covos.*

Pope is uneasy, and he (Mai) fancies that it is because he fears that at that Diet new proposals about the Council will spring up. Others fear that in consequence of that Diet the Emperor will remain so great and so powerful that the world will be at his feet; and, what with his coming to Italy, and with the Imperial army being so far advanced,* these devils, who are so fond of novelty, make a thousand guesses, &c.

The manner of dealing of Tarbes is exceedingly obnoxious because here, at Rome, he talked as he pleased, and when in France he promises everything in the Pope's name. The consequence is that a good deal of mischief is done in this way, and that, as well in the matrimonial cause of England as in other affairs, people here begin to complain of his having gone too far. Hears, however, that the king of France is daily losing credit with the Pope. (*Cipher:*) For no other reason, as people say, is chancellor (Prat) gradually getting out of favour. Perhaps the Pope imagines that the same thing will happen one of these days to Tarbes, a creature of the Chancellor, for certainly both have the same enemies at the French court.

The duke of Savoy (Carlo) has sent one of his secretaries here to tell the Pope that, being unable to come to terms with the Lutheran cantons of Switzerland, he has decided upon strengthening four of his castles bordering upon their country By so doing the Duke thinks he can effectually defend himself, but he wants, nevertheless, to be helped with 200,000† ducats.

The Duke's man has brought also letters for him (Mai); and as the Pope wishes to keep the Duke content in case the Duchesina Caterina de' Medici should be placed in his charge previous to her marriage with the duke of Orleans—as was rumoured some time ago—Carlo of Savoy has some chance of being helped in his difficulties. The proposition, however, is for the Emperor to give 40,000, and the Most Christian King as many; England 30,000, and Portugal 25,000. With what the Venetians and others, including the Pope, could give, (for the latter intends, poor as he is, to do his duty like the rest,) the sum asked for might be completed. Has since heard *in a confidential manner* that the Duke's man is the bearer of two different propositions for the Pope to raise money: one is, that the abbots and priors of France send a procurator to contradict the sentence won by Tarbes, and obtain consent that the churches be elective as before, and not "a presentatione;" and the other that a tithe be imposed on the French clergy. (*Cipher:*) This last expedient he (Mai) intends to oppose as much as he can; for, once the *decima* or *quarta* being established in France, they are sure to employ the money, not against the Turk or the Lutherans, but to political purposes of their own.

---

* "Y con tener el exercito tan adelante como está."

† Thus in the original; the sum, however, appears excessive.

1531.

Has been told that the Pope has lately sent to France one of his own chamberlains, called Domenico Centurione. When he left, he said he was going to pass the summer in Genoa. Has written to the Imperial ambassadors, both there and in France, to have him closely watched, and ascertain what he goes thither for.

The Pope has also sent his confessor, a minor observant friar, to the *duke of Milan;* and though it was stated at the time that he was going to ask for the pardon and liberty of that Visconti who tried once to assassinate the Duke, it is to be presumed that he has also gone for the purpose of removing any suspicions he [the duke Sforza] may have conceived respecting this marriage and the plans of the French.

Letters lately arrived from England, and received by the Pope, state that the king of that country had said [to one of his courtiers ?] "Certainly the Pope does not know what he is about; if he wished, he might play a fair game." *This His Holiness said* to him (Mai) in confidence, declaring that in his opinion those words had been said in allusion to some new understanding between the two kings. His (Mai's) answer was, "I kiss Your Holiness' feet, but *if the game is to be played* I fancy I know who will be the winner." The Pope understood what was meant, and nothing more was said about it.

Lucca is perhaps the only city in Italy that has hitherto been preserved from war, yet her people have contrived to get a taste of it by coming to blows one with another, and the Pope says there have been there two great riots. Has not yet heard from Marcilla; when he does he will not fail to report. —Rome, 26th July 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty the Emperor and King our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 4½.

26 July. **1174.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 854, f. 1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,383, f. 334.

Abstract of the preceding, made by Erasso for the Emperor's inspection, and having besides marginal notes in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 4½.

22 Aug. **1175.** DR. ORTIZ to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 852, f. 151.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 351.

Has received His Majesty's letter of the 25th ult°. During these holidays nothing is being done in the matrimonial cause of England, but, once over, the proceedings will be resumed with greater vigour.

The ambassador in England sent him (Ortiz) the other day the "Apology" of the Rev. bishop of Rochester (Fisher) in answer to two chapters of the book written in favour of the

1531.

King.* Has read it carefully, and certainly thanks are due to God for the many virtues and sound learning of its author. who may with reason be called "the true beacon which in these our dark times has enlightened the Church." His answer is so clear, so learned, and so complete in every respect, shewing the true path to justice and reason, that very little can be added to it. To him (Ortiz) in particular it will be of immense value, as it will save him much work. No canonist or lawyer, however ignorant, can fail to profit by the Bishop's arguments for confuting those of the opposite party.†

Expecting, as he (Ortiz) does, soon to dispute the point in public, he considers it unnecessary, nay dangerous, to have his judicial allegation printed until after the dispute is fairly over, for fear of shewing our enemies the nature of his arms, or revealing to them what he purposes saying. Intends, on the contrary, keeping his arguments a secret, like the general who places his troops in ambush, the better to defeat the enemy.

Master Sepulveda, his friend, a man of good and sound doctrine, composed some time ago a treatise in favour of the queen of England, which he gave him to peruse. Read it attentively, and finding that, besides its elegant style, the book is full of doctrine conducive to the clear justice of this cause, induced the author to have it printed, which he has done here at Rome.‡—Rome, 22nd August 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

31 Aug. **1176.** News from Rome.

S. E. L. 853, f. 8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 363.

The bishop of Oserra (Auxerre) has arrived. The first thing he did was to ask an audience from His Holiness, and propose the marriage of his niece [Catherina] to the duke of Orleans.

Went to the Pope, and asked him whether the new French ambassador had said anything about Tarbes' former overtures, and whether he had or had not brought an answer from France. The Pope's answer was that the Bishop had got no more information on the subject than that which he had requested him (Mai) to transmit to the Emperor, namely, that the duke of Albany had said, in allusion to the friendship between him (the Pope) and the king of France, that such a [matrimonial] alliance as the one proposed between his niece and the duke of Orleans would have a very good effect in Germany. He (bishop Dinteville) said he did not know how things would turn out in those parts. If the lords (*señores*) of Germany went on retaining the property of the Church,

---

* See part 1, *Int.*, p. xxv.

† "Y ansi como quita de trabaio á qualquier persona, por indocta que sea, para responder á los contrarios, ansi es merecedor de mucha honra."

‡ Sepulveda's treatise was first printed at Rome in 1531, and reprinted among his works, Madrid, 1740, four vols. 4^to^.

1531.

the kings of France and England would, no doubt, follow their example. For this reason (he said) it would be advisable for the Emperor to come to an understanding with the Lutherans as soon as possible.

Spanish. Original. English abstract by Bergenroth. pp. 6.

---

31 Oct. **1177.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to JEHAN DE LE SAUCH.

B. Arc. Gen. Pap. d'Et. Neg. d'Angl. vol. i. p. 30.

Memoir and instruction for Messire Eustache (*sic*) Chapuys, Doctor in civil and criminal law, Councillor and Master of the Requests to the Emperor, and his present ambassador in ordinary to the king of England, as well as for Messire Jehan de le Schauch (*sic*), Secretary in ordinary and Comptroller of the seals of His Imperial Majesty, of what they both together will have to represent in His Majesty's name to the king of England or to his Council.

1stly. They will exhibit their credentials, in virtue of which they will remind the King that lately, after the ratification of the treaty of peace made at Cambray, and at the time that Mr. de Rossinboz was conjointly with him [Mr. de le Sauch] sent to England for the purpose of having the said treaty ratified and sworn to by the King, they were charged by the late Archduchess [Margaret of Austria], of blessed memory, the Emperor's aunt, at that time regent and governess of the Low Countries during his absence, to make the following statement: That owing to many abuses that had arisen in the intercourse of trade between the subjects of both countries respectively, and the distribution and sale of the wool at Calais, new imposts and taxes had been introduced, at which the people of the Low Countries complained most bitterly. That it was then agreed that in order to advise the means of doing away with the restrictions of trade, delegates from both countries (England and the Netherlands), duly constituted and empowered to that effect, should meet at such a place as might appear most fitting and convenient, and then and there confer together as to the most effectual means of removing the said obstacles, thus cementing the union between friends and neighbours, and reviving the intercourse of trade. Owing to certain considerations proposed by the members of the King's Privy Council, the appointment did not then take effect; but it was admitted that the whole matter was certainly one of great importance to the subjects of both countries, and that it might be amply discussed and settled at a future time.

And whereas since the arrival of His Imperial Majesty in these provinces deputies from various towns carrying on trade with England,* or from Flemish merchants residing in that kingdom, have complained that every day they are worse treated, (without the King's knowledge, as they presume,)

---

* "Aucuns deputez des estatz de ses ditz pays hantans et commerçant marchandement es pays et royaulme d'angleterre."

1531.

owing firstly to the abuses committed in the distribution of the wools in Calais, and secondly to new duties levied, and other taxes imposed on them, in defiance of the regulation and form of the said intercourse as well as of the letter of the existing treaties; and whereas the said deputies have called upon His Imperial Majesty, requesting him to be pleased to procure the means of obviating the said evils, and indemnifying them for their losses—the more so that the English merchants in this country being most favourably treated—it stands to reason that there ought to be reciprocity of good treatment in England. Besides which, trade being no longer carried on between the two countries on the same footing as before has become greatly detrimental, nay, insupportable to these Low Countries.

The above application having been considered just and reasonable, His Imperial Majesty has resolved to take this matter in hand, adopt such measures and make such representations as are likely to put an end to the aforesaid state of things. Yet, in order to maintain and preserve that amity and good fellowship that ought to exist between neighbours, it has seemed desirable to give the king of England and his Privy Council notice thereof through the Imperial ambassadors in that country, thus avoiding any cause for anger or mistrust which, through misunderstanding, false report, or otherwise, might arise therefrom, requesting him and them to choose any town on this side of the Channel, and appoint a day, and send thither his delegates and ambassadors furnished with sufficient powers, that they may, together with those of His Majesty, treat, negotiate, redress, moderate, interpret, and provide all things relating to the said intercourse of trade and its dependencies on terms of perfect equality, and according to the treaty of 1520, in which it is expressly said that good faith ought above all things to preside in mercantile transactions. Which treaty of 1520, and subsequent one concluded at Cambray [in 1529]—of both of which copies have been opportunely forwarded to the King's Privy Council—will afford sufficient testimony, foundation, and justification for the step proposed. By this means, too, the King and his Council will acknowledge that the friendship hitherto existing, and which they desire to maintain and preserve between the two countries, can the better be fostered and increased, and the losses sustained by the said merchants repaired.

All proper exertions shall be made by the said Imperial ambassadors to get the above overtures taken into consideration, and the meeting of the delegates fixed at as short a date as possible; of which appointment they will inform his said Majesty as soon as possible, as likewise of the reply made by the King to the aforesaid overtures, that His Majesty may take his measures and act accordingly in so important an affair, and look to the indemnification and welfare of his said countries and subjects, as he is bound to do.

If, however, the ambassadors perceived any difficulty or disinclination on the part of the King and Council to accept

1531.

the proposal of the said meeting, they will graciously urge upon them that by the treaty of the year 1520, as well as by the subsequent one of 1529, the Emperor did not bind himself to their execution beyond the term of five years, which have already expired; and that, should the proposed meeting not take place, it will be entirely in His Majesty's faculty, according to the letter of the said treaties, as well as by equity, and the duty and obligation under which he stands towards his own subjects, to devise means of providing for their full indemnity, which he thinks they ought to receive, and which he himself is bound to secure to them. Though His Imperial Majesty wishes above all things the settlement of this particular question *voye a lamyable.* setting aside all question of right, yet the ambassadors are instructed to make such use of the words and clauses in the said treaties as they may consider necessary or useful to carry their point, in the best and most discreet way, adding, if necessary, such observations of their own as they deem fit and opportune, His Imperial Majesty trusting entirely to their discretion.—Brussels, the last day of October 1531.

Signed: "Charles."

French. Original. pp. 5.

1532.
1 Mar. **1178.** The Emperor to the Empress.

S. E. L. 26, f. 179.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 224.

Since We wrote on the 11th ult° your messenger arrived with letters of the 4th. Very sorry to hear of the loss of Cazaza, and quite approve of the orders sent to the duke of Medina Sidonia, marquises de Comares and Mondejar, to concert plans for recovering that fortress as soon as possible with their own means and forces, inasmuch as the said Cazaza, though in Africa, belongs to the said duke of Medina Sidonia. As, moreover, the town of Melilla is ours, and We give the Duke a certain annual stipend that he may keep it in a state of defence, he is to be told that he must take particular care of it, as well as of Oran, Maçarquivir, and other towns We own on that coast.

Respecting Algiers there is nothing to add to what We said in our last letter; if it can be done We shall be very glad.

Crusade.—Brief for the matrimonial cause of count de Ureña.*

Our affairs with His Holiness have, thank God, ended most satisfactorily. The general league for the defence of Italy has been accomplished; for the Council and the matters relating to Faith the required provision has also been made, and We sincerely hope that everything will turn out well. All other private business between His Holiness and ourselves was transacted to the satisfaction of us both, and so We left to-day the 26th of February, and arrived at Modena, whence We shall go to Genoa. We intend, however, to remain in our duchy of Milan until the fleet be ready to put to sea. Hope to sail at the beginning of April.

---

* See above, p. 396.

1532.

Our expenses have been so heavy, and so exceed our calculations, that We have been obliged to borrow from Ansaldo Grimaldo 100,000 ducats. Bills of exchange for that sum have been drawn; please have them paid.—Modena, 1st March 1532.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos, High Commander."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

4 May. **1179.** Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, Imperial Ambassador in Portugal, to the Empress [Isabella].

S. E. *Port.* L. 369, f. 193.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 287.

Has received letters from the Imperial ambassadors in Genoa and Venice, containing the latest news about the armaments of the Turk and his designs upon Christendom.

The Queen (Katharine),* to whom he [Hurtado] has spoken on the subject, assures him that the King [Dom Manuel], her husband, entertains the best intentions towards the Emperor. Prayers have been said in all the convents of friars and nuns in Portugal for the Emperor's health.†

Told the Privy Councillors that on former occasions whenever the Emperor applied to the king of Portugal for aid and counsel it was willingly offered and accepted. The Emperor had every reason to be satisfied with what his kinsman of Portugal said and did. No league had actually been formed against him, nor had he any reason to distrust the kings of France and England. Now the circumstances are different, and it is to be hoped that the King will shew his friendship for the Emperor not only in words but in deeds also.

Complains of the behaviour of the king of France towards the Emperor.—Setubal, 4th May 1532.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

16 Oct. **1180.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 1457, f. 121.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 139.

I wrote yesterday to Your Lordship from this place, relating that the messengers had arrived, and what they had said and done in compliance with our Emperor's orders and instructions. That despatch was meant for His Majesty's inspection; the present confidential letter is only intended for Your Lordship. Loquinghien (*sic*) and Legizamo (Leguiçamo) ought to be severely punished and dismissed from the Imperial service; for, in order to excuse what we wanted to appear a blunder of theirs, they have shewn their instructions to a few confidential friends,—bound, of course, by secrecy, but who, as usual in such cases, have divulged the whole affair. Should these details reach the Pope's ears, as no doubt they will ere long, there is no saying what mischief will be done thereby. Meanwhile, as I mentioned in my other despatch, as soon as the Cardinal [Ippolito de' Medici] read the Emperor's letter he sent for post horses. He was then at dinner; immediately after he mounted and started off on the road to Venice. To judge

---

* The Empress Isabella, as is well known, was the daughter of Dom Manuel of Portugal, and sister of Dom João, who succeeded him in 1521. Dom João was married to Katharine (Catalina) sister of Charles.

† About this time the Empress Isabella was dangerously ill.

1532.

from the haste he made, I should think that he will shortly reach that city. About the same time Cardinal Ganvaro (Gambara) arrived from the place where I left him, for he did not venture to go beyond [for fear of the Italian mutineers]. He has passed the night here in my lodgings, and intends starting to-morrow, and following cardinal Medici's steps wherever he goes. I have had a long talk with him, and represented the great favours which His Majesty has already conferred, and will in future confer upon him, if he only persists in his purpose of doing service. These being sweet-sounding words for all ears, but especially for Italian ones, the Cardinal opened his eyes, and said, "I certainly go away with the determination of visiting the Legate (Medici); should I find that he has any bad impressions I will certainly do my best to remove them." It was then agreed between us that he (Gambara) should write a letter to cardinal Siguenza (Loaysa), explaining the whole affair, for fear a courier should have started to apprise His Holiness thereof. Gambara promised to do so, and said to me, "I would also write to His Holiness in the terms you desire, but I should prefer that this occurrence never reached His Holiness' ears." I have done my best to impress Gambara with the idea that the Cardinal's general conduct was so blameable that it deserved punishment. "This (I said), his father, the Pope, who loves him beyond measure, or the Emperor, who takes so much to heart everything concerning His Holiness, might have inflicted;[*] but as the fault, after all, was committed by two private persons not better endowed with reason and judgment than others who were quite innocent,[†] it was better to drop the matter altogether, and say no more about it." It seemed to me as if Gambara approved of this proposition of mine; he promised to act accordingly, and begged me, when I should be at Rome, to do my best towards a settlement of the Cardinal's pension. I made him great promises as to this last point;[‡] and I fancy that he went away quite edified, if he did not tell a lie, and very happy also at his being out of Germany; for I do not recollect ever since I have been about the world, having seen a greater poltroon than this Gambara, or one with a larger share of "paura opiata" about his person.—Vilaque (Villach), 16th October 1532.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious High Commander of Leon, in his own hands."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

---

[*] "Yo le cargé (*sic*, r. cargué) vien la mano en esto, diciendole quan bien los [de]meritos del Cardenal merecieran todo castigo, segun su mal portamiento, el qual [castigo] como padre suyo, y que tanto lo quiere y [a] tañe las entrañas, y por lo mucho en que tiene todas las cosas de su Sant^{d} su Mag^{d} le pudiera [bien] dar."

[†] "Pero que mejor era que pues el yerro passado era de dos personas priuadas. no mas cumplidas de razones (*sic*) ni juicio que otras vien ynocentes, que esto se disimulase."

[‡] "Rogandome que yo en Roma quisiese abonar el vyto y el vestyto del Rev.^{mo} Yo le ofreci en esto large parole," &c.

1532.

— **1181.** The HIGH COMMANDER [OF LEON], COVOS, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Aleman.* L. 636, f. 126. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 214.

We are all assembled in Council to address the ambassadors of the duke of Savoy (Carlo), and of other princes, according to Your Majesty's orders. Let us know whether it is Your Majesty's pleasure that we speak to those of Mantua before you have conversed with the Duke, or whether we must wait until Your Majesty has spoken, though it seems advisable that Your Majesty see him first, and then send him to us.*

Spanish. Holograph. p. ½.

— **1182.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. *Aleman.* L. 636, f. 110. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 213.

As I shall not be able to go to-night where Your Majesty is going, and nothing of what I was to do has been done; as it is, moreover, necessary to dispatch couriers to Spain and Italy, I intend sending on Idiaquez with the most pressing ones for Your Majesty to sign. Idiaquez will also take with him my opinion in the case of the Almirante.†

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

— **1183.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. *Aleman.* L. 636, f. 100. B. M. *Add.* 28,585,

Let him have the "contracartas;" because by taking security, and writing to Spain, we have nothing to fear. If so, write to Spain that the 580,000 ducats of the Duchess (?) if returned, should be sent to me here as soon as possible.

Your Majesty heard me say the other day that the King, your brother, had drawn for the 100,000 ducats. We had agreed to give him bills of exchange on the Spanish treasury for that sum, provided the bankers signed "contracartas," and bound themselves not to present the said bills for acceptation and payment until it was ascertained whether Martin de Guzman, who took similar orders to Spain, had or had not received the money. Such was then the resolution taken in Council; but now the King says that the bankers refuse giving the "contracartas," and that he has news from Martin de Salinas, his agent, that since his arrival in Spain he has not advanced one step in the negotiation. What is to be done?

---

* On the margin of this paper is a holograph answer of the Emperor, thus worded: "Answer the Duke, whilst I myself will pay my compliments to Don Fernando."

† What with travelling the whole of yesterday and the hunting of the day before, I have been unable to sign all the papers you sent me. All, however, meet with my approbation. In the letters I have changed a few words, as you will see when Idiaquez takes them back. (*Marginal note in the Emperor's own hand.*)

1532.

The Marquis has also written to me. I will answer him as you propose.	An agent of the marquis de Cenete has brought me the enclosed letter. I think it would be advisable to answer him that the office of "contador" will not be filled up until Your Majesty's return to Spain.
	Please Your Majesty to tell me when the despatches of Castilla and Italy are to be signed, for they will be ready to-night.
Will sign them to-morrow night at the other village, so that they may see that I am gone.	Your Majesty did not tell me, when you wrote yesterday whether the codicil to your will was to be signed before your departure, or be put off for another opportunity.
	Mr. Anthoune* will take, after dinner, letters for Your Majesty to sign. They are for the queen dowager of Hungary in Flanders in answer to hers, and to announce your departure; also other letters for the kings of England and France.
As I had a sudden attack of rheumatism in the chest last night, I could not speak to Don Luys, who has since returned [thither]. You had better speak to him, and also to the bastard of Foex (Foix), who came here with a similar proposal. I spoke with Xuarez after reading the Admiral's letters. Seeing what was in them, and hearing the noise in my chest, I got into a passion, and spoke my mind in rather harsh terms, for we have letters and receipts signed by him There is matter enough to make them a good answer, and, therefore, as I will not sign until I reach the other place, it will be better for you to delay answering till we have spoken on the subject. I send you the Admiral's letters.†	Don Luys de Portugal has gone to Your Majesty. I could not see him last night nor to-day, to decide about the men (*la gente*) that he is to raise. I think the marquis de Prat (Praët?) might say some words of approval to him, and how satisfied Your Majesty is with his services.

Spanish. Holograph. p. ½.

---

* Paper torn: Antoine Perrenot? sieur de Granvelle. This paragraph and the preceding one, as all the rest of the report is in French, which convinces me that *Anthoune* is for Antoine Perrenot. The Admiral [of Castille] here mentioned, was Don Fadrique Enriquez.

† "Y con ver lo que avya en ellas, y oyr mis pechos me tomó colera y hablé bien claro y aspero, pues ay cartas suyas y vales; no falta materya para hazerles una buena respuesta, y por eso y pues no firmo asta el otro lugar, será bien que defyrays (*sic*) de hacer la carta del almyrante asta que os aya [yo] hablado y contado lo que ha pasado. Con esta os envio las dichas cartas."

1532.

— **1184.** Instruction to Master Jehan de le Sauch, secretary in ordinary to the Emperor, of what he will have to represent to the king of England with the assistance of the Imperial ambassador in that country.

Arch Gen. d. Belg. Pap. d'Et. Neg. d'Ang. vol. 1.

He (Le Sauch) will say that between the subjects of His Majesty the Emperor, and those of the king of England there was of old, and has been up to the present time, good amity, negociation, and intercourse of trade in all sorts of goods in which one country could help and assist the other, particularly through the maintenance and continuation of the said amity and intercourse.

This notwithstanding, the Queen [dowager] of Hungary, regent and governess for the said Imperial Majesty in these Low Countries, has been informed through some merchants of the said countries that the said King has lately forbidden his subjects, the merchants of the Staple of Calais the distribution, sale, and exportation of wools out of his kingdom among and to the said merchants of the Low Countries and others, against the ancient established custom.

The said Queen cannot persuade herself that the above prohibition can proceed from the King himself, inasmuch as up to the present time there has been no disturbance nor change of the old customs, no impediment nor other causes on the part of these Low Counties to necessitate the above measure; but, on the contrary, English merchants have been allowed to take away from the Low Countries all goods and merchandize, as in former times, without the least molestation.

The merchants of the Low Countries, therefore, have requested the said Queen and Governess to take the necessary steps for the removal of the said prohibitions and impediments, so that they may buy English wools, and carry on their trade as before, without being obliged to procure them elsewhere.

For the above causes the aforesaid Queen requests the king of England to be pleased to order the said prohibition to be removed, so that the mutual barter of merchandize may have its course, and the amity and good understanding of the merchants and subjects of both countries subsist and continue as in old times; and to let the said Queen know his pleasure in this respect. Done, concluded, and advised by the said Majesty on the 12th day of July 1533.

French. Copy. pp. 2½.

— **1185.** The Cardinal of Jaen (Merino) to the High Commander.

S.E. *Roma.*, L. 860, f. 165.
B.M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 337.

Has this very moment heard that a courier from Naples is passing in great haste through this city on his way to Naples. Will, therefore, be unable to write as fully as he might otherwise have wished.

The Emperor's and his Lordship's letters of the 29th ult^{o} were duly received the day before yesterday, Don Diego Ossorio, the bearer, continuing his journey to Naples.

1532.

With regard to the contents of the Emperor's letter, he (Merino) has no reply to make, except that he will obey implicitly His Majesty's commands, and no longer speak to His Holiness on such matters. Has strictly followed orders; for since the day on which the Pope himself introduced the subject, he (Merino) has avoided all conversation on it. Must, however, observe that the idea did not come from him, but from the Pope, who was the first to suggest it.* This, notwithstanding, he (Merino) does not hesitate to say, that, should they (the Roman cardinals) fulfil their promise, and take the initiative in the affair, as they have offered to do, the negotiation might be perfectly harmless, especially considering the conditions imposed. Does not think the matter would be a difficult one,† and yet, in obedience to the Emperor's commands, will be silent on the subject.

At present the news is that the day before yesterday an express arrived from England bringing positive orders and mandate from the king of that country to his ambassadors to quit immediately, and with as little ceremony as they are wont to observe in other acts, this Papal court, and return home. The order, as it appears, emanated from the King himself at the very moment that he heard of the sentence pronounced in favour of the Queen; by which act it is quite evident that he (the king of England) wishes not only to divorce his own legitimate wife, but likewise the Church of God. His Holiness having somewhat resented the King's conduct on the occasion, it would be advisable that the first letters from Spain should bring him encouragement and consolation. He (Merino) has done all that was in his power as though of his own accord, remarking that since His Holiness has fulfilled his duty as true and good shepherd, he has nothing to fear, and that even if he were to lose for a time the allegiance of an island, unfruitful for the Holy Apostolic See, he would gain that of other more important kingdoms.

The news, as it is, might perhaps prevent the interview at Nice, because His Holiness has also advices from England that the very moment the King heard of the sentence against him, he sent word to the duke of Norfolk,‡ who was to be present at the conferences, not to wait for the Pope to arrive, but return home as quickly as possible passing though France.

---

* "Porque desde el dia que Su Sant^{d} me hablo nunca mas he querido entrar en la negotiation, y lo que passo no fue platica movida por mi sino por su voluntad."

† "Bien diré my parecer que haciendolo ellos [como] de suyo, como dezian y offrecian, no la toviera [yo] por mala negociacion, y consideradas las condiciones con quien (que?) se havia de hacer esto no la ternia por tan difficil."

‡ Here, instead of "Norfolk" the copy says "Suffolk," and besides, the last sentence in the paragraph is so altered in Bergenroth's copy as to offer no meaning. It stands thus: "Su Sant^{d} tiene ansi mesmo aviso que en la misma hora [que recibió el Rey la sentencia] embió á mandar al duque de Sufork, que havia de hallarse en las dichas vistas, que no las esperase sino que tomasse *hija del Rey de Francia*, y luego se volviesse à Inglaterra." Instead of the words in italics I suggest that "la vja [via] del reyno de Francia" should be read; *i.e.*, that taking the route of France he should return to England forthwith.

1532.

. . . .

Rome, 14th August 1533.

Addressed: "To the most magnificent lord, the High Commander of Leon [Covos], of His Imperial Majesty's Privy Council."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

— **1186.** ADVICES from ENGLAND.

S. E. Ingl. L. 806, f. 38. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 30.

Most Illustrious Sir: The king of England has lately sent for the steward of her Most Serene Highness, the Queen, to appear at Court; thus shewing symptoms of repentance and that his anger against her has somewhat subsided, in fact that there is some chance of his restoring her old servants, and replacing her household on the same footing as before. It is even thought that by this time the King has already made some demonstration in that sense.

The cause of this mitigation of the King's anger seems to be no other than the information he has received, and is from time to time receiving, of the negotiation which His Majesty has lately been carrying on with the English ambassador at his Imperial Court, trying to persuade him with good words and prayers (*con bone parole et preghiere*), that his master is bound to restore the Queen to her royal state and former dignity. There is, indeed, very good hope that the negotiations will be attended with success, at this juncture better than at any other time or in any other way.

It is likewise rumoured that Anna is much disliked (*mal voluta*) by the English nobility, not only on account of her intolerable pride, but owing to the insolence and bad behaviour of her brothers and relatives throughout the kingdom; and it is further reported that on that very account the King no longer has for her the sort of affection he once used to have.

The King, it is added, is courting another lady, with whom he seems to be very much in love; and many of the English nobility are encouraging and helping him in this his new love that they may entirely alienate him from Anna.

Indorsed: "Memoriale di Inghilterra. News from England, forwarded by count de Cifuentes."

Italian. Original. pp. 1½.

— **1187.** MEMORANDUM* of the IMPERIAL LAWYERS at ROME respecting the MATRIMONIAL CAUSE.

S. E. L. 806, f. 40. B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 94.

When the news of the marriage of the King of England to Anne [Boleyn] reached Spain, the Emperor's lawyers had at once to deliberate upon the expediency of having the said Anne included in the Papal sentence. It was then resolved that the suit between Her Highness Queen Katharine and the

---

* Evidently the same mentioned in Sylva's despatch of the 5th of August, No. 1112, p. 768.

1532.

King, her husband, having reached the point that it now has, it was advisable not to mix up Anne with it, as this would most probably impede the course of justice. The least move on our part, however unimportant, creates a stir both here [at Rome] and in England, and is made an obstacle to the progress of the affair; it, therefore, seemed to us that it was far better not to include Anne in the sentence, for, if mentioned in it, she would undoubtedly have had a right to be heard, and people might say that Her Highness Queen Katharine had of herself created this new impediment in the divorce suit.

The Imperial lawyers were well aware that Anne herself could be no serious obstacle to the determination of the suit still pending between Her Highness Queen Katharine and the King, her husband, inasmuch as her marriage having been effected in direct contravention to the Papal prohibitory briefs, decrees, and inhibition, as well as to a further declaration of the Pope and cardinals in consistory, was decidedly null and void, as appears from the copy of the sentence that Rodrigo Davalos took to Spain; yet, notwithstanding that, it was deemed advisable that Anne should not be mentioned therein. But as the principal affair could not be expedited before the vacations it was again discussed whether the said Anne ought to be cited or not. Some of us were of opinion that she ought, others that she ought not. These last alleged that should Anne be cited she must need appear; and although her marriage is notoriously null, and that of Her Highness the Queen true and legitimate,—the Papal decrees and prohibitions fully proclaiming the validity of the latter and the invalidity of the former,—yet there can be no doubt that all manner of calumniatory exceptions and public disputations will be raised in order to impede the course of justice, as was once practised by the King's excusator (Karne). True, should the said Anne wish to appear nobody could prevent her from so doing, though unsummoned. There is, however, some difference between her appearing of her own accord and for her own interest, and coming at the summons and citation of Her Highness Queen Katharine, because the very moment she is summoned she can legally claim to be heard.*

It was also a matter for the lawyers consideration that as Anne's marriage is completely void and null, and has been declared such in full consistory, she could not legally impede the expedition of the principal cause, inasmuch as the sentence being upon a "notorious fact" perpetrated pending the suit (*lite pendente*) it tells very much against her though she may not have been cited. No new examination of witnesses, no adduction of proofs is required in her case. Yet the cause being of such importance, should any inconvenience be likely to arise from her being, or from her not being, cited, the Imperial lawyers consider it expedient to consult His Imperial

---

* "Es legitimada para que sea oyda."

1532.

Majesty thereupon, because in such eventualities it is well to be prepared.*

Granting that for the present Anne should not be included in the sentence there is plenty of time to do so, whenever the definitive one is pronounced in favour of the Queen and against the King, for in that case the Queen might easily have Anne summoned before the judges, and the latter would then hear from their mouths that her marriage to king Henry is null and void, and that at no future time can it be made a foundation or pretence for claims of parentage or inheritance whatsoever. The sentence, such as it is, is for the present, and it may be added for ever, quite sufficient; only there remains that slight scruple of saying that Anne never was cited, which scruple, though not juridically based might, in the course of time, and through dynastic changes, prove an obstacle, and therefore is well worthy of consideration at a future time.

There remains still another point which deserves attention; which is that at the intimation of the executory letters in the principal cause, the King might say that he is ready to obey the sentence, whilst Anne will protest that she cannot, and will not, obey it to her own prejudice, for she was never cited nor summoned, and that the King's refusal to appear and defend himself is no reason why she should be despoiled or deprived of her right without first being heard. And though she may be met with the answer that her marriage being notoriously null, the sentence attains her though unsummoned, yet she may still allege that the King never pleaded in his own defence, and that she herself was not summoned, and consequently demand to be heard. These and other specious reasons that might be alleged by the contrary party are well worthy the consideration of the Privy Council, for although every one of them can be victoriously answered, yet they may for some time and "de facto" impede the course of justice. For this reason the Imperial lawyers hesitate to say which of the two means is more expedient, to summon Anne or not to summon her. We earnestly beg for instructions on this point from the Privy Council. Should the Emperor decide in favour of the "summons" let his orders come as soon as possible, that it may be done and time gained. Our opinion is that Anne ought not to be summoned, and that we must go on urging for the determination of the principal case between Her Highness and the King, now that it is at such a favourable point, as appears from the memorandum taken by Rodrigo de Abalos (*sic*).

Indorsed: "Memorandum relating to the matrimonial cause of the Queen of England."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

---

* "Pero por ser la causa de la ynportancia ques, sy por citarla oviese algun impedimento, ó simylmente por no la aver citado, tomase por expediente que se consulte con la Cesarea Magestad, por que como son cosas eventuales sy abrá ympedimento ó no, se pueden perfectamente alcançar los fines, mayormente en cosas ymportantes, y consultado el caso con su Magd. se espera que se elijirá lo mejor."

1532.

— **1188.** JEAN DE LE SAUCH and EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

Arc. d. R$^{\text{me}}$. d. Belg. Pap. d'Et. *Neg. d'Ang.* vol. 1.

The following is the report of Doctor Eustace Chapuys* and myself (Jean de le Sauch) of our doings at the court of England in virtue of our charge, and in compliance with our joint instructions of the 31st October, of which a copy is annexed.

On the receipt of the said instructions and of letters of credence from Your Majesty addressed to the king of England, duke of Nortfort (Norfolk), and High Chancellor (Sir Thomas Audeley), which happened to be on the last day of October of this present year 1532, I, Jean de le Sauch, left your town of Brussels to begin my journey to England, and then continue my duty in the greatest haste possible; but, owing to variable weather and contrary winds, I could not embark at Calais for Dover before the 12th of November, having arrived in London on the 14th before dinner,† and alighted at the house of your ambassador, to whom I presented Your Majesty's letters [of credence]. When he had perused them, both of us passed the rest of the day examining the instructions whereof I was the bearer, addressed to us both, as well as the copies of the commercial treaties between Your Majesty and the king of England, of the years '15, '16, and '20, alluded to in them.

After due inspection of which documents and papers, the day after, being the 15th of November, both of us sent a message to the duke of Norfolk at Court, and to the King at Greenwich, to announce my arrival in town, begging him to inform the King thereof, and ascertain when it would be his pleasure that we both should repair to Court. Upon which the Duke sent us word that the King would see us next day.

On the 16th, therefore, Maistre Chapuys and I (Le Sauch) went to Greenwich, and called first on the duke [of Norfolk]; to whom I (De le Sauch) presented Your Majesty's letters of credence, whilst your ambassador shewed him a copy of Your Majesty's instructions minus the last article of them. The Duke said that he was going to the King's chamber, and would let us know at what hour he would receive us.

On his return from the King, which was some time before the dinner hour, the Duke came and said that, owing to a sudden catarrh and toothache which had seized him, the King could not receive us till after his dinner.

We both dined with the Duke, who afterwards went into the King's chamber again, came out very soon, and took us in. When we entered, the King was standing by a window.

---

* Though this despatch of Le Sauch reporting on his mission to England seems to be written in his own hand, and was no doubt inspected at the time by the Imperial ambassador himself, it is remarkable that the name of this latter should be written with two pp, thus (Chappuys), justifying my remark that of the three ways of writing his name Chapuis, Chapuys, and Chappuys, the latter is perhaps the more correct. See Introduction to Part I. of vol. iv., ***Int.***, p. vi.

† "Mais a cause de la diversite du temps et vent contraire, ne sçeuz prendre passaige de Callais a Douvers que ne fust le xii. de Novembre ensuivant, et le xiiii. avant le disner arrivay à Londres."

He received us very affably, and after asking news of Your Majesty, and where you were at my departure from Brussels, as likewise of the Queen, your sister, I (Le Sauch) replied to his questions and although my colleague and I saw plainly that it was no feigned indisposition,* but that he was really suffering at the time, he took Your Majesty's letter, which I (Le Sauch) put into his hands, read them, and said, "These, as you must know, are letters of credence in your favour. I am ready to listen to what you have to say." Upon which Your Majesty's resident ambassador (Eustace Chapuys) proceeded to state our common charge according to the letter of our instructions, though suppressing, as above stated, the last article of them.†

The King then replied, "That he was well aware, and indeed recollected the substance of the existing commercial treaties alluded to, which had long before been renewed, and were to be renewed every five years. Nevertheless, as he was not very sure of that, and did not trust entirely to his memory, he would give orders to his Privy Council to send for the said treaties, examine them carefully, and make a report, so that he might give us a speedy answer."

Upon which I (Le Sauch) begged and entreated the King to have the thing done as soon as possible that I might immediately return to Your Majesty with the answer. And he said that so he would, and that before many days had elapsed he would again send for us.

This took place on the following day. Saturday the 18th, the duke of Norfolk sent us word that the King would receive us next day at Greenewis (Greenwich). We went thither on the 19th, and arrived about 10 in the morning, being met at the outer gate (*à la porte de la Court*), by two gentlemen, one of whom was Robert de Wingfield, who conducted us to a great hall, which we found full of courtiers waiting for the King to pass through in order to go to mass, and who in the meantime entered into conversation with us.

The King came out of his apartments, followed by the High Chancellor, who had been expressly summoned to Greenwich that he might hear what we had to say. Addressing himself to us, the King said that he had issued orders for his Privy Council to meet whilst he was at mass, and listen to what we had to represent in virtue of our instructions; for as neither the Chancellor nor any other of the Privy Councillors had been present when we exhibited our credentials, and summarily exposed our charge, he wished us to repeat to them what we had previously said to him, that they might hear it, and form their judgment.

The King traversed the room, and went into the chapel accompanied by all of us. No sooner had he taken his seat

---

* "A quoy moi, de le Sauch, le satisffiz, et combien que parchevions (*sic* percevions?) bien que nestoit chose fainte quil (de quoi il) se plaindoit."

† "Au quel moy, de le Sauch, presentay les lettres de vostre maieste contenant credence que mon dit S^{r} vostre ambassadeur luy opposa [luy exposa, nostre charge] reservé le dernier article de nostre instruction."

1532.

than the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Wilshee (Wiltshire) took each of us by the arm, and conducted us to a room that had been prepared for the Council, and made us sit down, they themselves sitting according to their rank and precedence. The duke of Norfolk then addressed us, and said: "Messieurs the ambassadors, you have heard what the King said on his going to mass; please then explain your commission." Upon which Your Majesty's resident ambassador proceeded to repeat in Latin the very same words of his credence and instructions which he had formerly stated to the King. The members of the Privy Council there present were—

Monseigneur the duke of Nortfort (Norfolk):
Monseigneur the Chancellor (Sir Thomas Audeley):
Monseigneur the earl of Wilsheere (Wiltshire):
Monseigneur de Wincestre (Winchester):
Monseigneur the Treasurer of the Household Feu William (Fitz William):
Monseigneur the Comptroller of the Household, the sieur de Guilford:
Messire Robert de Wingfeld.

Our letters of credence having been delivered by Chapuys, the Chancellor himself translated them into English, and read to his colleagues. After debating the question in our very presence, without allowing us to go out of the room, or the councillors themselves retiring into a recess according to custom, the Chancellor proceeded to say, in the name of his colleagues, and in Latin, that the King, his master, and they themselves, wondered much in what our complaint had originated; for there was, he said, no cause whatever for it, thereby meaning that there was no necessity for delegates of both nations to meet, nor to fix a day for such meeting.

Your Majesty's resident ambassador then replied in Latin, and alleged several reasons to prove that it was more than necessary, nay indispensable, to hold a meeting for the purpose of correcting the abuses lately introduced in the intercourse of trade, of amending many things that were in bad order, and of interpreting matters conveniently for the benefit of both nations; otherwise (the ambassador said) matters would fall into confusion. He added that Your Majesty was very desirous of obviating this by fair and equitable means, if they (the councillors) would only agree and help thereto. All the reasons and allegations thus brought forward on both sides my colleague has carefully put down in writing, and keeps them by him, so that he may, if necessary, refer to them when wanted. In short, as it was getting late, and the King had already returned from mass, the assembly dissolved for that day without coming to a decision, except that the duke [of Norfolk] said he himself would go to the King and report.

After dinner the councillors went into the King's chamber, and after some time came out and approached the place where they had left us, close to one of the hall windows, where the Chancellor began to repeat the very same arguments he had brought forward before our sitting down to dinner; namely, that the King and all his Privy Councillors could not help feeling astonishment at our pursuit, for certainly if there were merchants who misused their privileges and acted contrary to the established treaties, whether in the bartering of wools or any other article—to whatever nationality they might belong, English or Flemish—amendment and correction could easily be made. After which he (the Chancellor) requested us to declare particularly the points and articles of which the proposed meeting was to treat, in order that the King, their master, might know what the English delegates were to go to Flanders for, and furnish them with proper powers. The meeting of delegates (said he) could not otherwise take place, for it was not to be supposed that the Privy Council or any other [in England] could possibly advise the King to send commissioners, and give them full powers to treat, without specifying the points or articles that were to be discussed.

The ambassador's reply to this was that his charge and mine was not to declare particularly the grounds of complaint our merchants might have, inasmuch as, should the meeting take place at all, it would most probably be held in some town of your own dominions, where your subjects, who so loudly complain of their losses, might be heard according to an article of the treaty of the year 1520; the wording of which is, "If any merchant or trader has cause for complaint, he will be heard at a convenient place." Since your own subjects were the plaintiffs in this case, it stood to reason that the conferences should be held in a town of your own dominions.

Here Monseigneur de Wincestre (Stephen Gardyner) interrupted, alleging several reasons of right, which were triumphantly refuted by the ambassador.* At last, after a very long debate, and much disputing between the said Bishop and Your Majesty's ambassador, the Duke [of Norfolk], wishing to put a stop to the arguments on both sides, said that the King, his master, was a just and reasonable prince, and had never refused his consent to things that were just and reasonable; that we, the Emperor's ambassadors, should not have occasion hereafter to say that he wished to escape from reason, now that it was in his hand to have matters fairly (*par voye amyable*) conducted. After that he asked us, "Should the King, my master, consent to the conferences taking place, when and where is it the Emperor's intention that they should be held?" Our reply was, that Your Majesty wished for the appointment to be made as soon as possible, even before next Christmas, and before your departure from Flanders to go to North Germany (*pour thirer en hault es Allemaingnes*), and that you wished very much to hear the result of the said conferences on business of such importance. With regard to the place of meeting, we, for the reasons explained in our credentials, designated the town of Bruges.

---

* "Sur ce fust respondu le pourpolz (pourpos?) par Mons^{r} de Wincestre, alleghant plusieurs raisons de droit, qui furent bien reboutez por mon dit S^{r} vostre ambassadeur."

One of the councillors then observed that the treaty of the year 1506, at which king Philip (whom may God forgive!) was present, and that of 1520 in the lifetime of Your Majesty, had both been signed at Ostend. We answered that they knew very well the cause of that, and begged them to be satisfied with our answer; and yet the Duke observed that king Philip, and all his train who had come over to England, had been as well received as any prince ever was. The same (he added) might be said of Your Imperial Majesty on the two occasions that you had landed on these shores.

Considering that all those who were there present knew as little of those old times, and perhaps less than ourselves, we answered them in the following words: "It was very true that king Philip witnessed the signature of the treaty to which they alluded, but they ought to have regard to the time and circumstances thereof. The same could not be said of Your Majesty, for the continuation of the treaty was agreed to by your ambassadors before your coming to this kingdom of England, and at the time that your interview with this king was planned. And that, since the truth must be told, they ought to know that king Philip would never have come to England in the manner he did, nor Your Majesty chosen to land here on your return to Spain, thus shewing the great trust placed in the King, your uncle [had you known wnat was to happen]. They might know and believe that there was no question of that nowadays; for, had such been the case, other measures might have been taken for the redress of the wrongs of which merchants complained."

These last words of ours seemed to touch the Duke to the quick; for he began to say, (*tout hors de pourpolz*), that the King, his master, had on many occasions acted like a kind friend towards Your Majesty, and helped you with money and men, for which money and favours he (the King) had not yet been repaid. Whereupon I (Le Sauch) said that the king of England had nowadays no claim whatsoever on Your Majesty, for I myself was present as one of your commissioners when all the obligations which the King held from you, and from many of your vassals, for sums of money advanced by him, had been taken up, the King having given his receipt and discharge in full, and declared that he had heen repaid all his advances. If the King (I said) was pleased to lend his money in another quarter, and was not repaid, that was no fault of Your Majesty's.*

At last the Duke agreed to the appointment of delegates. Then the question arose as to the time when, and place of meeting; they (the councillors) maintaining that it could not possibly take place before March;—alleging, among other reasons, that before Christmas it was entirely out of the question, for those whom the King intended to depute and appoint were at a great distance from London, and could not possibly be ready; besides which, they were members of Parliament,

---

* "Sy son plasir avoit este l'avoir preste a aultre, et il nen soit satisfait, que la coulpe nen est a vostre maieste."

1532.

and had gone, with the King's leave, to attend to their own private and most urgent affairs. The King, moreover, intended making use of those very members at this next Parliament, which he intends to summon immediately after the Epiphany. The persons to be appointed by the King were the bishop of Durham (Tunstall), Dr. Kenicht (William Knighte), and the Chancellor (Sir Thomas Audeley), owing principally to their having assisted in the making of other treaties.

Our answer was that the King had plenty of other members of Parliament on whom he could count, and who could easily go instead of the above-named; otherwise the fixing of so late a season for the meeting might look as a pretext for not holding it before Your Majesty's departure from the Low Countries. They replied that it could not be as we wished, for the King had already decided and sent his orders that it should be as they stated. We, however, insisted upon the necessity of having the meeting as soon after next Christmas as possible. But all our efforts were in vain; they would not agree to this, and proposed instead the 1st of March. In order to gain one step; and go on with the negociation, we consented.

Then came the question whether the town of Bruges, which we proposed, should be accepted or not. On this point there was a longer and warmer debate than there had been with regard to the day; for the councillors would nowise consent to the meeting being held elsewhere than in London or Calais, saying that the distance between those two towns is greater than that between this coast and the Netherlands, in addition to the more perilous navigation and crossing of the Channel, which ought to be taken into consideration.* Our reply was a fit one, and yet there was no chance of their coming to an agreement with us. They proposed that it should be in a neutral town, such as Ardres or Boulloingne (Boulogne), both belonging to the king of France, Your Majesty's brother-in-law. But we said that either of those towns might have been acceptable to us, as being unsuspicious to either of the parties, were it not that one of the articles in the treaty stipulated that the meeting should be held in a town convenient for Your Majesty's subjects;—which was not the case with Ardres or Boulogne. Their reply was that to send English deputies to a town within Your Majesty's dominions was equivalent in some measure to reducing the power and jurisdiction of their King. We said, "There is no question here of pronouncing sentences, or promulgating ordinances;† for there is no process; it is only a case of holding conferences in order to remove present difficulties, and prevent the arising of others. If that was intended as an evasion, Your Majesty (we said) had much better reasons not to accept

---

* "Disant que la distance de Londres au dit Callais est plus longhe que çelle de nostre coste, avecque le traveil et peril du passaige de la mer, a quoy lon devoit avoir regard."

† "Nestoit question de rendre aulcuns arrestz, sentences ny jugemens."

1532.

Calais, since the two last meetings had been held, one in that town and the other in London. For the very same reason the meeting could not be held in Your Majesty's dominions, for if the king of England did not consider himself bound to send his deputies to the towns of the Low Countries, no more were you obliged to send yours to England." Nevertheless, and in order to bring this affair to a conclusion, I, Le Sauch, went so far as to offer them that if they considered Bruges too far off, they might take Nyeuport (Neuport), and if that was again too distant, Dunquerke (Dunkerke). Had Gravelinghes (Gravelines) been a town fit for the reception of so many honourable gentlemen as are likely to attend the conferences on both sides, I should not have hesitated to propose it. Neither my colleague nor I had any difficulty in making this change, which we thought would have been accepted at once; but, strange to say, the councillors would not agree, and said that they were going in to the King and would return to us as soon as posible.

After nearly three hours they all returned, and the Duke said to us, "Messieurs, we have already acquainted you with the King's resolution, which seems to him and to us quite reasonable, and one not to be refused by you. Should it not be approved, you, Le Sauch, may return here on Tuesday to take leave of the King, for he intends leaving for Hanton Court (Hampton) on Wednesday." This we accepted, protesting, however, that we could not do more than act according to our instructions.

On Tuesday, the 21st of November, Chapuys and I returned to Greenwich, but not a word was spoken to us before dinner. When this was over, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Wilsheer (Wiltshire), Mons. de Vincestre (the bishop of Winchester), Feu William (Fitzwilliam), and De Guilfort caused all who were in the room to withdraw, and made us sit down. Then the Duke said, "We have spoken with the King, and told him our last resolution. He approves of the day that has been fixed, as well as of Calais for the place of meeting, and, in case of that not being accepted, Ardres or Boulogne. If you accept these terms, which appear to us reasonable enough, well and good; otherwise the meeting you propose shall not take place."

Our answer was that we could not accept them without outstripping the limits of our instructions. Upon which the Duke retorted, "I have no doubt that when the Emperor knows our terms he will accept them." Our reply was, "The Emperor, our master, will do as he pleases; but we should not be his faithful servants, and do our duty towards him, were we to exceed our commission, and thus place ourselves in the wrong. After which I, Le Sauch, added: "For my part, and as far as I myself am concerned, I shall be very glad to take leave of the King, and declare to him a few more articles of our joint instructions."

Upon which the Duke looked round as if consulting his

1532.

colleagues, and said, "How is it? have you anything more to add to what you have just said to us?" "Yes, we have," said I. "These are very strange ways of proceeding indeed retorted the Duke, and very different from what I expected, for it seems to me as if you had been waiting for an opportunity to catch me unawares." Perceiving, however, the Duke's displeasure, I said to him, "Monseigneur, I have nothing to say to the King which is likely to displease him."

The Duke then said, "If you, Le Sauch, choose to declare to us here what it is, there is not one among us who is not perfectly prepared to help thereto, provided the thing be according to reason." Upon which I explained to him as briefly as possible the contents of the last article of our joint instructions, which my colleague Chapuys had adroitly suppressed in the copy. Hearing which the Duke said, "Very well, the King will give you a fit answer; but I may perhaps in the meantime suggest to you an expedient which I have just thought of. Should you not accept it, you will be in the wrong, for I see no other way of reconciling our different opinions on that score. It is respecting the place of meeting. The King will accept Gravelinghes, provided, after two or three conferences in that town, as many will be held at Calais." Our answer was, that even that we, the Imperial ambassadors, had no power to accept; and that we thought the demand unreasonable, because the expedient would lead to much extra work on the part of the delegates or commissioners, and consequent loss of time.

This objection of ours the councillors met by saying, "Your delegates and ours will be most glad to quit Gravelinghes, a town where very little accommodation is to be found (*un mesgre lieu*), to come to another more pleasant and better provided (*pour venir en ung gras*), where they will be better entertained."

At last, perceiving that we could not agree, they all got up, and said they were going to the King to ascertain whether he could see us or not. Soon after, the above-mentioned duke of Norfolk and the earl of Wiltshire returned, and conducted us both to the King's presence, who, as before, was standing by one of the windows in his chamber. After the usual salutation he addressed us in the following words: "Messieurs, I have been apprized of all the arguments and reasons you have made use of to my Privy Councillors respecting the charge which you, Le Sauch, have brought to this country. In order to shew you how willing I and my councillors are to act justly, and proceed *par voie amyable* in this affair, a most reasonable offer has been made to you, which you have refused to accept." Upon which Your Majesty's ambassador (Chapuys) retorted, "Had it been in our power, we would certainly have accepted without much difficulty, but we could not exceed our instructions. Yet, that our non-acceptance of the terms proposed may not be the cause of a rupture, we will submit

1532.

the case to the Emperor, our master, and wait until his pleasure be known. My colleague, Le Sauch, [will go back to Flanders, and from there inform the Emperor that he may let me (Chapuys) know his wishes."

After which words pronounced by the Imperial resident ambassador, I, Le Sauch, added: "Although nothing has been settled on this point, I consider it my duty to say that there is an article in our joint reserved instructions, the substance of which is, "Were you to meet with any difficulty touching the acceptation of the meeting itself, or the places proposed for it, you, the ambassadors, are instructed to signify to the King or to his ministers, that by the letter of the treaty of the year XX, and by the subsequent one [of 15 . .] His Imperial Majesty bound himself to the observance of the rules therein prescribed for the intercourse of trade only for the term of five years, which term has already expired; and that, should the appointment of delegates and place of meeting not be made, the Emperor will consider himself entitled equitably, and according to the letter of the said treaty, as well as by duty bound towards his subjects, to advise, counsel, and take such measures as may seem most convenient and advantageous for himself and his said subjects, although in all such matters the ways of peace are always preferable."

To this the King replied, "I myself have no desire that this affair should be treated otherwise than by ways of peace. That such was my purpose I have shewn by making what seem to me most reasonable offers. I should like all the princes and crowned heads in the world to hear my reasons I have no doubt they would all say that I am in the right."

He then asked us, "How or by what means does your Emperor assume to settle this affair?" Our answer was, "Sire, as equity and reason demand, and as our Imperial master and his Privy Council shall advise for the best." "Should he act against the letter of the treaties," retorted the King, "I shall consider that he has infringed them, and according as he may act I shall shape my conduct towards him."

Our answer was that he (the King) would never find Your Majesty in fault with regard to treaties, nor inclined to dea towards him and his subjects save with love and affection, if only an opportunity were given to you; and we ended by entreating him, that, for the sake of that love and affection, which he said he professed to Your Majesty, he should bear in mind that the two last conferences held on the subject of the said commercial treaties had been one in London, the other in Calais, and that in order to proceed on equal terms he ought to agree to Gravelinghes, or any other town in the Low Countries.

I reminded him that the sieur de Rosinboz and I (Le Sauch) had been two years previously charged by Madame [Margaret] to solicit and bring about the very same meeting

1532.

which was now proposed, but that nothing had been settled, and the whole affair lagged, to the great prejudice of Your Majesty's subjects.

"With regard to the first point," said the King, "though it be true that the two last conferences on mercantile affairs took place respectively at London and Calais, it is also true that it was not at my solicitation. Respecting the second, I recollect very well that the sieur de Rosinboz said something to me and to my Privy Council about it; but that ambassador was not sent expressly on such a commission, but merely for the ratification of the treaty of Cambray, which was a special and separate treaty, whereas the other was but an incident. As to the third point, it would be necessary to hear also the complaints of our merchants, if they have any to make."

Our answer was, "We hope they have none; and the truth of the matter is, that English merchants are better and more favourably treated in the Low Countries than our own are in England."

"I do not wonder at it," retorted the King, "for your countrymen cannot do without English goods." "Sire," I observed, "I am unwilling to dispute or debate with you, but had one of my equals made such an assertion in my presence I could easily shew him that the contrary is the case."

"Well, then, we shall see. But I have cause to complain of you, and declare that you do not observe treaties, for although it is stipulated in them that if a criminal (*malfacteur*) run away from one country to the other, and his extradition be asked, the criminal ought to be given up, yet this has not been done with regard to certain subjects of mine infected by Lutheranism and printers of [heretical] books, who are now quietly residing at Antwerp, though they have been often claimed by me; and yet not only has not my demand been complied with, but the said criminals are allowed to remain in the town of Antwerp without punishment. Therefore, it is no wonder if the English living in the Low Countries do not complain of bad treatment. I myself have acted differently towards certain Frenchmen who were found in this my kingdom to be infected with the said heresy, and whom king Francis desired me to send over to him, for I actually had them seized and transported to France."

Chapuys replied that the existing treaties did not impose upon Your Majesty or him (the King) the obligation of surrendering people of that class and condition, only criminals of all sorts, excepting those charged with the crime of lese Majesty divine, and heretics against Faith, the correction or punishment of which crimes appertained to those who held them in their power. In proof whereof Chapuys went on alleging many reasons contained in books of Common Law, whilst the King maintained the contrary. Then I, Le Sauch, said, "Sire, if we have done so, we have only followed your example." "How is that?" replied the King; I will tell you, said I, "only

1532.

a few years ago it happened that a Spaniard of Antwerp, having conceived great enmity against another Spaniard, paid some men of bad character (*maulvais garnemens*) to have him assassinated, which they deliberately did in plain day-light, at the hour of noon, at the spot called la Waghe.* And the Spaniard, knowing very well the day and hour in which the assassination was to take place, had a boat prepared at a certain place of the river,† and, when he heard of it, escaped and went to Calais, where he was some time walking the streets and markets. Which fact coming to the ears of the Lady Margaret (whom may God forgive!) she wrote to your officers at Calais to have the Spaniard arrested and sent to the frontier of Flanders, according to the treaties; but the authorities at Calais would nowise comply with Madame's request, saying they would report to you. Whether they have done so or not, is more than I can say, but all I know is that the Spaniard was allowed to go elsewhere, and nothing more was heard of him."‡ The King excused himself by saying that he had not heard of the case before, and that if he only had known who were the officers of Calais at the time this happened, and it had been proved that they had really misbehaved themselves, he would certainly have punished them. After which begging me, Le Sauch, to present to Your Imperial Majesty and to the queen [of Hungary] his kindest and most affectionate regards, he cordially shook hands with me, and bade me adieu.§

Such is, Sire, the summary but true account of our doings in fulfilment of our joint commission. We beg Your Majesty to approve and sanction what has hitherto been done, take resolution on the whole, and instruct your resident ambassador here as to what he is to do and say in future. And should this king's proposition as to the place and time of the meeting be accepted, be pleased to appoint the commissioners who are to go to Gravelinghes or elsewhere as representatives of the merchants of the Low Countries, that there may be sufficient time to acquaint this king with your resolution, and be prepared with all treaties, or copies of them, as also with ample memoirs and instructions from Your Imperial Majesty and your own subjects in the Low Countries and elsewhere, that they, and especially those who have already complained of losses sustained in their trade, may be informed of the day and place of meeting, and keep themselves in readiness to attend or send thither deputies to represent them, and state in their name the causes and reasons of their complaints. Also that the deputies themselves may be informed of the time and hour of the meeting, that they may be amply and well prepared for their task.—Done in London, the . . . December,

---

* Sur la waghe, que lon dit le poix (poids?).

† "Apposta un *botquen* sur la riviere a ecrtain endroit."

‡ "Mais cependant luy feirent voye, et n'en a lon e ılt (*sic*) aultre chose.'

§ Me baillant la main pour l'adieu.'

1532.

aº XXXII., being the report of Maistre Eustasse (*sic*) Chappuys, ambassador [in ordinary] to the king of England, and of me [Jean de Le Sauch], on the . . . of December aº XXXII.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

— **1189.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to the COMMISSARIES at Bourbourg.

Arch.Gen. de Belg. Pap. d'Etat; Neg. d'Ang. Vol. 1, p. 49.

Instructions to the Commissaries of what they will have to propose and assert on behalf of the most Sacred and Imperial Majesty, the Duke of Brabant, count of Flanders, of Holland, &c., at the conferences to be held with the English deputies in the town of Bourbourg.

They will present the letters of credence, which the queen dowager of Hungary, the Emperor's sister, at this time regent and governess for him in these Low Countries, will cause to be delivered to them. The commissioners will inspect the powers and mandate brought by the English deputies, and, if required, exhibit also their own. They will set forth, in virtue of their credentials: that much dispute and contention has lately arisen between the subjects of His Imperial Majesty in these Low Countries and those of the king of England, uncle of the said Imperial Majesty, respecting the intercourse of trade, right of "tonlieu,"* and mutual traffic (*hantise*) of their subjects respectively.

To provide for which, in some measure, various temporary agreements and conventions have from time to time been concluded, confirmed, and ratified between the said Majesty (the Emperor) and the king of England and their predecessors.

That more recently His Imperial Majesty, after his coronation and journey to Italy, being in these Low Countries, many and various were the complaints addressed to him by the merchants of the said Low Countries, his subjects, representing the great loss and irreparable damage they had sustained in former times, and have now to sustain, in the intercourse of trade.

That His Imperial Majesty, having listened to and fully comprehended the nature of such complaints made by his subjects, has, by the advice and after fresh deliberation of the princes of his blood, knights of the Order [of the Golden Fleece], members of his Councils,† and others, caused the said treaties to be carefully examined, and a report made of the use and abuse of commercial intercourse, as prescribed in the said treaties, as well as of his own "droit de tonlieu" in Zeeland and Brabant, besides an estimation of the damage which his subjects have to sustain on that account.

That His Majesty, having been duly informed on the above-mentioned points, as well as on the ruin and destruction

---

* Tax paid on the stalls or places in markets for the sale of goods.

† "Par grand advis et neuve deliberation des princes de son sang, des chevaliers de l'ordre, et gens de ses consaulx."

1532.

apparently threatening his Flemish subjects, on the injury to his own rights, royal authority and pre-eminences, has found after the whole matter was duly considered and examined by the said princes of the blood, knights of the Order, councillors and others, that he can no longer disregard the expressions of his subjects, and that, for honour's sake and the preservation of Imperial authority, he is bound to provide for the said wants and against the apparent ruin of his vassals, as well as for the general welfare of the inhabitants of these Low Countries.

That although His Imperial Majesty might easily of his own authority, as an independent prince not acknowledging a superior, have obviated, by means of statutes, edicts, ordinances, interdictions, and prohibitions, the apparent ruin of his subjects in these Low Countries, and on the contrary fostered and increased, by means of good commercial treaties, the mutual communication and traffic (*hantise*) in his dominions,* both here and in Spain, that one nation may help the other in wools, and in the negotiation and barter of articles of first necessity, as His Majesty is bound to do:

Yet, before attempting any of the aforesaid ways and means that might seem fit for the purpose, His Majesty has been pleased to warn the king of England, his uncle and cousin, thereof, that he may, through the good fellowship, the mutual "hantise," intercourse, friendship, and confederation which have always existed between their two Majesties, their predecessors, and their respective subjects, and which should be preserved throughout all ages, take measures that equality and good order be established on both sides, so that the said abuses may be corrected, the sale and interchange of merchandize regulated, and traffic (*hantise*) be entirely free for the subjects of both nations, without the merchants of one country being subjected to the payment of taxes, and other undue treatment (*et indues manieres de faire*).

For these reasons His Imperial Majesty requested the said King to be pleased to send here his commissioners and deputies to remove the above-mentioned difficulties and conciliate interests; the said king having acquiesced and fixed a time for his deputies to be at the town of Bourbourg, that is, on the 1st of March next.

There will also be present the above-named commissioners appointed to that effect by His Majesty in order to remonstrate against the oppression above complained of, and against any other charges which those of our merchants going thither may bring forward or which may result from the inquiries made, or from the papers which shall be put into their hands; and after hearing the answer of the English deputies, they will proceed in conciliatory terms and with mutual understanding to establish the bases of a fresh treaty of commerce that may supply the deficiencies of the former.

---

* "Mesmement par bons accords, traictez, mutuelle hantise, conversacion et requentacion de ses pays."

Which neither the king of England nor his deputies can refuse, inasmuch as in the last treaty of commerce of the year 1520 it is positively stated and declared that the intercourse of trade determined by it shall cease as soon as another new treaty be made, or a certain pretended one of the year 1506 be confirmed and ratified.

The aforesaid [Imperial] commissioners shall also declare to the English ambassadors or deputies that His Majesty cannot possibly confirm the said pretended treaty, for many reasons:—

Firstly, because the treaty was never accepted as one of commerce and intercourse, was never considered as such, and remained totally unobserved:

Secondly, that even if the said treaty of the year 1506 had been accepted and in use, it would by subsequent treaties have been annulled and practically abandoned:

Thirdly, that even if it had had any appearance of validity, that would have ceased in consequence of the decease of king Don Philip of Castille, of very glorious memory, and Henry [VII.] of England:

And finally, because, whatever may be said to the contrary, the pretended treaty, which was no treaty at all, was never confirmed and ratified by the said two princes, as it had been agreed and arranged between them.

Even supposing the said treaty of 1506 to be valid, which it is not, it could by denunciations, and through the non-observance of certain rules and solemnities therein specified, be completely or in part annulled, and its clauses replaced by statutes and edicts.

The better to induce the King or his deputies to make a fresh treaty, the Imperial commissioners will shew that the English themselves have observed none of the articles contained in former ones regulating the intercourse of trade.

For, in the first place, whereas it was established that the merchants of these Low Countries could sell their own goods in England, and purchase those they might want, by merely paying the amount of toll, which they had been in the habit of paying for the last 50 years after the date of the treaty of 1495, to which all subsequent treaties refer:

The old right of "tonlieu" consisting in three deniers on each pound weight, now, through fresh taxes, imposed as subsidy, "stannage," right of conquest, and others, the merchant of the Low Countries has to pay 23 grossen for each pound weight, according to the estimation which the clerks of the "tonlieu" make at pleasure, without having regard to the value of the goods, which in reality is only worth about a ninth part of the charge.*

Secondly, the merchant of these parts is obliged to make his purchases in England, owing to his inability to acquit them in specie, for if he does he must pay similar taxes,† so much so that for one pound weight he has to pay about one fifth.

---

* "Sans aucunement avoir regard à la valeur que revient environ le 9^{me}."

† "A cause que lon ne peult vuyder argent, et pour la quelle vuyder il fault aussy payer semblables impotz."

1532.

Besides, the same merchant cannot buy or barter merchandize in the city of London, except from another merchant who happens to be a denizen (*franc bourgeois*) of that city; and if our men take provisions or articles of food thither they are obliged to sell them at the price which the Lord Mayor of the City chooses to fix, and be contented that the money he has to receive as price of his merchandize pass through the hands of one of the Lord Mayor's officers, who keeps it in his possession until the whole of the goods is disposed of. And, moreover, if our merchants happen to have their goods in a Flemish vessel, they are not allowed to unload them in London, as they were wont to do in old times, but must transfer them to English ships, for which they are bound to pay heavy duties which are quite unnecessary.

Besides, the English impose double duties for the registering of herrings, salt-fish,[*] and other similar articles, which duties have been established since the publication of the last commercial treaty, in addition to many more imposed during the last seven or eight years.

The Emperor, on the contrary, as count of Holland and Zeeland, is entitled to demand, as right of "tonlieu" in the latter country, 5 °/₀ on all goods, which 5 °/₀ by the treaty concluded with the said king of England he has since reduced to 1 °/₀; besides which, he has since been in possession of a right, which he has used, of one florin of gold for each piece of cloth.[†]

And yet at present, for each bale of cloth coming from England, reckoned at three "carstes" the piece, if unladen in Zeeland or at Berghes, only one "patart" is levied for duty, and if unladen elsewhere than in Brabant, only one "gross," which constitutes a very tangible difference from what is practised in England respecting our merchandize.

Moreover, by the treaty of commerce and its modification in 1522, it was expressly agreed that the duty on the wools of the Calais Staple and of the "veaures" should in future be reduced by one gross sterling on each "sarpelière,"[‡] and yet the English have contravened this stipulation, and continued to ask the same price for them, so much so that the King now levies on the said wools very heavy taxes, namely, on each "sarpelière" 44 or 45 caroli of gold, whether the wool be of the first or second quality, so that the clothiers of the Low Countries cannot possibly use them for the manufacture of cloth.

In the purchase of the said wools so many tricks (*tromperies*) are practised that very often the merchant, who buys to import and sell in this country, is obliged to lose three or

---

[*] "Pour marquer harens, tonneaulx de scepe, et autres semblable denrees."

[†] "A remis a ung pour cent, et apres a este en possession et use de prendre ung florin dor pour drap."

[‡] "Fust expressement convenu quon ravalleroit les vieses (*sic*) laines de l'estaple de Calais, et les veaures (*sic*) à lavenant pour chascune serpelyère dune livre de gros sterlink : les anglois y contravenant," &c.

1532.

four pounds of "gross" sterling on each "sarpelière" as indemnity for damage to the purchaser, the deficiency being caused by their not being able to inspect the said wools at pleasure, nor be present when they are re-packed.

Besides the griefs above-mentioned, there is another of which our merchants complain, which is, that although the English cannot make statutes and ordinances for the purchase of merchandize in these Low Countries, yet it is notorious that in contravention of the said treaty they have made one forbidding any of their own merchants, who frequent the fairs of Berghes, to attend those held at Anvers, and purchase merchandize thereat.

The Commissioners are to take particular care to mention other abuses and contraventions likely to interfere with the claims of our merchants, and will visit to that end all and each of the trades or guilds by means of the papers they have already, or may receive hereafter, that they may act and negotiate according to what the merchants who will go to Bourbourg may have to tell them.

And, for the causes and reasons above stated, they will absolutely insist on entering into communication with the English deputies so as to reform the said commercial treaty or make a new one.

In accomplishing the above the Commissioners will take care that order be put in the excessive duties imposed in England as "droit de tonlieu," so as to equalize those that our merchants will have to pay in that country with those that the English pay in Flanders, &c., excepting perhaps that of three "grossen" for each pound, the same as the Oisterlins (Easterlings), the people of Couloigne (Kohl), Dinan (Dinant), and other towns of the Hanze (*Hansetowns*), without being subjected* to the rights of subsidy, scannage, and other imposts.

The Commissioners will see that free access and complete liberty be granted to our merchants to land their goods anywhere in England, sell and barter the same to whomsoever they may please, without being further subject to the payment of taxes, dues, &c., or obliged to transship their merchandize.

They will also see that the "tonlieu" and anchorage duties belonging to the Emperor be increased and augmented proportionately so as to equal those of England.

And they will also take care that the export duties on the wools be diminished, as well as the price thereof, so as to fairly meet all interests.

Generally speaking, they will contrive that both the price of wool and the export duties be so reduced, and the English manufactured cloths so heavily taxed, either in England or by "tonlieu" duties in this country, that our merchants may be able to sell their own cheaper, or at least as cheap as the English.

---

* "Que les subjects de par deça puissent passer en payant telz et semblables, drois que les Anglois payent es pays de par deça, du moings l'ancien droit de tonlieu du Roy, quest trois gros pour la livre de gros (*sic*), ainsi que payent les Oisterlins," &c.

1532.

The Commissioners will likewise pay attention to the manners and ways of dealing of the English in these Low Countries, as well as to the statutes, penalties, and corrections which they themselves have established in selling their goods.

And, should the English complain of the statutes and ordinances forbidding the importation in these countries of their woollen goods, they are to be told in answer that the towns of Flanders and the Low Countries have the power of making such statutes and ordinances for their common weal (*pour leur pollice*), and the Emperor are in the habit of doing so without informing His Imperial Majesty thereof; and that in order to keep his subjects contented has found the means of preparing this meeting that the English may not be too ambitious (*interessez*), and his own subjects may get what belongs to them by right.

On each of the above points, or others which may perchance offer some difficulty, the Commissioners are requested, whenever the negotiations begin, and the matter requires it, to write to the Queen Governess that she may immediately consult the Emperor, and ascertain his pleasure.

Done and transacted by the above-mentioned queen dowager [of Hungary], and governess of the Low Countries, in the Imperial Council of State.

Signed: "Marie." Par ordonnance: "Marnix."

Instructions for the Commissioners at the meeting of Bourbourg.

French. Original. pp. 10.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1531.			
Jan. 1	584	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	1–4
2	585	The President of Valladolid to the same	4
3	586	The Emperor to his sister Mary, widow of the King of Hungary.	4–6
6	587	The Emperor's answer to the proposals of the Most Christian King.	6
10	588	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	7–17
"	589	The Same to the High Commander	11
"	590	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	11–7
11	591	Muxetula to the Same	17
12	592	The Empress Isabella to the Same	17
"	593	Muxetula to the Same	18
"	594	The Same to the Same	18–9
13	595	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	20–1
"	596	The Same to the Same	21–2
"	597	The Emperor to his brother, King Ferdinand	22
"	598	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	22–8
16	599	Muxetula to the Same	29
19	600	Miçer Mai to the Empress Isabella	29–30
20	601	The Same to the Archbishop of Santiago	30–1
21	602	The Abbott of Llor to the Empress	31
22	603	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	32
"	604	The Same to the Same	32–3
"	605	The Same to the High Commander	33
23	606	The Same to the Same	33–4
"	607	The Same to the Same	34
"	608	Muxetula to the Emperor	35
"	609	The Same to the Same	35–6
"	610	Pope Clement to the Same	36–7
"	611	Muxetula to the High Commander	37
"	612	The Same to the Emperor	37–8
"	613	Miçer Mai to the Same	38
"	614	The Same to the Same	38
"	615	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	38–41
28	616	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress Isabella	41–2
"	617	The Emperor to the Empress	42
29	618	Dr. Escoriaza to the Same	42–3
31	619	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	43–5
"	620	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	46
"	621	The Same to the Same	46
"	622	Muxetula to the Same	46–7
"	623	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	47
Feb. 1	624	The Same to the Empress	47
6	625	Clement VII. to the Emperor	48
9	626	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	48–9
10	627	Muxetula to the Same	49–50

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1531.			
Feb. 10	628	Muxetula to the Emperor - - - - -	50–2
"	629	The Same to the Same - - - - - -	52
13	630	Miçer Mai to the Same - - - - -	52–5
"	631	The Same to the High Commander - - - -	55–6
—	632	The conditions under which His Holiness consents to the convocation of the Council.	56
"	633	Miçer Mai to the Emperor - - - -	56–7
"	634	The Same to the High Commander - - - -	57–61
14	635	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor - - - -	61–4
16	636	Miçer Mai to the Same - - - - - -	64
"	637	Cardinal Loaysa to the High Commander - -	65
"	638	The Emperor to Dr. Ortiz - - - - -	65–6
"	639	Miçer Mai to the High Commander - - -	66–8
18	640	Muxetula to the Emperor - - - - -	69
21	641	Eustace Chapuys to the Same - - - -	69–75
"	642	The Abbot of Llor to the High Commander - - -	75–6
26	643	Miçer Mai to the Same - - - - - -	76–7
"	644	The Same to the Same - - - - - -	77
27	645	Muxetula to the Emperor - - - - -	78
Mar. 1	646	Eustace Chapuys to the Same - - - -	78–81
2	647	The King of Portugal [João III]. to the Emperor - -	81
8	648	Eustace Chapuys to the Same - - - -	82–3
9	649	Dr. Carvijal. De Vero matrimonio Regum Angliæ -	83
10	650	The Emperor to the Empress - - - -	83
"	651	The Same to the Same - - - - - - -	83–4
"	652	Martin de Salinas to the King of Bohemia and Hungary -	84–5
"	653	Miçer Mai to the Emperor - - - - -	85–7
12	654	The Same and Dr. Ortiz to the Archbishop of Santiago -	87–8
"	655	The Cardinal of Ravenna to the Emperor - - -	88
"	656	Dr. Garay to the Same - - - - - -	88–9
13	657	Miçer Mai to the High Commander - - - -	89–90
"	658	Muxetula to the Emperor - - - - -	90
16	659	Dr. Ortiz to the Same - - - - - - -	90–1
17	660	Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor - - - -	91–2
—	661	Francisco de los Covos to Miçer Mai - - -	92–3
20	662	Secret Consistory of Cardinals - - - -	93
21	663	Dr. Ortiz and Miçer Mai to the Archbishop of Santiago -	93–4
22	664	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor - - - -	94–101
23	665	Miçer Mai to the Same - - - - -	101–3
27	666	King Ferdinand of Hungary to the Emperor - - -	103–4
28	667	Miçer Mai to the High Commander - - - -	105–6
"	668	Muxetula to the Emperor - - - - -	106
"	669	Miçer Mai to the Same - - - - -	106–7
29	670	The Same to Secretary Covos - - - - -	107–8
"	671	The Same to the Emperor - - - - -	108
"	672	The Same to Secretary Covos - - - - -	108
"	673	Miçer Mai to the Same - - - - -	108–9
Apr. 2	674	The Emperor to the Cardinal of Ravenna - - -	109
"	675	The Same to Miçer Mai - - - - -	109
4	676	The Answer made to the Legate's Memorandum - -	109–10
"	677	The Emperor to his Ambassador in France - - -	110
"	678	Miçer Mai to the High Commander - - - -	110–1
5	679	The Same to the Same - - - - -	111
—	680	The Admiral of Castille to the Emperor - - -	111–2

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1531.			
Apr. 7	681	Queen Katharine to the Emperor	112–3
—	682	The Emperor to Antonio de Leyva	113
11	683	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	113–4
—	684	Consulta of the Council respecting the Scottish affair	115
,,	685	Miçer Mai and Dr. Ortiz to the Archbishop of Santiago [Tavera].	115–6
,,	686	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	116–8
13	687	Muxetula to the Emperor	118
14	688	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	118–20
,,	689	The Same to the High Commander	120–1
,,	690	The Same to the Same	121–2
,,	691	King Ferdinand to the Emperor	122
—	692	The Memorandum which the Legate put into the Emperor's hands at Brussels.	123
,,	693	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	123–4
—	694	The President of the Council of Castille to the Same	124
,,	695	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	126
19	696	King Ferdinand to the Emperor	126–7
21	697	Miçer Mai to the Same	127–8
,,	698	The Same to the High Commander	128–9
,,	699	The Same to the Same	129–30
,,	700	The Same to the Emperor	130–3
22	701	King Ferdinand to the Same	133–4
23	702	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	134–6
24	703	Muxetula to the Same	136–7
,,	704	The Same to the Same	137–8
,,	705	Miçer Mai to Secretary Covos	138–9
,,	706	The Same to the High Commander	139
,,	707	Muxetula to the Emperor	139–40
,,	708	The Same to the Same	140
27	709	King Ferdinand to the Emperor	140–5
30	710	The Archbishop of Toledo to the Same	145–6
May 2	711	The Emperor to King Ferdinand	146
3	712	Instrumentum publicum super homagio Ducis Alexandri de Medicis pro Florencia.	146–7
,,	713	The Signory of Florence to the Emperor	147
,,	714	Rodrigo Niño to the Same	147–9
,,	715	Muxetula to the Emperor	149
9	716	Martin de Salinas to King Ferdinand	150
,,	717	The Same to the High Commander of Leon	150
12	718	Miçer Mai to the Same	150–1
,,	719	Muxetula to the Same	151–2
14	720	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	152–4
,,	721	The Same to the Same	155–6
,,	722	King Ferdinand to the Same	157
15	723	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	158
16	724	Muxetula to the High Commander	158–9
19	725	Clement VII. to the Emperor	159
20	726	Muxetula to the Same	159–60
,,	727	The Cardinal of Ravenna to the Same	160
21	728	The Archbishop of Toledo to the Same	160–1
23	729	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress	161–2
24	730	The Same to the Emperor	162–3
25	731	Miçer Mai to the Same	163

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

Date	No.	——	Page.
1531.			
May 25	732	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	163–5
26	733	The Same to the High Commander	165–6
31	734	Muxetula to the Emperor	166
"	735	Pietro Paolo Parisio to the Same	166–7
"	736	Don Pablo Torrellas to the Same	167
June 2	737	Don Rafael de Como to the Same	168
4	738	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	169
6	739	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	169–78
8	740	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress	178
9	741	Muxetula to the Emperor	178–9
"	742	Miçer Mai to the Same	179–80
"	743	Muxetula to the Same	181–4
10	744	Miçer Mai to the Same	184
"	745	The Same to the High Commander	184–6
"	746	The Same to the Same	186–9
12–17	747	The Same to the Emperor	190
23	748	The Same to the High Commander	190–1
24	749	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	192–3
"	750	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	193–4
"	751	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	194–6
"	752	The Emperor to Gutierre Lopez de Padilla	196–7
"	753	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	197–201
29	754*	Advices from the Swiss Catholic Cantons and from the Lutherans.	201–202
—	755	News of the Lutherans	202–3
July —	756	An answer to the Papal Legate respecting the cause of England	203–4
2	757	The Signory of Florence to the Emperor	204
3	758	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	204–5
"	759	Cardinal d'Osma to the Emperor	205–6
"	760	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	206–7
6	761	Muxetula to the Emperor	207–8
"	762	Proclamation at Florence	208–9
8	763	De Scalengues to the Emperor	209
"	764	The Same to the High Commander	210
17	765	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	211–4
19	766	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	214–6
"	767	The Same to the Empress Isabella	217
26	768	The Emperor's answer to the Papal Legate	218–9
"	769	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	218–9
"	770	The Same to the High Commander	219–20
"	771	Pope Clement VII. to the Emperor	220
28	772	Queen Katharine to the Same	220–1
30	773	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	221–2
31	774	The Same to the Same	222
"	775	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	222–7
"	776	The Emperor to the Empress	227
Aug. 2	777	François Bonvalot to the Emperor	227
19	778	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	228–30
22	779	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	230–1
23	780	Muxetula to the Same	231–2
31	781	Miçer Mai to the Same	232–3
Sept. 1	782	Francisco de los Covos to Miçer Mai	233–4

---

* Numbered 755 by mistake.

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1531.			
Sept. 1	783	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	234–5
„	784	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	235–6
„	785	The Same to the Same	236
4	786	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	236–7
9	787	The Abbot of Llor to Secretary Covos	237–9
10	788	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	239–40
12	789	Miçer Mai to the Same	240–1
„	790	The Same to the High Commander	241–3
„	791	Muxetula to the Emperor	243
12–27	792	Miçer Mai to the Same	243
20	793	The Emperor to Gutierre Lopez de Padilla	246
23	794	The Abbot of Llor to Covos	246
„	795	The Same to the Archbishop of Santiago	247
26	796	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	248
27	797	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	249
„	798	The Same to the Same	249–50
29	799	The Same to the Emperor	249–50
—	800	The Conditions under which Pope Clement VII. consents to the convocation of a General Council, and the answer made by the Emperor.	251
Oct. 1	801	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	252–3
„	802	The Same to the Same	253–8
2	803	Gio. Ant. Muxetula to the Same	258–9
8	804	The Answer given to the Memorials of the Papal Nuncio, and the Letters from Naples.	259–60
9	805	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	260–1
12	806	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress Isabella	262–3
15	807	The Emperor to the Same	263
16	808	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	263–6
18	809	The Emperor to the Empress	266
22	810	The Same to Mai	266–7
24	811	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	267
„	812	The Same to Eustace Chapuys	267–8
„	813	The Same to the Emperor	269
„	814	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	269–73
„	815	Cardinal d'Osma to the Same	274
„	816	Gio. Ant. Muxetula to the Same	274–6
„	817	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	276–7
Nov. 4	818	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	277
6	819	Queen Katharine to the Same	279–80
„	820	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress and to her Council in Spain	281
„	821	The Same to the Emperor	281
7	822	The Same to the Same	282
„	823	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	282–3
„	824	Benedict degli Accolti, Cardinal of Ravenna, to the Emperor	283
10	825	Cardinal d'Osma to the Same	283–4
„	826	The Same to the Same	284
„	827	The Same to the Same	284–5
„	828	The Same to the High Commander	285–6
11	829	News from Constantinople	286–7
14	830	Muxetula to the Emperor	287
20	831	News of the Turk and of the Lutherans sent from Germany	287–8
„	832	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	288–91
22	833	Queen Katharine to Eustace Chapuys	291–2
23	834	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	292

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1531.			
Oct. 24	835	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress Isabella	292–3
25	836	The Same to the Emperor	293–4
„	837	The Emperor to Prothonotary Marino Caracciolo	294
„	838	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	294–6
Nov. 25	839	Martin de Salinas to King Ferdinand	296–7
28	840	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor (?)	297–8
30	841	Miçer Mai to the Same	298–302
„	842	The Same to the Same	302–3
„	843	The Same to the Same	303–4
„	844	Muxetula to the Same	304–5
„	845	The Same to the Same	305–6
„	846	The Emperor to the Pope	306–8
„	847	The Council of War in Spain to the Emperor	308
„	848	Memoranda on the matter of the Swiss cantons given by the Papal Legate at Brussels.	308–14
„	849	The Pope to the Emperor	314
„	850	Muxetula to the Same	314–5
„	851	The Same to the Same	315–6
Dec. 4	852	Cardinal d'Osma to the Same	317–20
„	853	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	320–3
10	854	Rodrigo Niño to the Same	323–6
„	855	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	326
„	856	The Same to the Empress	326–7
12	857	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	327–9
„	858	Muxetula to the Same	329–30
13	859	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	330–1
15	860	Queen Katharine to the Emperor	331–2
20	861	Miçer Mai to the Same	332–4
„	862	Cardinal Ravenna to the Same	335
21	863	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress	335–6
„	864	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	336
„	865	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	337–8
22	866	The Same to the High Commander of Leon	338–9
23	867	Cardinal d'Osma to Secretary Covos	339–40
„	868	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	340
„	869	Muxetula to the Same	340–1
27	870	Bernardus de Llauro: Super matrimonio Angliæ, et illus validitate inventa veritas.	342
30	871	Gio. Ant. Muxetula to the Emperor	342–3
„	872	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	343–4
„	873	The Same to the Empress	344–5
„	874	The Same to the Same	345
„	875	News from Poland	346–7
„	876	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	347–8
31	877	Queen Katharine to the Same	348
„	878	Sir Gregory Casale to Prothonotary Casale	348–51
—	879	The Emperor's debt to the Count Palatine	351
1532.			
Jan. 4	880	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	352–5
10	881	Dr. Garay to the Same	355–6
„	882	The Marquis del Vasto to the Same	356
11	883	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	356–60
15	884	Miçer Mai to the Same	360
16	885	Dr. Ortiz's allegation in favour of the marriage	363
21	886	Francisco de los Covos to the Empress	363

Date.	No.	———	Page.
1532.			
Jan. 22	887	Dr. Ortiz to Secretary Covos	363–6
,,	888	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	366–8
24	889	Gio. Ant. Muxetula to the Same	368–9
,,	890	The Same to the Empress	369
25	891	The Emperor to Dr. Ortiz	369
,,	892	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	370–1
,,	893	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	371–5
26	894	Muxetula to the Same	375–6
28	895	The Emperor to the Cardinal of Ravenna	376
,	896	The Same to Dr. Ortiz	376
30	897	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	376–9
Feb. 5	898	The Same to the Same	379
14	899	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	382–4
15	900	Cardinal d'Osma to the Same	385–6
16	901	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	386
,,	902	The Same to the Same	386–7
20	903	Giovan Antonio Muxetula	387–8
26	904	The Emperor to Cardinal d'Osma, his confessor	388–9
,,	905	Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor	389
28	906	King Henry to the Pope	390
27	907	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	390–1
28	908	King Henry to Pope Clement	392
,,	909	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	392–4
,,	910	The Council of State to the Same	394–7
—	911	Advices from Flanders, Germany, and Italy	398–9
,,	912	Additional Articles [presented by the English excusator]	399
29	913	Cardinal d'Osma to the High Commander	399–403
Mar. 3	914	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress	403–4
6	915	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	404–6
7	916	Cardinal Loaysa to the Same	406
12	917	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	406–7
,,	918	Muxetula to the Same	407
14	919	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress	408
16	920	Muxetula to the Emperor	408
—	921	Miçer Mai to Secretary Covos (?)	408–10
20	922	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	410–12
22	923	The Emperor to Cardinal d'Osma	413
23	924	Lope Hurtado to the Emperor	413–4
—	925	Miçer Mai to the High Commander of Leon	414–5
26	926	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	416
28	927	The Emperor to Cardinal Loaysa	418
Apr. 10	928	Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor	418–22
11	929	Clement VII. to the Same	422
13	930	The Cardinal of Siguença (Loaysa) to the Same	422
14	931	Queen Katharine to Dr. Ortiz at Rome	422–3
16	932	Cardinal de Siguença to the High Commander	423
,,	933	The Same to the Emperor	423–4
,,	934	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	424–5
,,	935	Muxetula to the Same	429
17	936	Eustace Chapuys to Dr. Ortiz	430
19	937	Muxetula to the Emperor	430
,,	938	Miçer Mai to the Same	430–1
21	939	Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza], Imperial ambassador in Rome, to the Empress.	431

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1532.			
Apr. 23	940	The Emperor to Mai	431–2
29	941	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	432
,,	942	The Same to the Empress	432–3
,,	943	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	433
30	944	Muxetula to the Same	433–5
,,	945	Miçer Mai to the Same	435–6
,,	946	The Same to the High Commander	436–8
May —	947	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	438–9
2	948	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	440–1
8	949	Dr. Ortiz to the High Commander	441–2
9	950	Miçer Mai to the Same	442–4
15	951	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	444–5
22	952	The Same to the Same	447–9
—	953	Dr. Escoriaza to the Empress	449
31	954	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	450–1
June 1	955	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	452
2	956	The Emperor to Dr. Ortiz	452–3
5	957	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	453–4
7	958	Rodrigo Niño to the Same	454–7
16	959	The Same to the Same	457–9
,,	960	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	459–61
,,	961	The Same to the Empress	461–2
21	962	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	462–6
22	963	Miçer Mai and Giovan Antonio Muxetula to the Same	466
,,	964	Miçer Mai to the Same	466–9
,,	965	The Same to the High Commander	469–70
25	966	The Emperor to Cardinal Colonna	471
—	967	Helwighen's Report concerning the man of Louvain	471–4
28	968	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	474–8
July 5	969	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	478–9
9	970	The Same to the Empress	479
,,	971	Cardinal Siguenza to the High Commander	479–80
,,	972	Eustace Chapuys to Mons. de Granvelle	480–2
11	973	Clement VII. to the Emperor	482
19	974	Cardinal de Siguença to the High Commander	482–3
,,	975	Lope Hurtado to the Emperor	483–4
24	976	Cardinal de Siguença to the Same	484
27	977	Giovan Aloysio Aragona to the Same	484–5
28	978	Dr. Ortiz to the Same	485
,,	979	The Same to the Same	485
29	980	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	487–9
,,	981	Miçer Miguel Mai to the Same	489–91
Aug. 9	982	The Emperor to the Empress	491–2
21	983	Memorandum respecting the Swiss cantons	492
,,	984	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	492–4
,,	985	The Same to the High Commander	494
26	986	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	494–7
—	987	Memorandum of Thomas Cranmer, ambassador of England	497–8
—	988	Dr. Ortiz to the High Commander	498–9
Sept. 1	989	The Same to the Empress	499–500
2	990	The Same to the High Commander	500–1
4	991	Miçer Mai to the Same	501–4
,,	992	The Same to the Same	504–6
5	993	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	506–10

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1532.			
Sept. 13	994	Queen Katharine to her Nephew, the Emperor	510–11
15	995	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	511–4
17	996	Dr. Ortiz to the High Commander	514–5
18	997	The Same to the Emperor	515–6
22	998	Jean Hannart to the Same	516–8
23	999	Rodrigo Niño to the Same	518–21
„	1000	Dr. Ortiz to the High Commander of Leon	521–22
30	1001	Divorce	522
„	1002	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress	522–3
Oct. 1	1003	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	523–30
9	1004	Miçer Miguel Mai to Francisco de los Covos	530–1
„	1005	Cardinal Siguença to the Same	531
12	1006	The High Commander of Alcantara to the Emperor	532
13	1007	Captain Lekinghen and Commander Leguiçamo to the High Commander.	532–3
14	1008	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	533–6
15	1009	Don Pedro de la Cueva to Francisco de los Covos	536–7
16	1010	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	537
„	1011	The Same to the High Commander	537
20–1	1012	Cardinal Siguenza to the Emperor	538–40
22	1013	Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici to the Same	540–1
31	1014	Don Pedro de la Cueva to the High Commander	541–3
„	1015	The Same to the Emperor	543
„	1016	Muxetula to the Same	543–4
„	1017	The Same to the Same	544
„	1018	Cardinal Santa Croce to the Same	544
„	1019	Cardinal Mendoza to the High Commander	545
„	1020	Ascanio Colonna to the Same	545
„	1021	The High Commander of Alcantara [Don Pedro de la Cueva] to the Emperor.	545
Nov. 6	1022	Queen Katharine to Covos	545–6
„	1023	Hannart to the Emperor	546
10	1024	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	548–51
„	1025	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	551–3
„	1026	Eustace Chapuys to the High Commander	553
11	1027	Queen Katharine to the Emperor	553–4
12	1028	Captain Thouard to Mr. d'Yve	554
21	1029	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	555–6
26	1030	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	556–61
29	1031	Miçer Miguel Mai to the Same	561–3
Dec. 10	1032	Cardinal de Siguença to the High Commander	563–5
16	1033	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	565–9
19	1034	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	569–70
„	1035	The Same to the Same	570–1
24	1036	Rodrigo Niño to the Same	572–4
—	1037	Lope Hurtado, Imperial ambassador in Portugal, to the Same	574–5
—	1038	Granvelle to the Same	575
—	1039	Deliberations of the Emperor's Privy Council	575–6
—	1040	The High Commander Covos to the Emperor	576
1533.			
Jan. 3	1041	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	576–9
19	1042	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress	579–80
27–29	1043	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	580–7
Feb. 7	1044	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress	587–8

Date	No.	——	Page.
1533.			
Feb. —	1045	Report from Rome on the Matrimonial cause of England	588–9
—	1046	The Emperor to the Empress	590–2
9	1047	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	592–600
13	1048	The Same to the Same	600–3
19	1049	Rodrigo Niño to the Same	604–5
22	1050	Dr. Ortiz to the Empress	605
„	1051	The Same to the Same	606–7
„	1052*	The Emperor to the Empress Isabella	607–8
23	1053	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	608–10
Mar. 7	1054	Miçer Mai to the High Commander	611–13
8	1055	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	613–8
15	1056	The Same to the Same	618–24
31	1057	The Same to the Same	625–8
Apr. 10	1058	The Same to the Same	628
21	1059	Count Cifuentes to the Same	633–4
„	1060	Cardinal Palma to the High Commander	635
15	1061	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	635–45
27	1062	The Same to the Same	646–8
„	1063	The Same to the Same	648–50
—	1064	The points to be considered in the Matrimonial cause	650–6
—	1065	Opinion of a Privy Councillor on the Matrimonial cause	656–8
May 3	1066	Dr. Ortiz to the High Commander	658–9
„	1067	The Same to the Emperor	659
7	1068	The Cardinal of Jaen to the High Commander	660–1
„	1069	The Count of Cifuentes to the Emperor	661–3
„	1070	The Same to the High Commander	663–4
10	1071	The Same to the Emperor	664–6
„	1072	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	666–76
18	1073	The Same to the Same	676–83
21	1074	The Cardinal of Jaen [Merino] to the High Commander	683–5
22	1075	The Same to the Emperor	683–7
26	1076	Eustace Chapuys to Same	687–90
29	1077	The Same to the Same	691–700
„	1078	Count of Cifuentes to the Same	701–3
June 14	1079	The Cardinal of Jaen to the Same	703–4
16	1080	The Same to the Same	704
„	1081	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	704–6
„	1082	Count de Cifuentes to the Same	706–8
„	1083	Rodrigo Davalos to the Same	708–9
„	1084	The Cardinal of Jaen to the Same	709–10
17	1085	Count de Cifuentes to the Same	710–3
20	1086	Martin de Salinas to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia	713
„	1087	The Same to Secretary Castillejo	713–4
24	1088	Rodrigo Davalos to the Emperor	715–717
„	1089	The Same to the High Commander of Leon	717
28	1090	Andrea Doria, Prince of Malfi, to the Emperor	717–8
„	1091	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	718–25
30	1092	Rodrigo Davalos to the High Commander of Leon	725–7
July 2	1093	The Cardinal of Jaen to the Same	727
4	1094	The Emperor to John Frederic, Duke Elector of Saxony	728
5	1095	Rodrigo Davalos to the Emperor	728–30
„	1096	The Same to the High Commander of Leon	731–3
„	1097	The Count of Cifuentes to the Emperor	733–6

---

* Wrongly placed, as the date is 1 March, and the following (No. 1053) is of the 23rd February.

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1533.			
July 8	1098	Rodrigo Davalos to the High Commander of Leon	736
„	1099	Count of Cifuentes to the Emperor	736–7
11	1100	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	737–41
16	1101	Count Cifuentes to the Same	741–2
17	1102	Pope Clement to the Same	743–4
„	1103	Count Cifuentes to the Same	744
„	1104	The Cardinal of Jaen to the Same	745–7
„	1105	The Same to the High Commander	747–8
18	1106	Count Cifuentes to the Emperor	748–9
30	1107	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	749–57
Aug. 3	1108	The Same to the Same	757–62
5	1109	Count de Cifuentes to the Same	762–5
„	1110	The Same to the High Commander	765–6
„	1111	The Same to the Emperor	766–7
„	1112	The Same to the Same	767–8
14	1113	The Same to the Same	768–9
„	1114	The Same to the Emperor	770–1
„	1115	The Same to the Same	771
18	1116	The Cardinal of Jaen to the Emperor	772–3
23	1117	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	773–8
27	1118	Martin de Salinas to King Ferdinand	778–9
„	1119	The Same to Secretary Castillejo	779–80
29	1120	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	780–1
„	1121	Jean de la Sauch to Madame Margaret	781–4
Sept. —	1122	The Emperor to Count Cifuentes	784–5
3	1123	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	785–9
10	1124	The Same to the Same	789–90
12	1125	Martin de Salinas to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary.	790–1
„	1126	The Same to Secretary Castillejo	791
7–15	1127	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	792–800
17	1128	Count de Cifuentes to the Same	800–2
„	1129	The Same to the High Commander	803–8
27	1130	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	809–15
28	1131	Count de Cifuentes to the Same	815–6
Oct. 5	1132	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	816–9
10	1133	The Same to the Same	819–23
12	1134	Martin de Salinas to Christoval de Castillejo	823–4
„	1135	The Same to King Ferdinand	824–5
14	1136	Count de Cifuentes to the Emperor	825–29
16	1137	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	829–30
22	1138	The Papal Nuncio to the Same	830–2
„	1139	Opinion of a Councillor on the Memorandum of the Papal Nuncio.	832–3
—	1140	Another opinion on the same Memorandum	833–4
„	1141	Martin de Salinas to King Ferdinand	834
„	1142	The Same to Secretary Castillejo	834–5
24	1143	Count de Cifuentes to the Emperor	835–9
Nov. 3	1144	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	839–43
5	1145	Katharine, Queen of England, to the Same	843–4
6	1146	Martin de Salinas to King Ferdinand	844
„	1147	Count de Cifuentes to the Emperor	844–52
9	1148	The Same to the Same	852–4
12	1149	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	854–7

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1533.			
Nov. 13	1150	Martin de Salinas to King Ferdinand	858
„	1151	The Same to Secretary Castillejo	858
19	1152	The Governor of Marano to the Emperor	858–9
20	1153	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	859–64
24	1154	The Same to the Same	864–8
Dec. 4	1155	The Same to the High Commander	868–9
4	1156	Lope de Soria to the Emperor	869–70
6	1157	Eustace Chapuys to the Same	870–5
9	1158	The Same to the Same	875–9
12	1159	Count de Cifuentes to the Same	879–80
16	1160	The Emperor to Prothonotary Caracciolo	880–1
„	1161	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	881–6
17	1162	The Emperor's instructions to Captain Aponte	886
19	1163	Count Cifuentes to the High Commander	886–8
23	1164	Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	889–95
27	1165	The Same to the Same	895
„	1166	Martin de Salinas to King Ferdinand	903–5
29	1167	The Same to the Same	905
30	1168	The Same to the Same	905–6

SUPPLEMENT.

Date.	No.	——	Page.
1531.			
25	1169	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	907
May „	1170	The Same to the Same	908
26	1171	The Same to the High Commander	907–8
July 21	1172	The Emperor to his brother, the King of Bohemia and Hungary.	908–9
26	1173	Miçer Mai to the Emperor	909
„	1174	The Same to the Same	912
Aug. 22	1175	Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor	912–13
31	1176	News from Rome	913
Oct. 31	1177	The Emperor's instructions to Jehan de la Sauch	914
1532.			
Mar. 1	1178	The Emperor to the Empress	916–7
May 4	1179	Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, Imperial ambassador in Portugal	917
Oct. 16	1180	Don Pedro de la Cueva to the High Commander	917–8
—	1181	The High Commander [of Leon], Covos, to the Emperor	919
—	1182	The Same to the Same	919
—	1183	The Same to the Same	919–20
—	1184	Instructions to Master Jehan de la Sauch, secretary in ordinary to the Emperor, &c.	921
—	1185	The Cardinal of Jean (Merino) to the High Commander	921–3
—	1186	Advices from England	923
—	1187	Memorandum of the Imperial Lawyers at Rome respecting the Matrimonial Cause.	923–5
—	1188	Jean de la Sauch and Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor	926–37
—	1189	The Emperor's Instructions to the Commissaries at Bourbourg.	937–42

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 1. In the second note at the foot of the page allusion is made to Jerome Selade, Bishop of Vaison, the Pope's "Maestro di Casa," and Nuncio to the Emperor in Spain. Selade, however, is a mistake for *Sclède*, as has been shown in the Introduction to Part I. pp. xxvii. That he was bishop of Vaison, in the department of Vaucluse (France), from 1523 to 1533, appears from the *Gallia Christiana*, as well as from Gams, *Series episcoporum totius orbis Christiani.*

p. 8. Note. "para que se que quejaven de ello" is a misprint for "para que se *quejasen* de ello."

p. 9, line 7 of paragraph 2. (*queriendose atravar comigo*), read "queriendose trabar," or "atreverse comigo."

p. 11. Benedetto degli Accolti, commonly called Cardinal Ancona, wrote—among other works, one entitled: *De bello a Christianis contra Barbaros gesto pro Christi sepulchro, et Judea recuperanda, lib. iv.*; but as it was printed for the first time at Venice in 1532, some other of his (Accolti's) works must be meant.

p. 23. "Fortunately, the Bishop, who is also Cardinal of that place (that is, Sienna)," &c. Thus in the original at Simancas, to which a more modern hand adds, "Picolomini;" but the suggestion is erroneous, for at this time Bandini (Francesco) was Archbishop and Cardinal of Siena.

p. 34, line 12. "Don Pedro de Cardoba," read *Cordoba.*

p. 39. Third paragraph: "after consulting the Cardinal," that is, the Cardinal Archbishop of Palermo (Jean de Carondelet,) at this time president of the Council of the Low Countries.

p. 46. As stated elsewhere (*Int.* to *Part* I, p. xxvii.) the protest of the Lutheran Princes under No. 20 is wrongly dated Nüremberg, the 27th of May 1529. There is evidently error. The document itself was drawn up at Spires on the 19th of April, and made public, firstly by the Landgrave of Hesse, Philip, on the 5th of May, and afterwards by the Elector of Saxony (John Frederic) on the 13th, immediately after their departure from the Diet, and return to their respective estates. Only by supposing the Simancas copy, which is in a contemporary hand, to have been addressed to the Emperor from Nüremberg, can the discrepancy be reconciled.

As to the Instructions (No. 21) addressed by King Ferdinand to Diego Lasso de Castilla and Buonacursio di Grino, also dated Nüremberg, 27 May 1529, I need scarcely observe that they are misplaced in Bergenroth's volume, the seventh of his Collection of Papers from Simancas, No. 71. The diet there alluded to was not held until 1539; besides which, Diego Lasso de Castilla, the father of Pedro, who in 1554 came to England as ambassador of the King of the Romans, Ferdinand, on the occasion of the marriage of his nephew, Philip II. of Spain, to Queen Mary of England, was never ambassador at Rome.

p. 47. No. 21. Line 2 of second paragraph, read, "not to be charged," or "that they may not be charged, &c." The correction, however, is of no importance, since the despatch itself, as above stated, is evidently misplaced.

p. 48. Again the names of the German princes who signed the protest of Spires are incorrectly given in Mai's despatch (No. 23). Count Hanalt can only be Wolfang, prince of Anhalt; but it is not easy to determine whom he means by "two young men sons of the Mieburch (?), both dukes of Saxony." There were at this time two dukes of Saxony, John and George. The former was a son of Frederic III.; the latter, who ruled from 1500 to 1539, acknowledged Albert John Frederic of the Ernestine branch as his father. In 1532 the latter was deprived of his estate by Charles V., and replaced by Mauritius of the Albertine branch.

p. 49, last paragraph. Of the feud between the Peppoli and the Ramazotti, two noble families of Bologna, some account is given by the historians of that town.

p. 51. Fernandez's letter to the Emperor (No. 24), and the rest of the following and preceding papers relative to his Irish mission, have been abstracted by Mr. Froude in his *History of England*, vol. ii. In the second line of note ‡ at the bottom of the page, "esté" is a misprint for *está*.

p. 73. "The Papal Legate in France (Salviati) writes that King Francis gave an uncourteous answer to the Venetian Ambassador, &c. This last could no longer be Gasparo Rosso, for he left the court of France in 1528, being succeeded in that charge by Marino Giustiniano.

p. 74, lines 6 and 7. "Pietro [Paolo] Martin." Thus in the transcript from Simancas, but I suspect that "Martyr" is the true reading. If so, his family name was *Vermilio*, a Florentine preacher, born in 1500, who about this time was residing at Padua in the Augustinian convent of that city. He afterwards became one of the principal champions of the Reformation, and died at Zurich in 1562.

p. 82. In the second paragraph, line 6, "Highness" is a misprint for "Holiness."

p. 83. Mai's despatch of the 15th June (No. 42) is a duplicate, with some trifling additions, of the preceding one dated Rome, the 13th.

p. 89. Margaret's letter to the Earl of Surrey (No. 43) in credence of Eustace Chapuys is wrongly addressed. Thomas Howard was no longer

Earl of Surrey, but *Duke of Norfolk*, having succeeded his father, the second Duke, in 1524. He was, however, already Marshal of England, and it is no doubt in that capacity that the letter was addressed to him.

p. 100. The name of Christoval de Castillejo, Ferdinand's Spanish secretary, has been misprinted *Castellejo.* Lower down *Rokendolf* ought to be changed into Roghendorf or Roggendorf, his real name, the change of r into l, and vice versâ, being too frequent among Spanish writers of this time to deserve notice. Again, instead of the *Diet,* which could be no other that of Esslinghen, "assembly or meeting" must be meant, *reichstat* or *reichs regiment* being probably the word which Salinas translated into "regimiento," which means municipal corporation.

p. 102, first line of Note * "es lo que él [mismo] escribe."

p. 105. "That Mons. d'Humière's application." This Mons. d'Humière's is no other than Jean Brinon, seigneur de Villaines d'Humières in the dep. of Ille-et-Vilaine, president of the Regent's (Louise) Council, also of that of Rouen in Normandy, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Alençon, about whom see *Vol.* III. *Part* II. of the present Calendar.

p. 108, line 5 of the second paragraph. "I intend taking with me this good old knight of Mons. de Montmorency, together with his son, the Grand Master." The Grand Master of France and Lord High Steward of Francis was at this time Anne de Montmorency. His father Guillaume, who in 1525 was one of the signatories of the treaty of Madrid between Charles and the Regent Louise de Savoie, was still living when the peace of Cambray was made, for he is stated to have died on the 24th of May 1531.

p. 109. In the first line of the second paragraph (No. 52) Carlo, the duke of Savoy, has erroneously been designated as II. instead of III. of his name.

p. 113. I find nowhere recorded in history that Frederigo Gonzaga, marquis, afterwards duke of Mantua, applied to Charles for the hand of one of his sisters. There were only two of them living at the time: *Catalina* (Katharine) married to the King of Portugal, Dom João III., and *Maria,* widow of Lewis, King of Hungary, killed at Mohatz in 1526. As to Isabella, who was the eldest of Joanna's daughters, born in 1501, and married to Christiern II. King of Denmark, she had died in 1528. Therefore, if the proposal was formally made, it must have been for the hand of Maria, then living under Ferdinand's care, and who in 1531, after the death of Margaret, became Governess of Flanders and the Low Countries.

p.117, note †. *Vasione* and *Selade* are misprints for "Vassone" and "Sclède." See *Int.* to *Part* I. p. XXVII.

p. 124. In the letter of the Bishop of Trent (Bernardo Clesi) to Andrea del Burgo, Ferdinand's ambassador in Rome, mention is made of two individuals residing in that city, one called *Il Signor Turmiano,* the other "El (Il) Capeo. Castellatto." I was at a loss how to interpret the contraction *Capeo.*, but have since discovered that it is used for *Cap[itan]eo*, and find that there really was at this time a captain or governor of Trent named "Castelalto," not Castellazzo nor Castellatto, as in the text.

p. 126, line 2. *dat* 10 *de Zenaro 1525*, read "dal 10 de Zenaro."

p. 127, No. 78, lines 9, 10. "from one de Good, who remained in the College Hall after the other senators." I have no doubt that "de Good" in this passage is a conventional word in cipher to designate one of the Venetian senators, otherwise I cannot guess who he may be.

p. 128. The count of Ortenburg, in Bavaria, mentioned in Salinas' despatch No. 81, was either Fernando Pedro de Salamanca, or his brother Gonzalo, denominated "El Magnifico," both of whom left Spain in the suite of Ferdinand, and became respectively his ambassadors at Rome and Venice. See *Vol.* III. *Part* II. of this Calendar, pp. 116, 628, 794, 832, 935.

p. 134, No. 84. *Barrosa* in line 6 is a misprint for "Barroso."

p. 144, line 26. "*his* orders to the Prince;" read *your*, since the sentence begins with "Your Majesty." This is not the only instance of the pronoun not concording with the person named. It is an oversight of mine, I confess, but the change from the first to the third person occurs so frequently in these abstracts that it is not to be wondered if *his* and *your* have been at times inadvertently misapplied. In the present instance, however, there can be no doubt as to the sense which is conveyed.

p. 149. The name of the Cardinal, writer of the letter under No. 90, though spelt "Palmeri," both in the copy and in the abstract made by Bergenroth (Vol. VIII. of his "Collection of Papers" now in the British Museum), was "Palmieri." He was bishop of Accerenza and Matera from the 15th of August 1530 to 1531.

p. 152. The archbishop of Syracosa here named was Lodovico II. Platamone, who held that see from 1518 to 1541.

p. 153 "Cardinal Cesarino and the abbacy of Monte Aragon." The abbey of Monte Aragon, near Huesca, was once bestowed by Charles on Cardinal Alessandro Cesarino; but in course of time, and upon a remonstrance of the Cortes of Monçon, maintaining that the Emperor had no right to give it to a foreigner, the abbey, one of the richest in Spain, was conferred upon D. Alonso de Castro.

Ibid. In the same page (153) the first line of the third paragraph ought to be "The Pope since his return [to Rome] has been very ill and suffering."

p. 154. "Along with the English lawyer," &c. This can be no other than Dr. Stephen Gardiner, whose arrival at Rome about this time has already been recorded. As to the Italian Silvestro Dario, auditor of the Rota, and who in 1523 appears as Papal sub-collector in England, he was in 1528 sent on a mission to Spain by Cardinal Wolsey.

p. 164, line 9. "Rovero" is a misprint for "Rovere."

p. 165. The first line of the second paragraph ought to read thus: "The Traietto affair.—Bauri (Waury) gone to be married to a daughter of the late Marco Antonio Colonna;" the subjects being two different and distinct ones. The Traietto affair, to which reference has already been made at page 160 of this volume, was no doubt the lawsuit then pending both at Rome and in Naples between the Colonna and the Gonzaga, who disputed the possession of that duchy. As to Mr. de Waury, or Bauri, Baberi, &c., as he is mentioned in these pages, his full name was Francis de Rupt "sieur de Waury in Flanders." He was attached to Bourbon, after whose death he took service with the Emperor, chiefly in Italy. He married a daughter of Marco Antonio Colonna, in whose right he claimed the duchy of Traietto, formerly belonging to Vespasiano Colonna, the son of Prospero.

p. 170. "The Pope, upon his being advised of the Emperor's landing at Savona," &c. Charles's landing was not at Savona, but at Villafranca di Nizza on the 5th of August. He went to Savona by land, and thence to Genoa.

p. 174. The letter under No. 118, said to be from Chapuys to the same (the Emperor), is from that ambassador to Margaret, the Governess of the Low Countries. Chapuys was still at Brussels previous to his journey to London, where he arrived on the 29th of August. For the same reason, at line 31 of the ensuing page, "these" ought to be turned into "those."

p. 176. In the third paragraph, beginning with the words, "A man has lately come from Florence," Mai makes a statement which is in complete contradiction with what is known of the feelings of the Florentines; yet it is so worded as to admit of no other construction. I should say, however, that the negative is wanting in the passage, and that the last line ought to be read thus: "that his (the Emperor's) wishes are [not] to re-establish there [in Florence] the rule of the Medici." Ignorant as the Florentines may have been then of the stipulations of the secret treaty made at Barcelona in July 1529, previous to Charles's journey to Italy, they might have thought that the latter would have been contented with a good sum of money or war contribution, as the penalty for their having joined the Italian league against him, and not insisted upon their returning unconditionally under the sway of the Medici, which, as will be seen hereafter, was the chief obstacle to the negociations with the Prince of Orange.

p. 177. No. 120. The Emperor's letter to Katharine in credence of Eustace Chapuys must have been written at Barcelona in July. As it is only a minute, and the date is blank,—as indeed most of those existing at Simancas,—I conclude that the despatch was made out some time before the Emperor sailed for Genoa the 27th of July 1529.

p. 178. The last line of paragraph 3d ought to be read as follows: "All these considerations have moved us to try and detach Florence from the enemy, and win her over to your Majesty's side."

p. 183. The Memorandum under No. 123 was probably addressed to Mai. In the note referring to it there are two or three errata. The name of the Count of Miranda is Don Francisco de Zuñiga y Avellaneda. Salinas' name is wrongly printed *Salina.* And again in the following note relating to the Emperor's letter to the Pope (No. 124) "nuo genero et figliulo" is for *nro genero et figliulo,*—that is, our son-in-law, and son, meaning Alessando de' Medici, to whom Margaret, the Emperor's daughter, had already been promised in marriage.

p. 184, last line but one. In the presence of the Constable of Castille or of his brother the marquis de Berlanga, Don Iñigo Fernandez de Velasco, *second* duke of Frias, and *seventh* High Constable of Castille, having died at Madrid on the 17th of September 1528, was succeeded by his son, others say nephew, Don Pedro, the 3rd Duke, who to the family name *Fernandez de Velasco* added that of *Tovar* from his mother Dª. Maria de Tovar. He died without succession at Madrid on the 12th of November 1559, and was succeeded by his nephew, Don Iñigo, then Marquis de Berlanga, who died at Valladolid on the 22nd of July 1585. See Salazar de Mendoza, *Origen de las dignidades de Castilla,* Madrid, 1657, pp. 131–3.

p. 186, No 128*. George duke of Hesse. There was no such duke, and yet Spanish writers of this time made *Sassa* (Saxa or Saxony) a synonym for Hassa (Hassia or Hesse), thus confounding George duke of *Saxony* with Philip landgrave of *Hesse. See* Calendar, Int. to *Vol.* III. *Part* II.

p. 192, line 16. "*hasto dubio*" read "harto dubio,"

p. 193. line 50. "And when the Bishop heard of it;" that is, Gabriel de Grammont, bishop of Tarbes, in Gascony, French ambassador in Rome, and created cardinal by Clement in June 1530. As to Malatesta, whose secretary is said to have fallen into the hands of the Imperialists, he must not be confounded with another of the same name, who was lord of Rimini. The former, who held Perugia, was a Baglione, whereas the latter belonged to the family of the Malatesti, lords of Rimini, Cesenna and Pesaro. Sigismondo Malatesta, son of Pandolfo, lost and regained Rimini several times during the pontificates of Leo X., Adrian VI., and Clement VII., until he was finally dispossessed in 1528. He died in exile at Reggio, leaving of Julia or Giulia Pico della Mirandola, whom he had married, two sons, Roberto and Hercole.

As to Malatesta Baglione, lord of Perugia, frequent mention will be made hereafter of him, and of his kinsman Baccio.

p. 194. "Canal of Aragon, and the Emperor's petition to the Pope about it." This canal was first projected in 1528 by Charles V. in order to connect the Mediterranean with the Atlantic; a grand idea, certainly, but one which was never carried into execution. Only 8 leagues of it were cut by 1546, and then the affair was dropped, and languished until 1770, when one Ramon Piñateli, or Pignatelli, advanced it a few more leagues, thus connecting Zaragoza with Tudela. For the expropriation of church lands in so vast an enterprise Clement's permission was needed, that being the reason why the canal of Aragon, or *Acequia Imperial,* as it is generally called, is so frequently alluded to in these pages. I need not add that Acequia is a word derived from the Arabic *sekia,* with the article *As-sekia,* meaning an "irrigating canal," a more modest appellation certainly, and more fitting its original navigation purpose.

p. 195, par. 2. "Alarcon writes from Naples and so does the Prince," &c. Add "from the camp before Florence," for though the latter had not yet invested, he was preparing to attack, that city.

p. 196, line 9 of the second paragraph. "Four days ago he (Campeggio) went to visit the Cardinal," &c. Wolsey was then at Esher in Surrey. The place in the neighbourhood whither Campeggio intended going to visit King Henry must be Hampton Court.

p. 197. No. 138. The writer of this letter addressed to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary, cannot be Count *Bernardo,* but Count *Leonardo* Nogarolo, or Noguerol, the same individual mentioned at pp. 34, 168–9 of this Calendar as having been the bearer of despatches from King Ferdinand to the Emperor. He must have been either the brother or the son of another Count Nogarolo, whose death is recorded in a letter of Lope de Soria to the Emperor, dated Genoa, 17 July 1527. "Count Nogarolo (he says) is dead at Naples." He was one of the members of the Council of the Sumaria in that kingdom, and his name was Girolamo, not Leonardo as stated in *Vol.* III. *Part* II. of the present Calendar. Again, on the 19th of August of the same year, Martin de Salinas reports to the Archduke Ferdinand that one Count *Noguerol* had arrived at Valladolid in Spain, together with the Muscovite Ambassadors, and had been received by the Emperor on St. Peter's Day, the 29th of June. The same individual, described elsewhere as one of the Emperor's chamberlains, is said to have left Toledo for Vienna on a return mission from Charles to his brother Ferdinand, and on the 6th of September 1529 to have been sent to Bologna about the time of the Emperor's coronation.

The "Nogaroli," says an Italian genealogist, were originally French, from a place in the county of Armagnac (Gascony), called Noguerolles. They settled in Italy, and principally at Verona, as early as the time of Charlemagne. Sansovino (*Origine e fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia,* Venecia, 1670, 4to,) has a chapter on the "Signori Nogaroli" (pp. 231–42), wherein he mentions one *Leonardo,* third of his name, and son of Hieronimo or *Girolamo,* one of Maximilian's secretaries,—a fact which is likewise recorded in the *Historia di Verona* by Lodovico Moscardo, 1668, 4to.

p. 199. The Venetian ambassador mentioned in the second paragraph was, no doubt, Marco Antonio Venier, whose despatches from December 1530 have been abstracted by Rawdon Brown in his *Venetian Calendar, &c.*, vol. v.

p. 201. In the third paragraph a statement is made concerning the Florentines, which I did not think worth refuting at the time, but which I find can easily be reconciled by the mere addition of one letter, an *s*, to the verb "casar,"—thus, *cassar*,—which after all is not Spanish but French. It is there said that the Florentines had given a wife to Ercole d'Este (the son of Alfonso, duke of Ferrara), and that, in consequence of that, they had given the command of a "condotta" or body of troops to Stefano Colonna, the lord of Prenestina (Prænestæ), or Palestrina, as that town in the Roman States is otherwise called. Now, as it is quite notorious that the people of Florence had nothing to do with the marriage of Ercole d'Este to Renée, countess of Chartres, daughter of Louis XII. king of France, in 1527, there must be error somewhere. The verb *casaron*, from "casar," means certainly "they married him;" but if one *s* be added,—thus *cassaron*,—it comes from *casser* in French, which has quite a different meaning. And as Miçer Mai, himself a Catalonian, was not very particular about the language of his despatches, hence the error in which I inadvertently fell at the time, and which I take this opportunity of correcting. The passage, therefore, must be read as follows: "As they (the Florentines) have cashiered Ercole d'Este, and got rid of him in that way, they have now given a "condotta" and the command in chief of their troops to Stefano Colonna, the lord of Prenestina."

p. 204, beginning of the first paragraph. "Towards securing the proposed marriage." One of the conditions imposed upon Francesco Sforza before his re-investiture of the duchy of Milan in 1530 was that of his marrying Christierna, the daughter of Christiern II. King of Denmark, and Isabella of Austria, and consequently Charles' niece. When Caterina de Medici's marriage to the duke of Orleans was first talked of, Francesco Sforza was, no doubt, persuaded to sue for her hand,—which he did ineffectually, for she ended by marrying the Duke, while he himself (Sforza) married Christierna.

p. 206. In Desmond's letter to the Emperor "Dunllynd" cannot be Dunkeld, as I then thought, but Dundalk.

p. 209. In the Emperor's letter to Lope de Soria (No. 146) there are two misprints; *In præsentia* and *habitari* ought to be read *in præsenti* and *habitaturi*.

p. 211, line 3 of fourth paragraph. "Wrote to him." Add "the Prince of Orange, Philibert de Chalon, at that time commander-in-chief of the Imperial Army in Italy, and about to undertake the siege of Florence."

p. 211. "Both the duke of Malfa," &c. It has already been observed (*Vol.* III. *Part* II. p. xxxv.) that there are two towns in Italy which, from the similarity of their names, have frequently been mistaken one for another,—*Melfi* in the Basilicata, and *Amalfi* in the Principato Citeriore,—both of which were called Melfia in the Roman time. Of the former Alfonso Piccolomini was duke; Caracciolo was prince of the latter, but in 1529, owing to his rebellion, his estate and title were given to Andrea Doria.

p. 211. The kinsman of Malatesta mentioned in Praet's letter as having addressed himself to Muxetula, must be either his nephew Galeazzo, of whom more will be said hereafter, or another relative of his, named Braccio or Baccio. See pp. 63, 119.

p. 215, fourth line of second paragraph. "The Admiral of England and Mons. de Mountjoye;" that is, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk and Admiral of England, and William Blount, Lord Mountjoy.

p. 216. I hardly need call the attention of my readers to the fact that the memorandum presented by the English ambassadors at Rome was signed by Henry VIII., not by Henry VII., as said in the text.

p. 218. "Acequia," the meaning of which is a "canal for the purpose of irrigation," has been wrongly printed *Accquia.* See above, p. 961. It is a word of Arabic origin, and comes from "sekia," which in that language means an "irrigating canal."

p. 222. "Premier sommelier de corps du Roy" is the title given by Chapuys to Sir John Russell, which a note in modern hand explains by *controleur de la maison du Roi.* "Sommelier," in Spanish "sumiller de corps," is, properly speaking, the "lord chamberlain;" *sumiller de la cava,* the yeoman butler; *sumiller de cortina,* the groom of the Chamber. As Sir John was never controller of the Royal Household, but merely gentleman usher of the Privy Chamber, the passage must be corrected accordingly.

p. 225. The last sentence in the paragraph, "Which I have not taken, and never will take," might perhaps be rendered by "which I have not, and would never take," which seems more consistent with Henry's character and doings.

p. 235, line 20. "The duke of Suffolk, hearing of the Cardinal's arrival at Court," &c. "Le duc de Sofolch," says the copy before me, which I have since had carefully collated with its original, and yet I cannot help thinking that in this passage at least, if not in the ensuing one (p. 236), where the same duke is said to have broken out in imprecations against the Pope, *Norfolk* not Suffolk is meant, whose hatred against Cardinal Wolsey is well known, since he contributed greatly to his fall, and ultimately succeeded him in the King's favour.

p. 240. No. 164. "The Duchess of Savoy and her two sons." At this time Carlo III. duke of Savoy, and his duchess Beatrix of Portugal, had two sons living, Emmanuele Philiberto, born in 1528, who succeeded him, and Luigi or Lodovico, who died in 1536. See *Tavole*

Genealogiche della Real casa di Savoia, da Felice Carrone, marchese di S. Tommaso; Torino, MDCCCXXXVII. 4to, pp. 52–5.—It is not quite clear who the "Sieur of Sarmoya or Tarmoya" mentioned in line 2 of the same despatch can be, unless it be meant for La Tremouille, whom Spanish writers of those times used to call *Tramolla* and *Tramoya.* As to the bishop of Moriana, the same mentioned already at pp. 119, 146, 172, his name was Louis, or Ludwig de Gorrevod, brother of Laurenç the governor of Bresse.

p. 242, line 15. "The governor [of Lyons], one of the Triulzi family." I believe his name to have been Pompeo (Pomponio?), son of Giovanni, senator at Milan. The author of *Les Généalogies Historiques,* Paris, 1736, 4to, vol. ii. p. 439, makes one Pompeo Trivulcio governor of Lyons. If so, he must have been, when Poupet de Lachaulx was there, the lieutenant of his uncle, the Marshal Theodoro Triulzo, count of Pizzighetone in Lombardy; for, according to the best authorities, the latter was appointed by Francis to the government of Lyons in 1526, which he held till his death in 1531. Theodoro had a nephew, called *Agostino,* cardinal since 1517, who died in 1548.

p. 243. I was wrong in calling the duke of Orleans *Charles:* his name was *Henri;* his eldest brother, the Dauphin, was *François.* Both were then in Spain as hostages for the King, their father. As to Charles duke of Angoulême, Francis' third son, he was only seven years old in 1529, being born on the 22nd of January 1522. After the death of François in 1536 (12th Aug.) Henri took the title of Dauphin and duke of Bretagne, while his brother Charles had for his portion the duchies of Angoulême and Orleans.

p. 244. "Mr. d'Angoulême and his two sisters," &c. At this time King Francis had two daughters living: Madeleine, born 10th August 1520, and who died the 2nd of July 1537; and Marguerite de France, born 5th June 1523, who in 1559 was married to Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy. By Mr. d'Angoulême, their brother Charles, duke of Angoulême and afterwards of Orleans, is meant.

p. 247, fourth line of second paragraph, "adds or earlier *ou plus tost,*" read "*au plus tost.*"

p. 247, 3rd paragraph, at the end. "Whether Mr. de Clermont comes or not." In a letter of Giovan Battista Sanga to the duke of Albany (John Stuart), dated Rome, the 29th of January 1530, mention is made of one Monsignor di Clarmont (elsewhere named Chiaramonte), whom Francis thought of sending "or had already sent" to Florence for the purpose of taking out Clement's niece, "la Duchessina," Caterina de' Medici, who was inside that city in a sort of captivity, After thanking the Duke for his services, Sanga adds: "Et massimè in beneficio della Signora Duchessina nostra, si per il maritaggio suo, si per levarla di Fiorenza, pare a sua Sant. che si Monsignor di Clermont, chè è andato hora a Fiorenza con l'autorità del Christianissimo non potrà ottenere che gli sia renduta, sariano medesimamente ostinati in non volerla dare a V. Ecc." *Lettere de Principi,* edit. Ziletti, Venice, 1581, vol. III, p. 187.

p. 249, line 31. "Gregory Casale," or Sir Gregory Cassalis, as he is generally designated in *State Papers*, &c., had been in Rome as Henry's ambassador since 1527.

p. 255, line 4 of the 3rd paragraph ? *plicques et replicques*, read "plicques et replicques."

p. 257, par. 2. "The ambassadors of this King, &c.;" that is, Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, or Grand Squire, and the Dean of the Chapel, Dr. Richard Sampson. Their letters of credence, dated Windsor, the 30th of September, will be found at page 259, under No. 171. These two were to go to the Emperor, already in Italy since August. On the other hand George Boleyn, and Dr. Stokesley, who had not yet replaced Tunstall in the bishopric of London, were to go to France for the purpose of inducing the Parisian doctors to conclude in favour of the divorce. In the abstract of Chapuys' despatch No. 160 (p. 238), I erroneously conjectured that *Baruech* or *Bernech*—for the name is written both ways in the same paragraph—might be meant for the Earl of Warwick, who figures occasionally in the State Papers of this time, whereas Bannes, that is, Peter Vannes, is evidently intended, since he had already been at Rome as Henry's ambassador, and been recalled.

p. 258. The bailli Damont, or d'Amont, named in Count Werdenberg's letter to the Emperor, No. 170, must be the same of whom mention is made at pp. 160–1; if so, there can be no doubt that *Claude de Carondelet*, seigneur de Solre-sur-Sambre, is meant, who as early as 1514 is represented as councillor and chamberlain to Archduke Philip, the father of Charles. Claude had a brother, named Jean, who was at first dean of Besançon, then provost of Saint Donat, and lastly archbishop of Palermo and primate of Sicily, and who became ultimately president of the Privy Council of the Low Countries, and Minister of Finances. Another, named Ferry de Carondelet, described as archdeacon of Besançon before 1512, belonged probably to the same family. See Le Glay, *Correspondence de l'Empereur Maximilien I. et de Marguerite d'Autriche*, tom. II. pp. 3, 317, 342. As to the count Gallache (Galeasso), mentioned in the same despatch (p. 259), and again in Salinas' letter (No. 172), as count Gaiaço, commanding the Venetian forces in the Mantuan along with Cesare Fragoso, and as having been made prisoner on the occasion, I have reasons to suppose that count Ludovico Gaiazzo is meant, who, after deserting the Imperial banners in 1527, took the lead of the "Bande Nere," and became eventually commander-in-chief of the Venetian infantry. (See Vol. III. part II. of the present Calendar, pp. 72, 90, 761, 873.) Werdenberg's letter, however, is dated Limad (?), which must be a place on the frontier of the Mantuan, though I have been unable to find it on the maps.

p. 261. In the note at the foot of the page "Francesco Maria" is wrong; Sforza's name was *Francesco* only.

p. 266. Mr. de Bredan is not, as suggested in the note at the foot of the page, Henri de Nassau, lord of Breda, but Jean de Bourgogne, lord of Bredan, already mentioned at page 98 of the present volume, and who in 1530 represented King Ferdinand at Bologna for the coronation of Charles (pp. 378, 474,) and whose irrelevant conduct in a question of precedence between himself and the English ambassador, called forth the censures of Salinas. (p. 474 *note*).

p. 270, last line of 4th paragraph, *procero* read (processo); and note § "Cremonas" for "Cremona."

p. 282. Vespasiano Colonna, son of Prospero, was duke of Traietto and count of Fondi in his own right. By his first wife, Beatrice, daughter of the Lord of Piombino (Appiani), he left one daughter, named Isabella, whom he destined to Ippolito de' Medici, Clement's nephew. The marriage, however, did not take place, owing to the latter having taken orders, and been appointed Cardinal (12 March 1528). Vespasiano's will, moreover, stipulated that in case of Isabella not marrying Ippolito, she was to become the wife of one of the Gonçaga, Luigi or Ferrante, both sons of Giulia, his (Vespasiano's) second wife.

Such was the origin of the long-protracted suit tried at Rome between Ascanio Colonna, who, as Vespasiano's nephew, claimed his estates of Traietto and Fondi, and Luigi Gonzaga, surnamed Rodomonte, who ultimately married Isabella. (Ireneo Affo, *Vita di Luigi Gonzaga*, 1780, p. 70.) Ascanio, however, was not, as will be seen hereafter, the only competitor for the estate of Traietto, since François de Rupt, sieur de Waury, who in August 1529 married a daughter of Marco Antonio Colonna, sued also for it.

p. 286. No. 190. The Venetian Ambassador mentioned in the 3rd paragraph was Domenico Veniero;—about whom see Rawdon Brown's *Venetian Calendar*, vol. IV., *passim*. At the same time Cardinal Francesco Cornaro, also a Venetian, seems to have been occasionally accredited to Clement as extraordinary ambassador for the negotiations still pending concerning Ravenna and Cervia, which the Signory retained until 1530.

p. 288, line 4. "His niece *Katharine*," &c.: read "Caterina," as the Italians write her name. I need not observe, however, that *Catherine* in French, *Catalina* in Spanish, and *Kathlin* in German are synonymous.

p. 299. I have still my doubts as to whether Gayaz or Galliaz be intended for Galleasse (Galleazo) Visconti, who about this time was a refugee at the court of Francis, whom he faithfully served in all his wars with the Emperor; or whether count Gaiazzo or Gaiaço, the celebrated condottiero, who in 1528 deserted the Imperial banners and went over to the French, is intended.

p. 304. Who is Mr. de St. Villieury, on whom, according to Chapuys, the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster was conferred on More's promotion to the office of High Chancellor of England? I still conjecture that Fitz William is meant, although the change of Fitz into *St.* and of William into *Villeurry* must appear rather unusual to the reader.

p. 311. One might have thought the date of the Emperor's letter to his ambassadors at Rome, No. 199, to be a mistake, for Vandeness positively says that Charles arrived at Piacenza on the 5th of September, and staid there until the 24th. "Here he was met by [the] Admiral [of France] de Brion, named Chabot, whom the King of France sent to obtain from him (the Emperor) the ratification of the treaty of Cambray; that on the 24th he arrived at Fiorenzola, and on the 25th at Borgo San Donnino; that he was at Parma on the 26th, where the Grand Chancellor [Mercurino] di Gattinara received his nomination as Cardinal, and on the 28th at Reggio, where he was waited upon by the duke of Ferrara. On the 1st of October the Emperor was at Modena, on the 4th at the Certosa, and he arrived on the 5th at Bologna, where the Pope already was." Such is the account published by Bradford (*Correspondence, &c. of Charles V.*, pp. 494–5) from one of the copies of Vandeness' Itinerary preserved at Vienna. But since then Mr. Gachard, the keeper of the "Archives de Bourgogne" at Brussels, has published a very correct edition of the original French text (Bruxelles, 1874, 4to.) The dates there given agree exactly with those of the letters and documents extracted in this Calendar. The Emperor left Piacenza on the 24th of October; the same night he slept at Borgo San Donnino; next day at Parma; on the 29th he was at Reggio; the 1st and 2nd of November at Modena; the 3rd at Castelfranco; and the 4th at the Certosa (or Carthusian monastery) near Bologna, which he entered in the morning of the 5th. If the Emperor's letter to his ambassador at Rome, who, as may be seen, was already in Bologna, was really written at Firençuola or Fiorenzola, the date must be September, not October.

p. 327, line 9. "Mr. Guillefort, captain of the Cinque Ports." At this time Sir Edward Guildford was captain or lord warden of the five seaport towns on the coasts of Kent and Surrey (Cinque Ports), and Constable of Dover Castle.

p. 327, line 19. "On that point, however, hardly a step has been gained." Such, at least, appears to be the meaning of Chapuys' sentence purposely copied at the foot note †. One should think that he or his secretary might have written instead, "mays [en] ce point là [rien] ne s'est pu gaigne[r]," or "ce point là n'a pu estre gaigné." Chapuys' French, as readers must have observed, is anything but grammatical and correct, and his orthography is detestable. He had one Spanish secretary, named Montoya, besides two or three more, who were natives of the Low Countries. Although all his despatches are original, and most of them holograph, I am still ready to admit that the frequent blunders and misconstructions in them must be attributed either to his secretaries or to the clerks at Brussels, whose business it was to decipher them.

p. 334, line 29. "Luigo" is a misprint for "Luigi." I have already had occasion to refer (Vol. III. Part II. pp. 792 and 1037) to the *Vita di Luigi Gonçaga detto Rodomonte* by Fath. Ireneo Affo, Parma, 1780, 4to, in which *three* Gonçaga, of the name of Luigi, living at the same time, and who have been frequently taken one for the other, are mentioned, viz., 1st, Luigi, son of Ridolfo, fourth son of another Luigi, marquis of Mantua, and who, from the fact of his being lord of Castelgiffredo, and of Castiglione delle Striviere in Lombardy, is generally designated as Luigi Gonçaga *da Castelgiffredo.* In 1521 he served under his kinsman the Marquis of Mantua, then captain general of the Church, in the war which Leo X. and the Emperor Charles waged against the French. That campaign, however, was unfortunate for him; he was defeated in an encounter, and received a severe wound in the leg, whence he was surnamed by some *Il guercio*, and by others *Il Zoppo.* At the end of that war Luigi repaired to Valladolid, in Spain, and obtained from the Emperor an annual pension of 1,000 gold ducats on the proceeds of the property confiscated from the "fuorusciti" of Naples. We find him again in 1524 drawing pay from the Venetians, as commander of one hundred men-at-arms or two hundred light horse. In 1526, during the famous Clementine league against the Emperor, Luigi took the part of the former; but in November of that very year he was at Governolo on the Pò, where Giovannino de'Medici, the famous commander of the "Bande Nere," received the arquebuse shot which caused his death. At the peace, in 1529, Luigi again entered the service of Charles, and was in 1532 appointed general of the Spanish and Italian infantry in the room of the marquis del Vasto (Alfonso Davalos), then leaving for the Hungarian campaign. Though this appointment does not seem to have been confirmed, owing to Marramaldo and other Italian "condottieri" having been previously designated for the command of the Imperial forces, he nevertheless proceeded to Hungary as volunteer, and gained much reputation in the campaign of 1530 against the Turks. He is accused of having administered poison to Francesco Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino, who died in 1538, and later in 1547 of having brought about the famous "congiura di Piacenza," in which Pier Luigi Farnese, the son of Pope Paul III., lost his life. He himself died shortly after, leaving by his wife Ginevra, daughter of Niccolo Rangone, then widow of Giangaleazzo da Correggio, only one son, also called Luigi, the father of another, who afterwards found room in the Roman calendar as San Luigi Gonzaga.

Of Luigi, the son of Gian Pietro Gonzaga, descended in a direct line from Conrado, very little is known, except that he was a poet much praised by Ariosto, the Aretino, and others. Well known are his verses when, in allusion to this Luigi da Castelgiffredo, and to his own cousin Rodomonte, he says:

. . . . "Ce ne son dui
Di par da Marte, e da le Muse amati,
Ambi del sangue, che regge la terra
Che 'l Mincio fende, e d'alti stagni serra."

He passed most of his time, surrounded by poets and wits, at his magnificent residence of Borgoforte, and is supposed to have died in 1549.

Of Luigi Gonzaga, surnamed Rodomonte, principal object of this note, enough has been said in the first part of the present Calendar.

Yet as he has often been mistaken by grave historians with his two above-mentioned namesakes, as well as with his cousin Ferrante Gonzaga, duke of Ariano, and Prince of Molfeta; as his name appears too often in these pages in connexion with Isabella Colonna, duchess of Traietto, whom he ultimately married against the will of Clement VII., no friend of her family, I have deemed it necessary to enter into more particulars about him. For further account of the "Gonzaga" the reader had better consult another work by the same Ireneo Affo, namely, *Memorie di tre celebri principesse della famiglia Gonzaga*, Parma, 1787, 4to.

p. 336, paragraph 4. "Respecting the Duke Frederic, &c. En lo que toca al duque Federico," are Salinas' words; but who is meant by "the duke" is not quite clear, unless *Frederic, Duke of Holstein*, be intended. This latter was at the time King of Denmark, his predecessor Christiern II., called "the Nero of the North," having been dethroned in 1523. Christiern, then a prisoner, and who lived until 1559, had been married to Isabella, sister of Charles V., by whom he had two daughters,—*Dorothea*, who became the wife of the Palatine Frederic, and *Christierna* or *Christina*, who married Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan. Frederic of Holstein was never recognised by Charles or by his brother Ferdinand as legitimate sovereign of Denmark, and therefore the title of "duke of Holstein," given to him by ambassador Salinas, may be easily explained.

p. 341, line 21. "King Wladislas of Hungary." Substitute *Louis*, for such was the name of the king who lost his crown and life at the battle of Mohatz in 1526.

p. 347. The King's secretary mentioned in line 8 must have been Dr. Stephen Gardyner.

p. 348. Last line of note: "yl auoit" has no meaning whatever, and ought to be "yl l'amoit," as I have translated.

p. 353, paragraph 2. The envoy from the Pope, whom Chapuys met in London, could be no other than Paolo da Casale, the brother of Sir Gregory, Henry's ambassador at Rome.

p. 358, line 17. "True it was that, at the request of the Dean, now residing at Your Majesty's court." This was Dr. Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel at Windsor, whose departure for Bologna has already been mentioned.

p. 366, line 26. "Among them Queen Blanche and the two duchesses of Norfolk, the dowager and the young." By "Queen Blanche," Mary Tudor, King Henry's sister, formerly a widow of Louis XII., and at that time married to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, is meant. White was the colour used by the widows of the French kings, which sufficiently accounts for the appellation given to Mary. As to the two duchesses of Norfolk, their names were Agnes Tylney and Elizabeth Stafford: the former was the widow of Thomas, second duke of Norfolk, who died in 1524, and step-mother to the third duke; the latter, his wife. The earls created on the occasion were, besides Thomas Boleyn, who was made earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, those of Sussex, Lincoln, and others. See *Brewer*, Vol. iv. p. 2718.

p. 382. No. 241. "Both the Nuncio and his brother Messire Gregoire will pursue the affair." Sir Gregory da Casale, was, no doubt, the brother of (Paolo) the Papal Nuncio at this time; but the bishopric could hardly have been promised to him, for he was a married man, and his wife was then living. Most likely, if a promise there was, it must have been in favour of Paolo himself, or of his brother the Prothonotary, who for some time past had resided at Venice as Henry's ambassador, and had been most active there and at Rome in promoting the King's divorce,—so much so that, at Henry's recommendation, he afterwards obtained from Clement the bishopric of Cividal di Belluno in Lombardy, vacant by the death of Antonio Barrozzi.

p. 393, line 4 of the second paragraph. "Laurens Sçavre." Thus I find the name of this German written in all Chapuys' despatches. Mr. Brewer, however, has always *Stauber,* and calls him Sir Lorenz or Laurence.

p. 395, line 15. "[London]" is wrong, and ought to be "[Rome]," for the allusion is to Grammont, not to Du Bellay.

p. 402, line 33. "For this reason it is my intention to quit Genoa in about 10 or 12 days." "Genoa" is a decided mistake for "Bologna," where the Emperor was at the time.

p. 405. "Or the Marquis of Saluzzo." After Michele Antonio, killed at the taking of Aversa in 1528, his brother Giovan Luigi, formerly a priest, succeeded. He was shortly after dispossessed by another brother, called Francesco, who is the one there alluded to. All were the sons of Luigi II., the eleventh marquis, and of Margaret de Foix-Candale. Giovan Luigi retired to France, where he died in 1567.

p. 422, line 11. "The two former go for the exclusive object," &c. Read *the two latter,* that is, Stokesley and Lee, the King's almoner. As to Sampson, the dean of the chapel [of Windsor], mentioned lower down, though he went also to Bologna with Clement, he does not appear to have accompanied him back to Rome.

p. 432, last line of second paragraph in 252. Their names are Croma (Cranmer) and Carmel (?)." The copy in my possession, which I have had carefully collated with the original at Vienna, reads:—

"Les dits ambassadeurs resouluement doibvent partyr demayn ou Vendredy d'icy, au moins les deux, c'est a sçavoir, Mons. de Vulchier et le Docteur Lee. L'autre (Stokesley) est encores à Paris, à poursuyr et disputer le cas de ce marriage; passant par là ceux-cy yl[s] le emmeneront avec eux. Il[s] mennent davantage deux docteurs, l'ung theologiste et l' autre legiste, qui s'appellent Croma et Carmel (Cramel), Angloys tous deux, et chappelains ordinaires du Roy." I at first conjectured that *Croma* in the above passage might be meant for Cranmer, at this time employed by Henry in various missions to the Emperor, and whose letter to Charles in justification of the divorce will be found under No. 583, at page 889. But if *Croma* be meant for Cranmer, who is *Carmel* or *Cramel?* Chapuys and the Imperial agents at Rome, Mai, Ortiz, Loaysa, and the rest, whose information is generally derived from that ambassador's reports, always call Cromwell *Cremuel* or *Cremel*; but the future secretary had not yet risen into the King's notice, and, if he had, was not sent to Bologna on the occasion. Could not the two doctors, one a canonist, the other a lawyer, be Cromer and Cranmer? One George Cromer, already archbishop of Armagh 1522–43, and who in 1532 became Lord Chancellor of Ireland, is frequently mentioned in the State Papers, Vols. II. and III.; with regard to Cranmer there is no difficulty in assigning him a post in the intended embassy.

p. 439. The heading of letter No. 255 ought to be "Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor."

p. 447, end of second paragraph. "and he named the gentleman;" read "and the ambassador, that is, Jocquin (Gioachino), named to me the gentleman whom King Francis has sent [to Hungary] for that purpose."

p. 453. No. 258. "recovation" is a misprint for "revocation." The whole passage ought to be read as follows: "but his secretary (Count Felix's) has already in his hands the Imperial decree. As to the letters revoking his powers they shall be made out, and forwarded immediately.

p. 454, last line of second paragraph. "infants" ought to be "infantes," the plural of *infante*,—title given in Spain to all princes of the blood."

p. 456. No. 260. "Chevalier de Balbi to the Emperor." The corresponding note at the foot of the page ought to be worded as follows: "There was an historian of this name, who flourished between 1558 and 1618, and was perhaps the son of the Venetian here named; but who Chevalier de Balbi, as he is here named, or J. du Balbi, as at p. 184, can be, I have no idea."

p. 458. In the instructions to Praët, dated the 21st of February, Don Pedro II. Fernandez de Velasco, duke of Frias, is twice designated as "Constable of Castille," omitting "Grand" or "High," for such he was since September 1528, when he succeeded his father Don Iñigo. The charge, one of the utmost importance in the Spanish monarchy, had been hereditary in the family of the Velascos ever since 1473, when Henry IV. of Castille gave it to the Count of Haro, Pedro I. Fernandez de Velasco. (See Salazar de Mendoza, *Origen de las dignidades seglares de Castilla y Leon.* Madrid, MDCLVII, p. 131.)

p. 458, 4th paragraph. "Messieurs de Tarbes and de Moret." Tarbes is for Gabriel de Grammont, bishop of Tarbes in Gascony, and Moret for Charles de Soliers, sieur de Morette or de la Morette, who in 1526–7 was employed by Louise de Savoie, Francis's mother, on various missions.

p. 459. Note. By one of the clauses of the treaty of Cambray, Francis was bound to pay to Margaret, the Emperor's aunt, the sum of

25,000 crs.; but why the sum here fixed is made to amount to 100,000 crs. and how it could be deducted from the 12,000 (120,000 ?), is not easy to determine. After all, the copy from Simancas may be unfaithful, and the sum be one million and two hundred thousand crs., which was actually the amount paid by King Francis.

p. 459. Note †. "Para cumplir," &c. Instead of "12 mil," as printed, 1,200,000 or "12 mil cientos" was intended, for that was the amount of ransom to be paid for the sons of Francis, from which the 100,000 crs. payable to Margaret were to be deducted. *See above*, p. 971.

p. 461, line 8 of 3rd paragraph. "In the jeweller's hands," add "the King's."

p. 463. "A message to the Sophi of Persia," &c. The bearer must have been that same Balbi whose letters from Aleppo and Babylon will be found at pp. 184, 543 of this volume. His name was Girolamo Balbi, latinised into Balbus, and we have several books by him, such as *De rebus Turcicis. De confederatione nuper inita, paceque universali, atque expeditione adversus Turcas suscipienda,"* oration delivered before Clement VII. in 1530, and also *De futuris Caroli Augusti successibus Vaticinium* (Poema), *ad Carolum V. Imp. de Coronatione,* the whole having been printed at Bologna *per Joannem B. Phællum,* 1530, 4to. Whether he be the same as Girolamo Balbi (Hyeronimus Balbus), bishop of Gurk, in Carinthia, from 1523 to 1535, who in 1522–3 was sent as Austrian ambassador to Adrian, seems very probable, and yet the title "cavaliere" given to him in the letter No. 260 renders the conjecture rather problematic. (*See above*, p. 971.)

p. 470. In the foot-note, last line but one, *Il* ought to be changed into *Je.*

p. 474. Note. The Sieur of Bredan, mentioned in Salinas' despatches, is Jean de Bourgoyne,—a connexion no doubt,—perhaps a brother, of Philippe, who died in 1542, and of Adolf, sieur de Bèvres, and Grand Admiral of Flanders, and ambassador in England (1527), whose despatches have been abstracted in *Vol.* III. *Part* II. of the present Calendar, descended from Baudouin, the Bastard of Bourgoyne as he was called, lord of Falais, Bredan, Sommerdick, &c., natural son of Philip "the Good," duke of Burgundy. Some writers, misled by the name of one of the family's fiefs in Flanders, generally written "Breda" and "Bredā" in papers and documents of this time, have wrongly supposed him to be the same as Henri de Nassau, lord of Breda. *See above*, p. 967.

p. 475. No. 270. "The bishop of Lincoln, and an Italian cordelier," &c. Robert Longlands, Henry's confessor, and Dr. Nicholas were the two doctors sent to the University of Oxford on the occasion.

p. 475, line 8 of the same despatch. The treasurer of the Household was then Sir William Fitzwilliam.

p. 481. No. 277. "King Ferdinand to the Emperor." Of this important letter, which was published in 1844 by Dr. Lanz, *Correspondenz der Kaysar Carl,* vol. I. p. 424, I have seen a duplicate which differs materially from the original [at Vienna ?]. The duke of Saxony mentioned in it must be John Frederic. For "the dispute between the Vayvod and *him*," as in lines 12 and 13, "*one*" ought to be substituted, since my abstract is in the first person, and not in the third as usual.

p. 484. No. 78. "Captain Marino and his mission to Venice," read "The captain or governor of Marano."

p. 485. "*Deliberatione o resposta*," read "Deliberatione e resposta."

p. 488. No. 281. "Montmorency." There were two knights of this name, *Phillippe* and *Jean*.

p. 490, end of paragraph 6. "Fortuna" is a misprint for Faenza. The bishop was Rodolfo Pio da Carpi from 1528 to 1544, cardinal in 1537, who died in 1564. As to Miçer Antonio Bagherotto or Bagaratto mentioned lower down, he was a Mantuan, and had been or was still the Duke's (Frederico Gonzaga) ambassador at the Imperial court.

p. 491, line 7. "Dr. Pietro Lavorgnano." Thus in the copy from Simancas; I am, however, inclined to believe that "Savorgnano" is meant.

p. 491, line 18. "Pedro Rain, our consul in Venice." "Rain" is not a Spanish name; I would prefer "Ram" or "Ramon," as at p. 831, where an individual so called is spoken of.

p. 493, line 17. "The daughter of the King of Naples." Isabella Eleonora, daughter of Pierre de Baux, duke of Andria in Naples, and closely allied to the family of the Princes of Tarento, was married to Frederic or Fadrique, last king of Naples of the house of Aragon, who, after wandering for three years after his dethronement by the French, died in 1504. He left one son, Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, who retired to Spain, became the third husband of Germaine de Foix, and died in 1550. Frederic had also a daughter, Charlotte princess of Tarento, who in 1500 married Gui XVI., sire de Laval. No mention, however, is made by historians and genealogists of this daughter, whose name, as will appear hereafter, was Giulia or Julia, though it must be observed that Frederic IV. had been previously married to Anna, daughter of Amadeo IX. duke of Savoy. All doubts are removed by a passage in Chapuys' despatch of the 23rd April (No. 290, p. 503), where he says that the Venetian ambassador (Faliero) had stated to him that "the Emperor had given the sister of the duke of Calabria in marriage to the duke of Mantua."

p. 500. No. 286. This letter seems a duplicate, with some alterations, of that under No. 285, though addressed to the Empress, instead of the Emperor.

p. 503. The bishop of Chieti or Theati, as otherwise called, in the Abruzzo, was Guidone de' Medici, who filled that see from 1528 to 1537; he was succeeded by Giovan Pietro Caraffa (afterwards Pope Paul IV.)

p. 514. "Respecting the Grand Equerry;" *i.e.*, Sir Nicholas Carew, Grand Squire or Master of the Horse and the slight and somewhat obscure allusion made to him in the last ciphered paragraph, and corresponding note, of No. 265, p. 470, though it must be said that the despatch itself is dated the 22nd, not the 24th of February as here stated.

p. 515, last paragraph of 209. "Since the Princess," &c. Chapuys' words are: "La Princesse a este dois quelle fust separee de la royne servie par les gens du roy, sans avoer trayn ne serviteurs propres; maintenant [on] luy a dresse son estat et bayllie force serviteurs et officiers. Je ne sçays dont (dou ?) vient ceste bonte au temps que court, si ce nest pour la garder plus seurement, puys quil[s] ne veullent que lon luy alle parler. Ou par aventure au moyen de ceste gracieuseté yl[s] la voudoient fere consentir a quelque chose." In my abstract the word "latter" ought to be omitted, since the passage refers entirely to the Princess Mary.

p. 520, line 2 of the second paragraph in No. 293. "On Saturday he (the Emperor) will sleep at Brizene (?)." I presume that Brixen is meant, for, by referring to the "Itinerary," I find that from the 24th to the 28th the Emperor was at Trent, and that, passing by Newmark, he reached Botzen on the 29th, and slept at Brixen on the 30th.

p. 521, line 10 of 5th paragraph in Niño's letter to the Emperor "Obrovazo near *Sena*." This last name is evidently corrupted, for, there is no town in Dalmatia, where Obrovazzo or Obroatzo is said to be situated, bearing the least similarity to *Sena*, unless it be Zara, which a careless transcriber might easily have turned into *Zena*.

p. 522, line 17 of 2nd paragraph. "For the *brother* of the Dame." George Boleyn was never accredited to the Pope; it was his father Thomas, also father of Anne, who went to Bologna.

p. 528, line 9 of 3rd paragraph. Tunstall was no longer bishop of London, having been replaced in January 1530 by Stokesly. (See p. 422.) The latter, moreover, was no longer in London, having already left on his extraordinary mission to France. The Ambassador at the Imperial court, alluded to in the first line, was Ghinucci.

p. 546, last word of paragraph 4 in No. 310. "according," read "accordingly."

p. 546. No. 311. This letter of Niño to Mai is substantially the same as that under No. 297 at page 526.

p. 549, line 4 of 4th paragraph. "Parma" is a misprint for "Padua."

p. 550. No. 313. "The Pope's Nuncio at Naples." As early as the 2nd of May 1529 the Papal Nuncio at Naples was Fabio Arcella, Apostolic Prothonotary.

p. 550. In Garay's letter No. 315. "*violento*" is a misprint for "violenta."

p. 562. No. 322. "From Miçer Mai *to the Emperor*" must be headed "to Covos, the High Commander," for it seems almost a repetition, with a few additional sentences, of No. 318 at page 554.

In the same despatch, line 10, Triulzo, the bishop of Como and Papal Nuncio in France, is represented as being on bad terms with the cardinal of his name (Agostino ?). There must, however, be some mistake, for the Cardinal whose christian name was Agostino happened to be a kinsman of his, and resided then at Rome. Salviati, at that time Papal Legate in France, and a friend of the Florentines, may have been meant instead.

p. 569, last paragraph of 329. "From la Belona." Valona, or rather Avlona, is the name of a gulf and sea-port town in Albania, which Spaniards and Venetians of this time called usually La Belona or La Valona.

p. 570. "Il Buda, consistorial advocate." Might he not be Il Bucla, as at p. 835 of Part II. ?

p. 574. No. 332. The initial S. before the name of Carducci must be understood as "Signor." The *Bardi* and *Girardi* mentioned in the same letter were Florentine merchants or bankers in London. Frequent mention of the former firm is made in the Venetian Calendar, chiefly of a *Pier Francesco,* as well as of a *Francesco,* and of a third named *Georgio Francesco,*—no doubt the one here named. As to the *Girardi,* I find one Niccola or Nicholas carrying on business in the city. (See Rawdon Brown, *Venetian Calendar,* vol. v., p. 984.)

p. 576, line 3. "Maximilian II." is a misprint for Maximilian I., the Emperor, father of Philip, and grandfather of Charles and of Ferdinand, who likewise became in succession emperors of Germany.

p. 579, last line. "That owing to the death of the lady." Henry Howard earl of Surrey, the son of Thomas third duke of Norfolk, was betrothed, if not married, one year before to Frances, daughter of John de Vere, earl of Oxford.

p. 580. "Dr. William Benet or Bennet." Mai and the rest of the Imperial agents at Rome generally mistake William Benet, whom they used to call *Beneto, Benito* or *Benoit,* like the French, with Dr. Edmund *Boner, Bonner,* or *Bonnart,* as Chapuys writes his name. However, in the present instance there can be no doubt that the former of the two is intended.

p. 584, first line of 4th paragraph in No. 344. "The Anconitan friar;" that is, Fray Felice da Prato, whose opinion on the divorce suit will be found under Nos. 437 and 578. Note † at the foot of the page relates to him, though the sign of reference has been omitted.

p. 585. Chapuys' despatch No. 345 has been dated by mistake the 14th instead of the 10th June.

p. 686. In the foot-note "contestastemos" is a misprint for *contestassemos.*

p. 611. "The news of the Turk is that about 6,000 of their 'nassadites' had arrived at La Belona," &c. Twice in these pages the words "nassadita" and "nassadista" are employed as indicative of a Turkish naval force of some sort. At page 198 mariners or bargemen are, no doubt, meant; for, coming from Turkey, Strigonia or Gran (the

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

Estzergom of the Hungarians), being situated on the confluent of the Grana and the Danube, cannot be reached coming from Turkey otherwise than by water. In the present passage the attack on La Belona, Valona or Avlona, a seaport town on the coast of Albania, confirms my conjecture that river soldiers of some sort are meant. *Nassad,* I am told, in the language of the Magyars means a three-oared boat, or barge fit for the navigation of large rivers. In confirmation of the above conjecture I will quote the words of an almost contemporary Spanish historian; "Corporano, capitan de ciertas *nasadas,* que son unas barcas grandes de á dos y á tres remos por banco . . . . . . con intencion de esperar alli mas *nasadas* que le auian de embiar de Viena . . . . . Queriendo, pues, Gritti prevenir a Corporano, antes que se le juntassen las barcas de Viena, embió por el rio arriba un buen exercito de *nasadas* . . . . Hizolo tan bien que de sessenta *nasadas* perdio las cinquenta." (*Hist. Pont.* Part II. p. 323.) Again, in a letter of Cardinal Campeggio to Jacomo or Jacopo Salviati, (Raab, 2nd August 1532,) published by Ziletti among his *Lettere de Principi,* &c., Venice, 1581, 4to, (vol. 3, p. 16) the following words occur: "Et che non si posse hauere la somma, che si disegnaua, per esserci nuova che in Buda erano giunte 300 navi dette *Nazanziste* del Turco, e quatro mila cavalli."

p. 614, line 2 of second paragraph. "The Grand Constable of Castille." At this time Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco y Tobar, formerly known as marquis de Berlanga, held that high office, one hereditary in his family ever since 1473. Don Pedro was the eldest son of Don Iñigo Fernandez de Velasco, second duke of Frias (d. 1528), the same nobleman to whom Charles entrusted the custody of his prisoner Francis I., and subsequently that of his two sons, the Dauphin (François) and the duke of Orleans (Henri), who remained hostages for their father's ransom.

p. 617, line 16. The "Venetian ambassador" there named was no longer Marco Antonio Venier, for he had been replaced in September (?) 1528 by Lodovico Falier, he himself going as ambassador to Rome in the room of Suriano.

p. 619. "H. Marmier," &c. No. 368. The name of the writer seems to have been Hugo or Hugues, but the date of his letter to the Emperor is uncertain, inasmuch as the heading says the 3rd of July, whereas at the end we read the 13th. The circumstance, however, of the letter being dated at Bordeaux, far away from the Spanish frontier, which Queen Eleanor is said to have crossed on the first of the month, and of the writer describing besides the ceremonies of her reception and subsequent marriage by the bishop of Lisieux (Le Veneur) lead me to suppose that 13 July is really the date of the letter. Marmier was about this time president of Burgundy.

p. 619. "Mr. de Nemours, the count of Geneve," are one and the same, not two different persons, as might be supposed from the wording of the sentence and the prefix "Messieurs." In 1528 Francis gave the duchy of Nemours in France to Philippe de Savoie, second son of another Philippe, generally called "Sans Terre," duke of Savoy. When only five years old he was named Bishop of Geneva, then under the rule of Savoy, but he left it in 1510, and his brother the duke Carlo III. made him count of that place, and baron of Faucigny and Beaufort. Philippe then attached himself to the court of Charles, whom he followed to Spain, until, for causes hitherto unexplained, he quitted the Imperial service, and went over to France, being well received by King Francis, whose nephew he was. He died in 1533 at the age of 42, leaving one son Jaque, and one daughter Jeanne, who became duchess of Mercœur. The duchy of Nemours had been formerly held by Philiberte, the wife of Giuliano de' Medici. See *Genealogies Historiques*, vol. II. p. 105, and *Tavole Genealogiche della Real Casa di Savoia* by Felice Carrone, Marchese di S. Tommaso: Torino, 1837, in folio. As to the duke of Longueville, his brother Louis, Mons. de Nevers, &c., mentioned immediately after, their names were, 1st, Claude d'Orleans, count, and in 1505 duke, of Longueville, sovereign of Neufchâtel, count of Dunois and Tancarville; peer and High Lord Chamberlain of France. He died without posterity, being succeeded by his brother; 2nd, Louis d'Orleans, who died on the 9th of June 1537, leaving one son named François. His widow, Mary of Lorraine, married in 1538 James V. of Scotland, and was the mother of Mary Stuart. 3rd, François de Clèves, count, afterwards (in 1538) duke, of Nevers.

p. 622. I am not sure that Jaques Brinon was still in 1530 president of the Parliament of Paris, for I find in the *State Papers*, vol. vii., p. 593, that Guillaume Poyet, son of an advocate at Angers, filled that office in 1529; yet the circumstance of the president having resided in Spain as Louise's ambassador during the captivity of his son, which can only be applied to the former, leads me to the supposition that I was right in my conjecture.

p. 624, No. 372. "Da Rome," read "Rome," or "*Da Roma*," one of the two.

p. 630. Three lines before the end of the paragraph, "not harm any one but *him* (*the Duke*)," change the last three words into "himself."

p. 635, line 2 of the second paragraph. "Luis Ransom, who (?)" perhaps "Ramon."

p. 635, line 2 of the sixth. "the *Balcaric* islands" is a misprint for "Balearic."

p. 640, No. 377 of the 14th July. "Hesse" is a misprint for "Sassa," or "Sexa," as Spaniards of this time used to call that country.

p. 644, line 1 of the 6th paragraph. "*Camerata*" is a misprint for "Camarata."

p. 648. The first foot-note has no reference whatever to the asterisk placed in the third line of the second paragraph, where an allusion is made to the Baron del Borgho. It ought, therefore, to be omitted, or else transferred to the preceding page, where mention is made of Cardinal d'Osma, whose arrival in Rome as Charles's ambassador extraordinary is recorded at pp. 529, 536, &c.

Again, to the second foot-note on the same page (648) the following addition might be made: "A son of this count of Luna, the brother of Cardinal Quiñones, is said to have been taken prisoner by pirates in the Mediterranean. He was married, as it would seem, to a daughter of Jacopo Salviati. *See* Rawdon Brown's *Ven. Calendar*, vol. v., p. 707.

p. 672. "The first person," &c. Master Thomas Abel, of whom more will be said hereafter.

p. 673. In the same despatch (No. 396) a note has been omitted to the effect that Henry's first secretary, charged with the delivery of the message to his Queen, was no other than Stephen Gardyner, just returned from his embassy. As to Katharine's almoner I have been unable to ascertain his name; but the individual alluded as having gone to Paris for the purpose of agitating in that capital the divorce question, and who on his return to London expressed his surprise at so many doctors of La Sorbonne being ready to uphold and defend the Queen's cause, must necessarily be Reginald Pole, who is well known to have incurred the King's displeasure in consequence.

Again, the paragraph beginning "The King," &c., faithfully transcribed, and since then most scrupulously collated, stands in the original as follows: "Sire, Le roy avoit interponse (interprins ?) de pesecuter les prestres et prelatz qui sestoint ayde de la legation du Cardinal; maintenant yl a remis la querelle sur le bureau, et est a craindre quil ne face priue[r] de biens et benefices la plus part de ceux quont tenu pour la royne. Cest le droit moyen de tirer ung argent innumerable, et de tenir tous les prelatz en subiection pour les fere consentir et condescendre a favouriser et assister a la celebration de ce marriage, le quel yl a tousjours dit vouloyt fere par l'aduys et auctorite de lesglise Anglicane." The verb "interprins" and the words "sur le bureau" might be rendered by "undertaken" and "has now laid the measure before Parliament."

The relative of Gregoyre da Casale or Sir Gregory Cassalis, as he is generally designated in State Papers of this time, must be Francesco, Vincenzo, or Raffaele, all of whom are mentioned in Rawdon Brown's *Venetian Calendar*, as well as in Brewer's *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv., for although Sir Gregory had a younger brother, named Paolo, who in Dec. 1529 came to London as Papal nuncio, he only stayed a fortnight, and returned to Rome.

p. 676, line 3 of second paragraph. "Accompanied by the sieur de Praët." It is doubtful whether Antoine *du Prat*, Cardinal of Sens, and Francis' High Chancellor, be not meant there instead of Louis de Flandre, *sieur de Praët*, especially as it is said lower down that he (King Francis ?) had left commission to the Imperial ambassador to attend [in Paris] to Queen Eleanor's act of renunciation, which had not yet been drawn according to his wishes. The ambassador might be Bonvalot, who, as recorded elsewhere, remained in charge of the Imperial embassy in Paris.

p. 677, line 4. "The project of marriage between Isabella Colonna and the abbot of Farfa has been abandoned." "*Isabella*" is evidently a mistake for *Claudia*, the daughter of Giulio or Julio, and niece of Pompeo Colonna, whose marriage to the ex-abbot of Farfa, Napoleone Orsino, was so violently opposed by Ascanio and the rest of the Colonnese that it never took place at all, although it must be said that a great authority in genealogical matters expresses a doubt on the subject, and in one or two instances calls *Claudia Colonna* the wife of that turbulent ecclesiastic. See Litta, *Famiglie Italiane*, under *Colonna* and *Orsini*. The statements made from time to time by the Imperial ambassadors are so contradictory that it is almost impossible to arrive at the truth. Compare Mai's despatch under No. 383, p. 609, where he says that, having fallen in an ambush laid by Ascanio Colonna, the ex-abbot escaped with the greatest difficulty, losing on the occasion "both his mistress and his sons," and another of the 15 June (No. 352, p. 594), where he asserts having received a letter from Pompeo informing him that Julio had exhibited papers and deeds to prove that "the marriage could not be prevented."

p. 678. Of this Carlos Torrellas, who most likely was the brother of D. Pablo, the canon, residing at Venice in 1530, (p. 696,) mention is made in a "History of Aragon," comprising 15 years of the reign of Charles V., from 1525 to 1540, by Diego Joseph Dormer (Zaragoza, 1697, folio). It is there said (p. 499) that D. Carlos Torrellas was imprisoned in consequence of his refusing to appear as witness, and give evidence against the Archbishop D. Juan de Aragon, accused of having had something to do with the murder of Don Francisco de la Cavalleria on the 1st of April 1526. As Don Carlos was a Knight of Santiago, and perhaps also in orders, the Emperor had naturally to apply to Rome for a brief dispensing Torrellas of his oath. This Clement would not grant, and consequently on the 4th of September 1530, the Emperor being at Augsburg, wrote to Micer Mai, urging for the brief, adding, "as to the Archbishop's person no mention is to be made whether to impute criminality, or proceed against him, for under present circumstances it would be highly inconvenient."

In 1534 this same Carlos Torrellas had a quarrel with D. Martin de Gurrea, in which the bishop of Huesca tried in vain to interfere. See *ibid.*, chap. LXXII., pp. 479–82. The allusion made in Mai's letter has, however, reference to Torrellas' former affair at Rome, and to the application made for a brief authorizing him to break his oath, and declare. *See* No. 405, p. 686, where mention is again made of this affair.

p. 680, No. 402. The death of the Prince happened at Gavinana, "presso alla montagna di Pistoia," "Facendo," says Guicciardini, the historian, "offizio di home di arme, non de capitano, spintosi temerariamente innanzi fu ammazzato." *Istoria d'Italia*, lib. xx. Gavinana, I must observe, is often called by Mai and others, Favignana and Gaviñana.

p. 686, No. 405, second line of paragraph 2. "Pirans" is a misprint for "Pisans."

p. 688, No. 410. On the margin of Muxetula's despatch to the Emperor (15 Aug. 1530, No 410), where Clement's opinion about Genoa and its defences (*defenderla*) is recorded, is a note in Secretary Idiaquez' hand thus worded: "As long as Andrea Doria keeps his engagements there is no fear at all." The note itself is not in Bergenroth's copy from Simancas, but in this as in other instances the omission must be attributed to carelessness of the clerks, not always faithful to their task. Idiaquez, whose proper name was Alonso, and who will be mentioned hereafter as having obtained a commandery in the military orders of Calatrava or Santiago, perhaps in both, was a native of San Sebastian, in the Basque Provinces. At this time he appears as one of Charles's Secretaries of State under Francisco de los Covos, but he soon became member of the Emperor's Privy Council, whom he followed in his various journeys. He was slain in 1547 at the crossing of the Albis or Elbe, in Germany.

p. 690, line 9 of 2nd paragraph. "The Chancellor (Cromwell)" is a decided mistake, for Sir Thomas More held still the seals of that office, and, besides, Cromwell was never High Chancellor of England.

p. 691, foot-note †. "a ses princes" is a misprint for "a ses priuees chasses."

p. 693, line 12 of paragraph 3. The word translated by "men of letters" is the Spanish *letrados*, from "litterati;" but at this time the word meant rather a "clerk" and a "lawyer."

p. 696, line 2. "Don Rafael de Coma by name;" elsewhere (pp. 737) "Como," which seems a preferable reading.

p. 697. "The bishop of Chieti, Giovan Pietro Caraffa." Was he really bishop of Theati or Teate? for according to Gams *Series Episcoporum*, that see was held by Guidone de' Medici from 1528 to 1537. *See above*, p. 973.

p. 701. "Viscount of Erol;" read *Evol* or *Ebol*. His name was D. Ramon de Só de Castro y Pinós, an Aragonese nobleman.

p. 701. "Cardinal Ravenna writes that his brother Ancona," &c. Instead of "brother" read "nephew," for such was *Benedetto* degli Accolti, cardinal of Ravenna, of *Pietro*, cardinal of Ancona.

p. 701. "Andrea Doria and *Pedro* Bazan," &c. Thus in Mai's despatch, No. 418; but I am inclined to think that *Alonso* is meant. *See* pp. 567, 706, 763.

p. 703, No. 420. The rumour said to have been current at Rome of Albany having gone thither in Sept. 1530 for the purpose of marrying his *son* to Caterina is nowhere confirmed; the same ambassador says elsewhere "his brother," which is more likely.

p. 703, No. 419. To the 8th article of the memorandum on the divorce the words "on France," between "war" and "better," have been omitted. In the same document, under No. 11, "Alexander, Pope," is evidently an error for *Julius II.*, who granted the dispensation for Katharine's second marriage.

p. 704–5. Perez de Nueros, whose Christian name was *Juan*, was not an ordinary courier, as stated at p. 700, but Charles's treasurer, and paymaster-general to the Imperial fleet. He had in 1527 distinguished himself greatly during the siege of Naples by Lautrec, as well as in the celebrated sea fight where the gallant Ugo de Moncada fell. He had a brother, named Jayme, who served in Milan. The report that he was slain by Neapolitan "fuorusciti," owing to his carrying despatches concerning them to Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, was very current at the time. *See* Dormer, *Anales de Aragon*, p. 485.

p. 706. Chapuys' two despatches of the 4th and 5th September are substantially the same, though addressed respectively to Margaret and to Charles. That, however, of the 20th, said to have been also addressed to Margaret, is not to be found in the Vienna Archives.

p. 741. "The naturalisation of Miçer Silvestro," &c. One Miçer Silvestro, or Silvestre, secretary to Cardinal Ancona (Benedetto degli Accolti), had at this time great influence with the Imperial ambassadors at Rome, as appears from the following passage of a letter from Mai to Covos, dated 2 Oct. 1530, of which no abstract has been given, owing to its contents being almost similar to those of No. 454. "En Mantua supliqué á su Magd. por unas naturalezas para varios de estos Italianos que nos sirven bien. Concedieronsenos tres en Aragon. Una de ellas era para Micer Silvestro, el auditor del Cardenal Ancona, que es la persona que como á su Magd. digimos en Mantua, el arzobispo de Jaen (Fr. Esteban Gabriel Merino) y yo, es el que lo gobierna todo en casa de aquel cardênal. Pediala el Silvestre para poder gozar 600 ducados de renta [eclesiastica] en Castilla. Digeronme entonces que supiese de él si se contentaria con que la naturaleza fuese en Aragon. Vino ahora con el de Ancona, y me dijo que sino podia ser en Castilla, que fuese en Aragon, pero que mas querria menor cantidad de ducados en Castilla que en los reynos de Aragon."

p. 743, note. The word "bagas" is evidently a mistake for *hacas*, as was no doubt intended. "Haca," now written *jaca*, is the Spanish for "hack."

p. 757, line 4 of 2nd paragraph. "and daughter also of the Duke's brother," change "brother" into "sister," or *hermano* into *hermana*, for Caterina's mother was Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, whose sister Anne had been married to John Stuart, duke of Albany.

p. 758. The inundation of Rome, caused by excessive rains and the overflowing of the Tiber, is graphically described in a letter of Francesco Guicciardini, the historian, to the duke Alessandro de' Medici, dated the 13th of October. "The water reached the steps of St. Peter; and Clement, who was returning from Ostia, was obliged to pass two whole days at Santa Agatha and Monto Cavallo before he could reach his palace in safety." "Il danno (he says) è stato grandissimo, che ad una città afflitta e consumata come questa è parso un' altro sacco." *Lettere de Principi*, Venetia, 1581, vol. ii., pp. 201–3.

p. 764, No. 461. "The Vayvod has an agent in France," &c. Frequent mention has been made of a secretary, agent, or ambassador of John Sepuse, *alias* Zapolsky, vaivod or governor of Transylvania, now pretending to the crown of Hungary. Besides the bishop, who in 1528–9 had resided at the court of France, one Corsini (Andrea), and a certain Biodеros are mentioned.

p. 764, last note at the foot of the page. "Ladislas" is a mistake for "Louis," the last King of Hungary of the Jagellon dynasty, slain at Mohatz in 1526; the husband of Mary, the dowager queen of that country, and subsequently governess of the Low Countries for the Emperor.

p. 771. The marquis named in Ferdinand's letter to High Commander Cobos (No. 466) was probably Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, second marquis de Denia, the same nobleman to whose keeping Joanna, the mother of Charles, was entrusted by Ferdinand, her father. According to a custom very prevalent in Spain, one of his sons, Don Enrique, took his mother's name.

p. 774, last line but one. "sailor" is a misprint for "tailor."

p. 776, The Dean mentioned in line 1 of 4th paragraph might be Jacopo de Banisiis, who in papers and letters of this very year is frequently designated as *el Dean, le Doyen, Decanus.* He was formerly one of Maximilian's secretaries, and, from the familiar manner in which Salinas speaks of him, I am inclined to believe that he was still in Ferdinand's employment.

p. 777. "Cingolo militare," Italian order of chivalry instituted about this time. Again, three lines before the end of the page. "The Duke" read "the dukes."

p. 779. "Letters have since come from the King of England." Though enclosed, as it is said, in Mai's despatch, they are not in Simancas.

p. 782, line 3 of last paragraph. "The remaining daughter of Montferrato;" that is, Mary, second daughter of Guglielmo, and sister of Bonifazio VI. She was married by proxy to Frederic, duke of Mantua, but her marriage being annulled, she retired to a convent and died in 1530. Margaret, her sister, was married in 1533 to the said Duke, after annulling another previous marriage by proxy to Giulia, the daughter of the King of Naples.

p. 799, line 6 of third paragraph. "The removal of the communion reed." It was not until I had consulted one of the learned Fathers at Farm Street, and received the following answer in writing, that I made up my mind to translate "le cane" or "la canne" by communion reed:—"A compromise was agreed between the Lutherans and the Emperor, under which the latter permitted them communion in both kinds, conditionally, on their receiving the cup through a 'reed' or 'cane.' This, I believe, was what the Lutherans desired the removal of." I still had my doubts on this point, and thought that "cane" might be an error or "lapsus calami" of Chapuys for "canon," or rather the tablet placed on the altar of every Catholic church where mass is celebrated. In this opinion I was confirmed by the Rev. Father Knox of the Oratory, Brompton, who, being consulted by me on the subject, answered that "cane" in the passage alluded to is really meant for "canon of the mass."

In the foot-note itself, line 2, "du prestres" ought to be "du prestre" or "des prestres."

p. 801, line 46. "And that the Dansich (Dantzig)," &c. The sentence ought to be read thus: "and that the Dansich (Dantzigers) in the said country *were* Lutherans."

p. 807, 4th paragraph in cipher. "Notwithstanding Gonzaga's and Soria's strenuous efforts," &c. According to Orlando Malavolti, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Sanesi* (Venetia, MDCXCIX, 4to), the troubles at Siena orginated in this way:—Soon after the surrender of Florence, Lope de Soria, the Imperial agent and commissary so frequently mentioned in these pages, was dispatched by Ferrante Gonzaga to Siena for the double purpose of adjusting matters between that Signory and the "fuorusciti" or emigrants, and communicating the orders he had received from the Emperor to have his troops quartered within their territory. Neither request seems to have been attended to by the party in power, for shortly after Gonzaga's men entered Lucignano and sacked it (p. 781). From Pienza, where he took up his quarters, Gonzaga kept threatening the Sienese until an agreement was made, importing that the government of the Signory should pass into other hands, the emigrants (*fuorusciti*) be recalled, their property and rights restored, and the inhabitants of some of the "Monti," who, in consequence of a previous revolution, had been entirely excluded from the administration of the country, again allowed to take part in it, The Cardinal Archbishop of Siena (Francesco Bandini), Lope de Soria, the Imperial Commissary, the duke of Malfi (Gio. Battista Piccolomini), Gio. Palmieri, and Antonio de' Vecchi, having been appointed for the purpose of framing a new constitution, a proposal was made by them for the emigrants to be reinstated in all their rights; the "Monte di Nove" to have a full share in the government of the country; a "balia" consisting of twenty members to be appointed under the intervention of the "Capitano del Popolo," as well as of the duke of Malfi, the Imperial commander. The proposed agreement, however, was rejected by the "Nove," as not sufficiently equitative; and, notwithstanding Soria's efforts, and the subsequent departure of the Duke for Naples, after resigning his post of commander of the forces, the troubles of Siena increased,—the "popolari" and "reformatori" came to hands, and the "Nove," who were in a minority, were again expelled from the territory of the Signory.

p. 808. No. 496, being a despatch of Mai, has been headed by mistake as if it were addressed by Don Pedro de la Cueva to Covos.

p. 814, first line of paragraph 2. "As soon as the death of the Archbishop was known here." There were at this time only four archbishoprics in Castille, namely, Toledo, Santiago, Seville, and Granada; two more in Aragon, *i.e.*, Tarragona and Saragossa. This latter see was still held by a relative of Ferdinand the Catholic, whose death will be recorded at page 838.

p. 815. The Cardinal alluded to in the Abbot's letter (No. 506) was, most likely, Domenico Cupi, bishop of Trani and Cardinal, to whom a pension of 10,000 ducats in England had been offered by Sir Gregory Casale in Henry's name, if he only would promote at Rome the divorce suit.

p. 818, line 11 of 3rd paragraph. "I should rather think that instead of the *book* they intend printing," &c. Evidently one of those written by Robert Wakefield, printed in 1530, and which Bishop Fisher undertook to refute.

p. 830. "Il Sorma," in Nino's despatch No. 519, is probably the Gaspar Sormano of Manfredo's letter to the Duke of Ferrara (No. 376).

p. 832. Whilst abstracting Chapuys' despatch of the 4th December (No. 522) I omitted to say that both text and translation are to be found in Bradford's book at pp. 331–7.

p. 847. Bishop Fisher's book alluded to in Chapuys' despatch of the 17th December (No. 539) must be the one entitled *Gravissimæ atque exactissimæ censuræ*, &c., as at p. 832, *note*. The former, first printed at Alcalá de Henares in Spain, was the "Apologia."

That mentioned in the placard or defamatory libel against the archbishop of Canterbury, said to be the work of an English priest residing abroad, must be the *Practice of Prelates*, by William Tyndale, printed, as is well known, in 1530.

p. 854, 4th paragraph. "The son of the Princess' governess;" that is, Reginald Pole, whose mother, Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury, was then Mary's governess.

p. 858, line 2. "An Italian of the Order of St. Francis;" that is, Dr. Nicholas, the Italian Friar; about whom *see* State Papers, vol. i., p. 337 and p. 972 of the present compilation, *Add. & Cor.*

p. 872, paragraph 2, line 30. "The *Marquis* della Mirandola, the old one." I am not aware that there was ever a marquis of that title. Gian Francesco Pico della Mirandola, count of Concordia, and lord of Mirandola, a strong castle on the Burana in the duchy of Modena, was the eldest son of Galeotto Pico, whom he succeeded in 1509, though he was some years after dispossessed by his own brother, Lodovico. Restored to his estate by the assistance of Hercole d'Este and Pope Julius II., Gian Francesco maintained himself in possession of la Mirandola until he was murdered in 1533, as related, by his nephew Galeotto, son of Lodovico.

p. 874. "Poggilonsi," in paragraph 3, is a misprint for "Poggibonsi."

"Maria Brandini," in line 4 of the next, ought to be "Mario Bandini," the brother of Francesco, the archbishop of Siena from 1529 to 1588.

p. 882. "Granville," in paragraph 2, a misprint for "Granvelle;" and in line 2 of the 4th, "Palaçuelos" for "Palaçuelos de la Sierra."

p. 885. "Cuevo" is a misprint for "Cuero." In note ‡, instead of "1580," read "1606," the year in which the first edition was printed, the former date being that of the year in which the pilgrimage was undertaken.

p. 883. With regard to the paper under No. 572, it must be observed that, though somewhat different in context from 419 (p. 702), it seems only a corrected draft, with such additions and suppressions as the state of the divorce suit at the time required. Nor are these two the only drafts preserved at Simancas. There is a third, the contents of which are divided into three distinct parts; namely: 1st, Memorandum of letters to be addressed to various persons concerning the marriage (*matrimonio*) of the Queen of England to Henry. 2nd, Instruments and deeds (*escrituras*) which may at present be useful for the defence of the Queen's rights. The originals to be procured in the most authentic form possible, duly attested by public notaries, and forwarded to Rome. The heirs of Secretaries Miguel de Almazan at Saragossa, those of Hernan Dalvarez (d'Alvarez) at Toledo, as well as those of Mossen Coloma at Valencia, will probably be able to say where, and in whose hands, the said instruments and deeds are. 3rd, Instruments and deeds to be procured in virtue of the compulsory letters.

This last part is, perhaps, the one which differs most from Nos. 419 and 572. For instance, article, the fifth, is thus worded: "Scrupulous search to be made for the original powers granted by the Catholic sovereigns, Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, to Hernan Duque de Estrada, their servant, that he might claim and ask from the King of England [Henry VII.], father of the present one, the 100,000 ducats constituting the Princess of Wales's dower, and request the said King to allow the Princess to return to Spain with her household servants, &c., to look out for the letters of the said Hernan Duque de Estrada, informing King Ferdinand that the English King (Henry VII.) would not let their daughter, the Princess, come back, nor return her dower. Also for the letters which the same King Henry wrote on this matter, excusing himself, and most particularly two of them in which he asks for a prorogation of the time at which he was bound to refund the money of the dower, alleging that he had actually refused another marriage for his son (Henry) with a larger dower for the sake of cementing the alliance of England and Spain.

"Besides the above, a search must be instituted for a letter of the present King of England (Henry VIII.), stating that he had actually consummated his marriage with Katharine, that he was pleased, and that his coronation and the Queen's had taken place with due solemnity; the date of the letter being 1509."

Vol. II.

p. 5. The Sieur de Bossu mentioned in par. 1. as having been the bearer of Charles's letter to his sister Mary, the widow of Louis King of Hungary, appears to be the same person alluded to in vol. iii. part I. p. 561, as having left Lyons for Madrid with despatches. His name was Jean Hennin, Sieur de Bossu, in Brabant. In 1531 the Emperor appointed him to the office of Master of the Horse, or Grand Equerry, in the room of Mr. de Montfort, who had died in April 1530. *See* Bradford's Itinerary of Charles V., p. 497, where he is erroneously named *Jean Hainn, seigneur de Bosse.* In 1719 one Thomas Philippe Hennin de *Bossut* was archbishop of Mechlin (Malines) and Cardinal.

p. 10, last line. "A book by Petrus de Palude." Pierre des Marais (?). For a refutation, by Nicholas Harpsfield, of the passage alluded to, see *A Treatise on the pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon,* lately edited by Nicholas Pocock for the Camden Society, pp. 75, 77, 83, 100, 118, 121.

p. 47, first line to be punctuated as follows: "had actually left that city; 20,000 are still wanting," &c.

p. 47, No. 423, the last paragraph. "The Milanese ambassador here." Two were the agents of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, at Rome from 1529 to 1531; that is, Galterio Corbeta, a lawyer mentioned at p. 65 as a friend of Miçer Mai; and another, whose name is not given, but who seems to have resided at Rome during the greater part of 1529, before his master, the Duke, was officially re-invested in his duchy. Once or twice in these pages Girolamo Morone, or his son the Bishop, are mentioned as having charge of Sforza's affairs at the Papal Court; but which of them is here intended cannot be easily determined. His colleague at the court of France was probably Taberna or Taverna (Giovan), the brother of Francesco, the Chancellor, who came to London as ambassador in 1533.

p. 56, line 3 of last paragraph in No. 632. "He has." Intercalate "Mai" between brackets.

p. 59. Romaricomonte is not an abbey in the kingdom of Naples, as I was led to suppose from certain passages of Sandoval's *Historia del Emperador V.*, lib. xvi., but one in the department of the Vosges in France, now called "Remiremont," and in former times *Avendi Castrum,* or Romarici Mons, from the name of its founder St. Romaric, in 620.

p. 80. Sir Gregory Casale's cousin, mentioned in the third paragraph, must be *Raffaele,* who about this time was employed by Henry. Sir Gregory had three brothers: *Paul* (Paolo); *Giovanni,* the Prothonotary, English ambassador in Venice; and *Francesco,* who was the youngest. *Raffaele* and *Vincencio* were his cousins. *See above, p.* 978.

p. 88, last paragraph of No. 654. "as the *Bachelor* and Don *Hernando* will, no doubt, both report." Who these two individuals were is not easy to determine; most likely the agents of the Archbishop (Tavera), to whom Mai writes from Rome. In the foot-note referring thereto, I conjectured that Davalos might be one of the two. But I was mistaken, for that lawyer's Christian name was *Rodrigo,* not Hernando or Fernando; and, besides, his arrival at Rome, as Katharine's proctor in the matrimonial suit, did not take place until June 1533. True, Charles's general, the gallant Marquis of Pescara (Don Fernando Davalos d'Aquino), is frequently designated in these pages as Don *Hernando Davalos,* but the conjecture would be altogether inadmissible, that captain having died in Dec. 1525.

p. 89, No. 657. "The Sienese have told the captain and the men." Most likely Field Marshal Urries, who, as recorded at p. 68, was sent to Siena with 500 Spanish infantry to maintain order in that city.

p. 90, first line. "And the league of Sweden was being made:"—"y dicen que la liga de Suecia era hecha." Thus in Mai's despatch, but it is evidently a mistake for "la liga de Suabia," or Suabian league.

p. 96, first line. "And that the day before the finest and most learned preacher." I presume that the preacher alluded to is William Tyndale, who was actually arrested in March, and owed his deliverance principally, as here stated, to King Henry.

p. 128, No. 698, line 2 of the second paragraph. The words "Garcia de Loaysa" to be placed between brackets, since they are intended as an explanation of the preceding, "Monseigneur or Monseñor d'Osma," which bishopric he held from 1525 to 1532, when he was promoted to that of Siguenza.

p. 129. At the end of line 1 of foot-note the article *la* has been omitted.

p. 139, No. 707, line 2 of second paragraph: "with the Pope's permission" ("con permiso del Papa"). Thus I find it in Muxetula's original despatch, but the sense, in my opinion, requires "without (*sin*) permission."

p. 146. The two papers (Nos. 712 and 713) relating to Florence are evidently misdated. The surrender of that city took place on the 11th of August 1530, the evacuation of Malatesta Baglione and his auxiliaries in the following September, and the entrance of Count Lodrone with the Imperial garrison in the first days of October.

In 1531, in the month of April, Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici made an unsuccessful attempt to enter the city, and deprive his brother Alessandro, then residing at the Emperor's court in Germany, of the sovereignty. It was not until the ensuing month of May that the Florentine deputies (Ruberto Acciajouli and Luigi Ridolfi) took at Ghent the oath of allegiance to the future duke, whose reception in Florence took place on the 5th of July. According to Mecatti, *Storia Cronologica della città di Firenza*, Napoli MDCCLV., p. 625, the Duke arrived at Prato in June. On the 24th the city sent four magistrates to visit him: Guido or Guidone de' Medici, archbishop of Chieti, Francesco Minerbetti, Archbishop of Torre (Turritanus), Matheo Strozzi, and Palla Rucellai. On the 3rd of July Benedetto Buondelmonte being still "gonfaloniere," Muscettola arrived with the Imperial diplomas. Two days after, on the 5th, "a veintitre ore giunse a Firenze il duca Alessandro dalla porta a Faenza, e andato prima alla Nunziata passò poi al suo palazzo, dove fu riverito, ed inchinato dai primari dalla città Il ditto Duca, il Mussettola é el Nuncio Apostolico con un numerosissimo treno di cittadini resi ando a palazzo dove la Signoria le ricevette, andandogli encontro fino alle scale."

p. 185, line 4 of second paragraph. "The bishop of Auxerre (Tinteville)." His true name was François d'Inteville, though it is frequently found in documents of the time as Dinteville, Tenteville, or Tynteville. His brother John, who was bailli de Troies, came to England in 1533 as ambassador.

p. 186, line 2 of second paragraph in No. 745. "is now being forwarded," &c.; add "to him at Naples," where Don Iñigo de Mendoza was then residing.

p. 200. The book mentioned in paragraph 4 is "A Glasse of Truthe," of which there are two editions without date. A reprint of it has appeared in the new edition of Burnet's Records of the Reformation, by Pocock. It is anonymous, and must have been first printed before the 24th of June 1531, since Chapuys' despatch bears that date.

p. 205. In the first foot-note the date of July 1535, given as of the duration of Andrea, M. Palmeri as bishop of Accerenza and Matera must be a mistake; for, according to Gams, his successor, Gio. Michaele Sarraceni, was already bishop of that place in June 1531. By Clement's niece in the second note, Giulia, the duchess of Camerino, is meant, not Caterina, as might be inferred. Giulia was the daughter of Giovan Maria Varana and of Caterina Cibo, and granddaughter of Francesco, count d'Anguillara, and of Madalena de' Medici.

p. 214. The book mentioned in Ortiz' despatch of the 19th July (No. 766) can be no other than that of Robert Wakefield, which Bishop Fisher subsequently refuted in his well-known work "Gravissimæ et exactissimæ Academiarum censuræ." See "*Treatise of the pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon;*" by Nicholas Harpsfield, LL.D., lately edited for the Camden Society by Nicholas Pocock, M.A.; London, 1878.

p. 217. Ortiz's despatch, No. 767, has been signed by mistake "Garay."

p. 219. "Luigi Gritti," in line 2 of No. 770, is a mistake of the writer; it was Giorgio, his brother, who was taken prisoner by Scalenga, the governor of Asti, and then released. *See* pp. 196–7, 204, 209–10.

p. 225, line 3 of 4th paragraph. "An abbot of Chalex (*sic*)." Having looked in vain for an abbey of this name in Migne, as well as in the Gallia Christiana, I am much inclined to think that Chalex is a corruption of "Chablais" (Caballica), that part of Savoy from which the counts who preceded Amadeo VIII. (afterwards Pope Felix V.), the first duke, took their title of "counts of Chablais and Aosta," by which they were known in the thirteenth century.

p. 230, No. 779. "Micer Mai" in the second paragraph is a mistake; substitute "Eustace Chapuys."

p. 232, par. 2. "Isola (Ischia)." The family of Davalos, to which Alfonso the marquis del Vasto belonged, were originally from Spain, from the town of Avalos in Rioja, and descended in a straight line from Ruy Lopez Davalos, or de Avalos, grand constable of Castille, surnamed "el Bueno" or "the Good," under the reign of Henry IV. After the disgrace and death of Ruy Lopez in 1428, his sons and relatives retired to Naples, where they fixed their residence, and entered the service of the kings of the house of Aragon. Hernando, marquis de Pescara (Peschiara), the representative of the elder branch of the family, having died without male children in 1525, the same year of the battle of Pavia, his nephew Alfonso, marquis del Vasto, succeeded to the estate. His usual residence was *Ischia*, a small island at the mouth of the gulf of Naples, generally called *Insola* and *Isola*.

p. 237. "measures (*procurations*)" is a mistake for "powers of attorney."

p. 238, last paragraph. "Bishop [of Tarbes]" read "Bishop [of Auxerre];" that is François D'Inteville, mentioned at p. 233, though it must be remarked that on the 30th of August 1530 Muxetula mentions already his (expected?) arrival at Rome (part I. p. 688); that in June 1531 he had not yet arrived (part II., p. 184); that again, at p. 231, Muxetula positively announces his arrival, &c. Contradictions of this kind are unavoidable in a compilation of letters and despatches not always rightly calendared.

p. 239. "Agrippa" is Henricus Cornelius Agrippa de Nettesheim (1486–1535), who in 1530 printed a tract of 20 pp. now exceedingly scarce, with the following title: *Caroli Quinti, cum Hispaniarum tum duplicis Germaniæ et Romanorum Archiregis, utriusque Coronationis Historia. Excudabat Martinus Cæsar.* Agrippa was a native of Cologne, where he exercised as a physician. After giving lessons in that town as well as at Dole, in Burgundy, London, Paris, and Turin, he went to Lyons, where his talents in medicine soon brought him into notice, and raised him to the post of chief physician to the Regent, Louise de Savoie. Exiled, however, from France, for reasons not sufficiently explained, he took refuge in Flanders, and was kindly received by Margaret, the Governess of the Low

Countries. It was then that he composed the above-mentioned work on Charles's coronation at Bologna, besides another printed the year before. *Declamatio denobilitate et prœcellentia feminœi sexus.* Antwerp, 1529,—in which he praises his benefactress (Margaret of Austria). It was also whilst residing in Flanders under the patronage of the Emperor's relative that he was requested to write against Henry's intended divorce. Agrippa returned to France, and died at Grenoble in 1535. That Queen Katharine herself, and the Imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, urgently requested him to write against the divorce, appears evident from the fact that letters, probably intercepted, of that ambassador to Agrippa are still preserved. See Brewer's *Calendar*, vol. v., pp. 416, 843.

p. 246, No. 793, last paragraph. "The two Queens, our sisters;" that is, Mary the widow Queen of Hungary, then Governess of the Low Countries, and Eleanor, Queen of France, who, it is to be presumed, attempted about this time to hold a conference for the purpose of settling the differences between Charles and Francis, as Margaret and Louise de Savoie had done two years before at Cambray. The interview, however, did not take place.

p. 253. Chapuys' despatch, No. 802, is misplaced. Though dated the 1st of October it belongs to the year 1532. See *Introduction.*

p. 256, line 9 of last paragraph "These latter," &c. The sentence might be made clearer by inserting the word "English," thus: "and that certain Irish have likewise left their country for the purpose of helping the Scots. The English, on the other hand, do not neglect to fortify their own frontiers."

p. 257. "*Intends* bringing with him as a counterpart for the Lady (Anne Boleyn)," &c. The sense requires "intended." Madame d'Alençon was Marguerite de Valois, or d'Orleans, as some genealogists call her, daughter of Charles, count of Angoulême, and consequently sister of Francis I. She married Charles IV., duke of Alençon, after whose death, in 1525, she became the wife of Henri d'Albret, surnamed King of Navarre.

Madame de Vendôme, mentioned lower down, was Françoise d'Alençon, who married twice: 1st, François II. d'Orleans, duke of Longueville, in 1505; 2nd, Charles de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, in May 1513.

p. 265. "Monsieur de Bayonne" in paragraph 4, line 5, is, no doubt, intended for Jean du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne since 1526, and who in Nov. 1532 became bishop of Paris. His brother Guillaume is generally designated in these pages as Monsieur de Langeais, from the name of his estate in Indre et Loire (France). The distinction I consider of some importance, inasmuch as both having been ambassadors of Francis in England at the same time, they have been frequently mistaken one for the other.

p. 304 line, 13 of No. 844. "Pirro de Cipizano." Whether this Pirro be the same Col. Pirro Colonna serving under Chalon, mentioned at pp.606–7 of the First Part, I am not able to decide. I am, however, much inclined to believe he was the same, and that the circumstance of his being a native or feudal lord of Cipizzano or Stippiciano, may have given rise to his surname. It must be said, however, that Mecatti, in his *Storia Cronologica della città Firenza,* vol. ii., p. 636, matter of Pirro Colonna and Pirro or *Piero* Stippiccciano, two different persons, "E percio all' ultimo di Luglio, sulle ore due di notte, con Pierro Stippicciano Colonello imperiale, con Pirro Colonna, e con Ridolfo Baglioni, parti (Vitello) colle genti in ordinanza inverso Prato."

p. 306. "However this may be, His Holiness is thinking of sending the *Abbot of Nero* to France." The words *underlined* are a mistake. Nero is not the name of a place, much less of an abbey, but that of a Florentine family, often mentioned by Varchi, Segni, and other historians. In 1527 one *Marco del Nero,* son of Simone, went to Lautrec's camp, as ambassador of Florence, and died a prisoner in Naples after the defeat of that General in 1528. There were besides him Agostino, Filippo, Francesco, and Giovanni, all belonging to the same family *del Nero* or *dei Neri,* one of whom might be the "abbate del Nero" mentioned by the Imperial ambassador (Sylva) as likely to be sent by Clement on a mission to Francis. One Giovanni di Nero (del Nero), in particular, is mentioned by the former of the Florentine historians above quoted, as having been exiled thirty miles out of Florence for having taken part in the conspiracy of Luigi Alamani in 1530. *See* Varchi, *Storia Florentina,* pp. 9, 31, 47, 54, 63, 120, 149, 163, 180, 187, 190, 293, 346, 399, 453, 458. Once or twice in Vol. III., Part II., of the present Calendar, Erasmo Doria, nephew of the celebrated Admiral Andrea, has been described as "abbot of Nero;" it is a mistake, to be corrected by the reader.

p. 322. "Two Germans," &c. These were William, count of Nova Aquila or Aquila Nova, lord of Bedber, and John Geogreff, lord of Augermont; the former for Juliers, the latter for Cleves, of which two duchies, then united under one head, Geogreff was chancellor.

p. 323. The foot-note to be modified as follows: Further researches prove to me that "palauderias" is badly written, and that "palanderias" is meant. Indeed, by referring to Lonicerus, *Chronica Turcorum,* Francfort, 1584, 8vo, vol. 2, p. 16, I find the following passage: "*palandarias* quibus equi et impedimenta vehuntur."

p. 337, line 3 of second paragraph. "accompanied by a secretary of the duke of Albany." His name was Jean Barbon. *See* Michel, *Les Français en Ecosse,* vol. i., p. 375.

p. 338. No. 866 is from Mai to Commander Covos; not from Chapuys, as the despatch has been headed by mistake.

p. 346. No. 875, "News from Poland," seems to be a letter of intelligence from some Imperialist to a friend at Rome. No doubt it was originally written in Latin, and then translated into Spanish for the ambassador Mai to forward to Spain. It conveys intelligence of certain intrigues going on at the court of Sigismond. That for Lasky, the Hironimo or Girolamo mentioned at pp. 101, 127, &c., is intended, seems likely enough; but who can "Lobozky, his nephew," be, it is impossible for me to determine. Munckwitz, or Mynkwitz, and Witzhum are proper names of two Saxon families; and among the councillors of the Elector John of Saxony there appears about that time one named Minkwitz. Janux is most likely meant for John Sepuse or Zapoli, vaivod of Transylvania, of whom frequent mention has been made in these pages, the more so that Janos is the Hungarian for John or Jean. As to the "Oppel Vicedmis," neither the present editor nor Herr Paul Friedmann, who has been consulted and kindly helped to the inquiry, have been able to advance a conjecture, unless they be meant to represent the name and title of some governor or viceroy of Transylvania, the original dominions of Zapoli before he pretended to the crown of Hungary.

p. 427. "On Easter Day" &c. Friar Peto, of the Franciscan convent at Greenwich, was the preacher on the occasion. The Royal chaplain, who on the Sunday after preached in favour of the King's divorce, was Dr. Curwin (Kirwan ?), the same who in 1541 became dean of Hereford, and archbishop of Dublin in 1555. As to Father Elston or Elstowe, the guardian or warder of the same convent, who replied to the chaplain's sermon, he was banished the kingdom, together with Peto and other brethren of the same community. The latter, however, does not seem to have been the provincial of his Order, as Chapuy entitles him ; the fact of his having attended one provincial council at Canterbury, and two more at Toulouse in France, not being a sufficient reason for that ambassador's assertion.

p. 466. "In this same declaration Master Taillop agreed," &c. On the margin some clerk wrote *Taillebot*, which I erroneously took at once for *Talbot*. There can be no doubt, however, that Wallop (Sir John), who about this time went as ambassador to France, is meant.

p. 471. In addition to the first foot-note to Helwighen's report, I am bound to say that John Barlow, dean of Westbury, is really the person alluded to.

p. 497. "The King has not yet decided," &c. The names of the noblemen to whom Henry, according to Chapuys, thought of entrusting the government of this country during his absence, seemed to me to be Fitz Walter and Bourchier, lord Berners, the nearest approach, as I then imagined, to *Millort Fiçuatre* and *Millort Burguen* or *Burguer*, as Chapuys' secretary spelt those governors' names and titles. As to the former there could be no doubt; my conjectures as to the latter were, however, erroneous; the nobleman whom Chapuys designates under the title of Lord Burguen was George lord Avergaveny or Burgaveny, about whom *see* Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv., p. 1331.

p. 497. Katharine's chaplain was, no doubt, Thomas Abel, who was arrested and sent to the Tower on this occasion. As to his book, if he ever wrote one against the divorce, it was never printed, and therefore no idea can be formed of its contents.

p. 512, last line but one in paragraph 2. "Brian Tuke" is an error for "Sir Francis Brian."

p. 513, line 4 of second paragraph. Falier was no longer ambassador, having been succeeded by Carlo Capello.

p. 519, line 3. " before they passed cape Malio." Elsewhere " Mallio ;" perhaps Mallia in Thessalia, not far from mount Œta and the Thermopylæ.

Ibid. note †. Sandoval (*Hist. del Emperador Carlos V.* lib. xx.) speaks at length of the resolute defence of the citadel of Günz or Guinz, as he calls it, by its governor Niccolizza. It is situated in Hungary, in the comitat or county of Eisenburg, and not to be mistaken for another Günz, or Guneburg, in Bavaria. *See also* p. 254, where it has been called *Gurk* by mistake.

p. 523. In addition to the foot-note relating to Chapuys' despatch No. 1003 (which ought to have been postponed, since the sign of reference does not belong to it, but to Ortiz's letter immediately preceding), I must again declare that being almost a repetition of No. 802, the document was copied twice by the scribes at Vienna, and the two transcripts placed respectively under 1531 and 1532, as if they were two different despatches,—one addressed to the Emperor, the other to Mary the governess of the Low Countries. Hence arose my own mistake, which I only discovered too late, and when most of the volume was in print.

p. 529, line 12. "*For I am told by the mayor of London, who has charge of the processions in the City,*" *&c.* In the second paragraph the archdeacon mentioned was Nicholas Hawkins, whose uncle, Nicholas West, was bishop of Ely from 1515 to 1533. In the French notes at the foot of the page several misprints have escaped my observation. Line 1, " quelque funoyere " ought to be " quelque *fumoyre*," which word Chapuys often employs as synonymous of " fumée ;" "*quelle aure*" in the 5th is meant for "*qu'elle auroit*;" and again " la jour " ought to be " la journee," or " le jour." These last, however, and several more throughout my quotations from Chapuys' correspondence, are not to be attributed to the printers, nor to the clerks in the archives at Vienna, but are exclusively gross blunders of that ambassador or of his secretaries, whose knowledge of the French language was, as observed elsewhere, very imperfect. See my own remarks in the Introduction to this Part and the preceding.

p. 565. " Montpezat," that is, Antoine des Près, sieur de Montpezat, of which name there are two places in France,—one in the department of Ardèche, the other in Tarn et Garonne. He it was who, after the battle of Pavia (Feb. 1525), went to France to announce to Louise de Savoie the defeat and capture of her son.

p. 575. The name of the " Scottish ambassador " mentioned in the third paragraph of Chapuys' despatch (No. 1041) was probably Sir William Scott of Balwery (see above p. 568) or else Sir Thomas Scott of Pitgorno.

p. 602, line 3. " The bishop *Davoie*, who holds for the Queen." Could John Clerk, bishop of Bath and Wells, who at this time was one of Katharine's Council, together with Fisher, Dr. Ridley John Barlow, bishop of St. Asaph, and others, be meant ?

p. 613. In addition to the second foot-note relative to *Beauvoix* or *Beauvoir*, and my own conjectures on he true spelling of that name, I must state that Mr. Francisque Michel has cleared up this doubtful point in his late learned compilation entitled: *Les Français en Ecosse, et les Ecossois en France*, where the name of the French ambassador is written *Beauvois* and *Beavois*. *See* Vol. I., p. 396.

p. 628, No. 1058. "member of Parliament representing this city of London." His name Temses. *See* Harpsfield, p. 197.

In the foot-note "le royne" is a misprint for "le roy ne."

p. 631. Paragraph about the Swiss, beginning with the words "It might." Instead of "this King" read the "latter King," since Francis, not Henry, is the one alluded to.

p. 635. No. 1060 is headed, in Bergenroth's copy at least, "Cardinal Palma to the High Commander," as printed, and yet there was at that time no cardinal so named. I must therefore conclude that it is a blunder of the scribe, and that Palmeri or Palmieri (Andrea Matheo) is meant, especially as he is frequently mentioned in these pages, and was in correspondence with the Emperor or his ministers. *See* Part I. p. 149, and Part II. pp. 196 and 205.

Ibid. The sieur de Hesdin mentioned in Chapuys' despatch of the 15th April, No. 1061, must be that Jean d'Hesdin, of whom frequent mention has been made in Vol. IV., Part I., of this Calendar.

p. 647. Among the noblemen and officials designated to form part of the duke of Norfolk's embassy to Francis, Chapuys mentions the abbot (bishop?) of Winchester (Stephen Gardyner) and the controller. This last could be no other than Sir William Paulet appointed in the room of Sir Henry Guildford. *See above*, p. 967.

p. 659, last line of No. 1066. "The affairs of his two brothers;" that is, Francisco and Juan. *See* Introduction to Part I., p. xvii.

p. 662. In the foot-note, "to the Emperor" ought to be "to Covos," for it was to this latter that the Archbishop's despatch was addressed. *See above*, p. 635.

p. 666. Add at the end of line 3 "by," as otherwise the sense is incomplete.

Ibid., line 7. "Leyva's opinion on the Monferrato." The possession of Monferrato was long a subject of dispute between the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) and he of Mantua (Frederico Gonzaga). Upon the death of Giovan Giorgio Paleologo, formerly bishop of Casale, and abbé of Locedio, who died without male issue on the 13th of April 1533, there only remained of his lineage two nieces, both daughters of his brother and predecessor Bonifacio VI., who died in 1530. The elder, Maria, had been married to Frederico Gonzaga, but the marriage having been dissolved, she retired to a convent, and died in September 1532. Whether she was, or was not, the same "marchioness of Monferrato" mentioned at page 678 as having been promised to Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and whose hand the Prince of Orange solicited for himself as early as August 1530, is very questionable. At any rate her sister Margaret became the wife of Frederico Gonzaga, who, after discarding Giulia of Aragon, to whom he had been betrothed, ultimately secured that Princess's hand, and, with it, the possession of Montferrato, much to the annoyance and disappointment of Carlo III. of Savoy, who claimed it as a descendant of Aimon, count of Savoy, married to Yolanda of Monferrato. Equal claims were put forward by the Marquis de Saluzzes, whose mother Giovanna or Jeanne was the daughter of Guglielmo Paleologo.

p. 669. The third paragraph of Chapuys' despatch to the Emperor, No. 1072, reads thus in the original: "Au dit vii^{e} jour, environ les viii. heures du matin, je me trouvay a vuasmaystre ou estoint assembles en conseyl *le Chancellier*, les contes de Vulchier et Excez, le seigneur de Rochefort, le tresourier, le contrerouleur Cremuel, les deux chiefs juges de toute Angleterre, les docteurs Fox et Sampson, et autres. Les deux ducs ne s'y trouvarent (*sic*) car ylz estoient allez en leurs maysons loing dicy." As will be observed, my abstract omits the name of the first, that is "the Chancellor," or Sir Thomas Audeley, and then makes only one of Cromwell and the controller, whereas they were two distinct officials, that is, Thomas Cromwell, at this time keeper of the Crown jewels, and Sir William Paulet, controller of the Royal Household since 1530. I need scarcely remark that Chapuys' despatches, almost entirely written without punctuation, give frequently rise to mistakes of this sort, especially when deciphered by ignorant clerks.

Ibid. In the first foot-note in French the last word ought to be "convenir."

p. 672, line 7. "it may at all times;" read "they." Chapuys' private letter to Mr. de Granvelle, giving further details of his interview with the members of the Privy Council on this occasion, is not preserved, that I am aware, in the Imperial Archives of Vienna.

p. 673. The foot-note ought to read as follows: "Ce que esperoye (esperois) y cognaissant le roy ayant un peu sequestre son affection ou passion pour la dame."

p. 674, line 3 of second paragraph. "Benet," between brackets, is wrong; it ought to be "Boner (Edmund)," who returned about this time from Rome, where he had been working unsuccessfully for Henry's cause.

p. 675. I should say that the Order to be bestowed on the occasion of Anne Boleyn's coronation was not that of the Garter, but the less ancient and less esteemed of the Bath; but thus it appears in Chapuys' original despatch, or rather in the deciphering.

p. 688. A copy of the proclamation alluded to by Chapuys is preserved at Simancas, and the transcript of it in Bergenroth's collection; the original is in the Record Office.

p. 700, last paragraph of No. 1077. "at Bridewell," between brackets, may be after all a hazardous explanation of the preceding word "Palace," since it is more likely that Henry on this occasion should go to York House, or Whitehall, as it was afterwards called.

p.717. Second paragraph of No. 1089. If the count della Novellara here mentioned is the same Hannibale or Annibale of pp. 454, 467, where he is described as being a confidant of King Francis, and therefore working secretly at Venice against the Emperor's interests in Italy, it must be supposed that the Imperial ambassadors at Rome and Venice had been able to operate his conversion.

p. 727. The foot-notes to Chapuys' despatch of the 11th July (No. 1100) contain various misprints: "rayne gloyre" in the first ought to be "vayne gloyre;" "deliuver" in the second ought to be "deduoer;" "le" is for "la;" and "subicate" for "subiecte."

p. 740. By "King of the Easterlings or Austerlins" their consul or governor is, no doubt, meant.

p. 742, last paragraph. Leonelo was not the brother, but the son, of Alberto Pio da Carpi.

p. 754. In the ciphered paragraph Chapuys speaks of a mission to Germany composed of an English Lutheran and a German. Who were they (?) About this time, or rather in the first days of August, Dr. Stephen Vaughan is said to have been sent by Henry on a mission to John Frederic, duke elector of Saxony. *See* Froude, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 146. His German companion was Christophorus Montaborinus, about whom *see* Gairdner, vol. vi., p. 396.

p. 763, line 14 "Ansalde" is a misprint for "Ansaldo," the Genoese banker of the Grimaldo family, who was to be the depositary of the funds of the League. *See* p. 763.

p. 782. "Ockin or Ocken" mentioned in the second paragraph, is Ockham in Surrey.

p. 786. The whole of paragraph second, beginning with "should your Majesty," requires correction, as, owing to the transposition of letters at the end of the lines in that sheet's last revise, several misprints have been observed by the editor when it was too late to attend to them. Appended to the same despatch of the 3rd September (No. 1123) is a detached memorandum, apparently in Le Sauch's handwriting, thus worded: *Les noms des herectiques angloix que furent brusles aux champs ce mois de Juilliet, et l'année passée, sçavoir, le tailleur, et le procureur de ceste cittée, puis le nommé Fritte* (Frith), *Bayname* (Bainham), *et aultres.* By "le tailleur" Andrew Hewet is meant; John Frith or Fritte was burnt at Smithfield.

p. 787. "The Duke of Richmond," &c. Henry Fitzroy married Mary Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, on the 25th November 1533.

p. 795, line 3 of second paragraph. "mal playeante" is a misprint for "mal playçante," or "mal playsante," as Chapuys himself wrote; for the despatch, though partly ciphered, is entirely in his own hand.

p. 796. The last paragraph is rather obscure, owing to bad punctuation in the original. Let it be read thus: "The Duke supposed that I was fully informed of the fact [that the fleet of the Hollanders had put to sea], and as sailors of all nations (he said) were known to be generally ill-disposed, he and the Council requested me in the King's name to write to your sister [Queen Mary], the governess of Flanders, to issue orders, &c.

p. 798. "Hearing that the duke of Suffolk," &c. Twice in this paragraph the Chancellor of England is alluded to as sitting above the duke of Suffolk. And finding that the clerk, or whoever had the care of deciphering Chapuys' despatches, had intercalated the word "Cromwell," I, without further consideration, copied the blunder, for that personage was never High Chancellor, but Keeper of the Crown Jewels and privy councillor. It was Sir Thomas Audeley, formerly Speaker of the House, who, on More's resignation in 1532, was promoted to that high post, though he did not receive the seals of his office until the 26th of January of the ensuing year.

p. 807, line 3 of first paragraph. "A brother of the Chevalier." I presume that Prothonotary Giovanni da Casale, the ambassador at Venice, is meant.

p. 807. "Don Garcia de Toledo" in the first foot-note is a mistake for "Don Pedro, marquis de Villafranca."

Ibid. The count of Siruela there mentioned was Don Christoval de la Cueva y Velasco, second son of Don Beltran, first duke of Albuquerque by his third wife, Doña Maria de Velasco. The first count of Siruela (Don Francisco de Velasco) having died in 1504 without male children, his only daughter, Doña Leonor, became heiress to the estate, and married Don Christoval de la Cueva, her first cousin, who, according to a custom still prevailing in Spain, became count of Siruela. That he was Don Pedro, foster brother, appears quite evident from a passage in Cardinal Osma's letter (No. 550, p. 859), where, addressing secretary Covos, he says, "I have done my best for Don Pedro de la Cueva here, at Rome, firstly because I knew his father well, and secondly owing to the esteem and friendship I entertain for his half-brother, the count of Siruela." As to the individual named "Guillelmin" I must say that I have in vain looked in the genealogical records of the time for some relative of the *Cueva* or *Velasco,* whose name was Guillelmo or Guillen. I am therefore inclined to think that the individual named Guillelmin, which after all is nothing more than a diminutive of Guillelmo or Guillermo, that is Wilhelm, must have been some page or buffoon, perhaps a dwarf, already a fashionable appendage to every Spanish courtier, since Charles himself had many in attendance, and among others one named Francesillo, supposed to have written a burlesque chronicle of that Emperor, which was for the first time printed at Madrid in 1855 among the *Curiosidades Bibliograficas* in vol. XXXVI. of Aribau's *Bibliotheca de Autores Españoles.*

p. 811. The reference in the second foot-note is erroneously given. Instead of "p. 805," as printed, it ought to be "p. 810."

p. 817, line 5 of second paragraph. "The King has deputed one Dr. Bonart, a native of Lucca," &c. Strange as the statement at first seemed to me of Dr. Edmund Boner, the person alluded to in that passage being a Luquese, I had no option, as the passage in my copy from the Vienna Archives reads as follows: "Touchant la revocation des ambassadeurs d'Angleterre estant a Romme ce roy en a usé comme le Pape, que revocqua le sien sans luy faire escripre, comme jay çidevant aduertye vostre maieste, mays au lieu de ceulx quil a reuocqué au dict Romme yl y a deputé le docteur Bonart, ung Lucquois, quest son secretaire et collecteur du Pape en ce royaulme." It was not until lately that, having had the passage carefully collated with the original, I discovered the omission of the conjunction *et*, which changes materially the sense, making of one person *two*, namely "Dr. Edmund Boner, and a Luquese, his (Henry's) secretary and Papal collector in England, both of whom are sent to replace the English ambassadors at Rome. The secretary was Peter Vannes.

p. 823. No. 1134. "Relief of Coron,"—separate from the rest of the paragraph, which refers to quite a different subject.

p. 829. No. 1136. "Romaricomonte suit," &c. Frequent mention has already been made (Part I. pp. 707, 717, and Part II. 744, 806) of a suit tried at Rome concerning the abbacy of a convent of the order of St. Benedict, called Romaricomonte, now Remiremont, in the dep. of Vosges (France).

Ibid. "The Duke of Malfa (Amalfi) and Pirro de Xipiciano." The former's name was Alfonso Piccolomini, and he was still commanding the Imperial garrison at Siena. As to Pirro da Cipiçano, so called from the name of a castle in Tuscany, probably Chippizzano, he was, as I imagine, one of the Colonna. He it was who, during the siege of Florence, revealed to the Prince of Orange a plot of the Florentines to poison Clement. *See* p. 304.

p. 844, No. 1146. "[Margaret]" in line 11 is a mistake for "[Caterina]."

p. 848. [Madeleine] de la Tour d'Auvergne was married to Lorenzo de' Medici, whom Leo. X. had made duke of Urbino in 1516. That explains why Clement called his niece Caterina "la Duchesina," or the "little duchess," and would never recognize Francesco Maria della Rovere as owner of the duchy. Madeleine had a sister, who married John Stuart duke of Albany.

p. 850. Luigi Gonzaga, Isabella's husband, died in the first week of December 1532 from a gunshot wound received at the siege of Vicovaro, whilst trying to reduce the ex-abbot of Farfa, that turbulent Napoleone Orsino, of whom frequent mention occurs in these pages. Luigi, who at the time of his death was only 33, left a son named Vespasiano, then about one year old, who succeeded to the estate. *See* Ireneo Affo, *Vita di Luigi Gonzaga detto Rodomonte*, Parma, MDCCLXXX. pp. 116–27.

p. 857. It is hardly necessary to observe that the Nun mentioned in the first paragraph was Elizabeth Barton, the "Nun of Kent." The truly impartial manner in which Chapuys speaks of her is, however, very remarkable.

p. 851. In Salinas' despatch (No. 1150) the last paragraph has, by the insertion of a sentence which ought to have been suppressed, become almost unintelligible. Read as follows : "The Emperor, it would appear, has again written to the Pope, and I conclude that there is some sort of secret understanding between his Holiness's private secretary, Sanga, the successor [in that office] of Jacopo Salviati, the father (?) of the cardinal, and Mr. de Granvelle."

Ibid., last paragraph. "The cardinals' hats," &c. The brother of the duke of Albany was Alexander, bishop of Murray.

p. 858, No. 1152. Of the two spies apprehended by the captain-general of Croatia, and sent to Lubiana (Laibach in Illyria), Codroip was, no doubt, an Italian originally from Codroipo, in the delegation of Udine in Friul; as to Pelon (?), he was a resident at Marano in the same delegation.

p. 864. Chapuys' words leave no doubt: "Il y a cinq jours que vint au roy ung courier despeche de Marseylle par ses ambassadeurs, le quel ne leur doit avoer apporter (*sic*) choses playsantes aux mines quilz tiennent a la court. Deux jours apres son arrivee fust despeche le *frere du duc de Norphoc* en poste, et lon dit quil deust aller en la court de France, mays a ce quay entendu yl ne va que a Paris pour comme procureur du Roÿ estre compere de Madame d'Alençon."

p. 866. "The bishopric of Huesca," &c. After the death of Don Alonso de Só, Castro y Pinós, son of Viscount of Evol, who filled the see of Huesca in Aragon until 1527, Charles presented his own confessor, Don Diego Cabrera or Cabrero,—for I find his name spelt both ways,—who, however, does not seem to have taken possession of his bishopric. Thereupon D. Felipe de Urries, son of the lord of Nisano, who in 1517 had obtained from Pope Leo X. the post of coadjutor to the bishop of Huesca, D. Juan de Aragon y Navarra, with the future succession, renewed his claims, both at Rome and in Aragon, though ineffectually; for Charles, wishing to remunerate Cardinal Campeggio's services in the divorce case,—perhaps, too, to indemnify him for the loss of his bishopric in England, that of Salisbury,—presented him to that of Huesca. Campeggio's bulls were issued on the 2nd of September 1530, but he did not go to Spain, having sent thither his own nephew, Marco Antonio, who in 1531 (8th March) effectually took possession of the see. In consequence, however, of an act of the Cortes of Saragossa determining that in future no foreigner should be appointed to a see in the Spanish dominions, the Cardinal had to renounce, and was subsequently transferred to the see of Mallorca in 1532, whence he was promoted to Tarragona in March 1534.

Ibid., para. 2. "Yesterday morning," &c. According to Stow, *Annals of the Reformation*, pp. 370–1, six were the ecclesiastics executed on this occasion, namely, *two* Benedictines, *two* Franciscans, and *two* priests; Chapuys, as has been seen, increases their number to eight, including a hermit and a layman. The names of the sufferers were Edward

Bocking and John Dearing, of Christ Church, Canterbury; Richard Risby, and Hugh Rich, of the same religious house; Richard Masters, parson of Aldington, and Henry Hold or Gold, priest.

p. 868, line 1 of the third paragraph: "Respecting Carnisecca's letter." In his despatch from Marseilles of the 14th October 1534,[*] Count Cifuentes, in answer to a question from the Imperial Court as to who had given him the information contained in a previous despatch respecting Clement's movements, has the following: "The Pope's affairs are now in the hands of a servant of Nicholas Schomberg, named Carnisseca, who, before becoming one of this Pope's secretaries, had been one of *that* Archbishop's *most favorite* servants. It was through him (Carnisseca) that I heard the intelligence forwarded to your Majesty *on the 7th of May about a proposed interview at Perpignan, which idea the Capuan himself* partook of and repeated to me afterwards."[†] From these words of the Imperial ambassador at Rome, then with Clement at Marseilles, it is reasonable to conclude that the Secretary alluded to is no other than *Pietro Carnesecchi*, the intimate and most valued friend of Cardinals Pole, Sadoletti, and Bembo, a member, we are told, of a Florentine family of high rank, that had always followed the fortunes of the Medici, and who in 1567 was tried and sentenced to death by the Inquisition at Naples. But who is *Carnizuza*, about whom a most reverend cardinal at Rome wrote the intemperate and highly abusive letter, which will be abstracted in the next volume of this Calendar, remains to be seen.

p. 928. Among the members of Henry's Privy Council mentioned in Chapuys' despatch of December 1532, Guildford (Sir Henry) is counted as being at the time *Comptroller of the Royal Household*, which office he is known to have resigned as early as the 6th of June 1531, having been succeeded in it by Sir William Paulet. *See above*, p. 177. One of two things, therefore, must have happened: either the document itself was wrongly dated, or else the word "feu" (late) must have been omitted, and ought to be intercalated. Further on, at page 932, the same Sir Henry is mentioned as one of the Privy Councillors who on the 21st of November discussed with Chapuys and Le Sauch some of the conditions of a revised treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries, as well as the locality in Picardy or Flanders where the conferences were to be held; but that proves nothing in favour of Chapuys' assertion, as Sir Henry may still have retained his place in the Privy Council.

p. 934, line 9 of second paragraph. The date of the treaty of commerce there alluded to is 1523.

---

[*] No. 1136, p. 828.

[†] *Report of the Trial and Martyrdom of Pietro Carnesecchi, some time Secretary to Pope Clement VII. and Apostolic Prothonotary*; by Dr. Gibbings, Dublin, 1856. p. xiii. of Introduction.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

GENERAL INDEX.

A.

Aarschot, marquis d', (Philippe de Croy,) 37, 258, 259.

Abançatis, Jo. Bernard, Florentine merchant, *Int.* xxiv.

Abbadin (Il Abbatino ?), 731.

Abbeville, in France, ii. 546.

Abel, Abell, Master Thomas, Katharine's chaplain, 672, 673 ; ii. 978, 992.

........., ..., writes to Dr. Ortiz at Rome, ii. 494.

........., ..., ..., who shows his letter to the pope, ii. 494.

........., ..., sent to the Tower, ii. 497, 992.

........., ... book written by, ii. 992.

........., ..., papal brief authorizing him to preach evangelical doctrine in England, applied for by Ortiz (Sept. 1532), ii. 522.

........., ..., ..., not obtained, *ibid.*

Abergaveny, George, lord, *v.* Burguen and Burgaveny, ii. 992.

Abrahim, Abrayn, *v.* Ibráhim Pashá.

Abruzzi, prov. of Naples, 584.

........., the, threatened by the Venetians, 171.

Abruzzo, the ulterior; Germans in the, said to be treating secretly with the confederates, 50, 530.

Abstrato, *v.* Hoochstraten.

Acciajuoli, Roberto, ii. 988.

Accolampadius, *v.* Œcolampadius.

Accolti, Benedetto degli, cardinal of Ravenna, nephew of Ancona, 5 ; ii. 995.

........., ..., professing to be an imperialist, though accepting bribes from the English, 10.

........., ..., expected back in Rome, 605, 624, 701, 717.

........., ..., returns, and is recommended by Mai, 763, 806.

........., ..., conducts negociations for the marriage of king James of Scotland to a princess of the imperial family, ii. 86–8, 93, 115, 128, 675.

........., ..., thanked for his exertions in favour of Katharine, ii. 60, 335, 470.

Accolti Benedetto degli—*cont.*

........., ..., his MS. carried away by D. Pedro Pacheco, 11.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 92, 372, 655, 727, 824, 862.

........., ..., from the emperor to, 674.

........., Pietro degli, cardinal of Ancona, bishop of Sabino and Cadiz, *Int.* xxiv. ; 4, 5, 10–11, 154, 172, 181, 194, 270 *note*, 329, 556, 564, 585, 701, 737–9, 779, 782, 866 ; ii. 365, 469, 908, 955, 980.

........., ..., arrives at Rome, 717.

........., ..., his services in the divorce suit much commended by the Imperial ambassadors, 849, 876, ii. 46, 60, 76.

........., ..., protector for Scotland, ii. 88, 101.

........., ..., appointed by Clement to consider what sort of concessions might be made to the Lutherans (June 1531), ii. 195.

........., ..., carrying on negociations for king James's marriage, ii. 913.

Acemilero mayor, office at the Imperial court, ii. 62.

Acequia, *v.* Azequia.

Acerenza (Accerenza, Naples), bishop of, *v.* Palmeri.

Acertosa *v.* Certosa.

Acquaviva, Geo. Antonio, ninth duke of Atri, one of the Neapolitan "fuorusciti," takes service with the French, ii. 786, 791, 849.

Acromonte, Agramonte, *v.* Grammont.

Acuña, Captain, defeats the Neapolitan "fuorusciti" in 1529, 14.

........., D. Antonio de, bishop of Zamora ; brief of absolution to all those concerned in the trial and execution of, 18, 180.

........., D. Luisa de, 733.

........., D. Pedro de, 431, 445.

........., D. Vasco de, 458.

Adda, river, the Venetians cross the, and enter Lombardy, 35–6.

........., Francesco d', banker at Milan, 29.

........., Gerardo d', banker, 29.

Adelantado, frontier captain in Spain, *Int.* xxvi.

Admiral of Castille, *v.* Enriquez.

.... of England, *v.* Fitzroy: Norfolk.

.... of France, *v.* Chabot.

........., Turkish, at Constantinople, tells the Venetian "bailli" that his orders are not to attack the signory's ships, nor those of England and France, ii. 458.

Adorni, family and faction of the, in Genoa, opposed to Doria, and complaining of his tyranny, 831, 842.

........., ..., attached to France, 869; ii. 29, 46.

Adorno, Barnabá, 176.

Adrian, pope, alluded to, *Int.* xvi.; 160, 596, 674, 822, 850; ii. 216.

........., grants to the emperor the patronage of all churches in Aragon and Castille, 866–7.

Adurce, Juan de, treasurer in Spain, 453.

Affo, Ireneo; his life of Luigi Gonzaga quoted, 558 *note;* ii. 966–7, 969.

Africa, Spanish settlements on the coast of Africa, threatened by Barbarossa and other Turkish corsairs, ii. 83.

Agostini, the cardinal's physician; bearer of messages from cardinal Wolsey to Jean Jocquin, 448--50.

........., ..., to Eustace Chapuys, 450, 600–1.

........., ..., arrested and sent to the Tower, 805, 819; ii. 80.

Agramonte, *v.* Grammont.

Agrippa (Henr. Corn.) asked to write against the divorce, ii. 239, 989.

Agustinians in Venice, prior of the, offers his services to ambassador Rodrigo Niño, 699. *v.* Augustinians.

........., general of the, 771.

Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), 329; ii. 43.

........., coronation of Ferdinand as king of the Romans in, ii. 42, 43.

........., letters dated at, 597.

Alamanni, Jacopo, 188.

........., Luigi, Florentine agent, 375, 377, 521, 561-2, 574, 603.

........., ..., his letters to the Signory and "Dieci," 237, 295.

........., ..., intercepted at Asti by Scalenga, 603.

........., himself to be arrested or expelled from Genoa, 604.

........., released, 634-5.

........., Piero, 188 *note*, 377.

Alanges, *v.* Du Bellay and Langeais.

Alachaulx, *v.* La Chaulx.

Alarcon, Hernando de, the marquis, remains in command of the Spanish forces at Naples after the departure of Chalon, 189, 195; ii. 961.

........., ..., in Puglia, 200, 247, 250, 328, 457, 609, 842.

........., ..., against the mutineers of Naples, 684.

........., ..., on bad terms with Chalon, 843.

Alarcon, Hernando de, the marquis—*cont.*

........., ..., letters from the emperor to, 131.

........., ..., Lope de, bishop of Viesti, 826.

........., ..., Sancho de, 567, 808.

Alava, one of the three Basque provinces of Spain, 747, 783.

Alba, Alva, town of Piedmont, ii. 713.

........., [de Tormes,] in Spain, duke of, *v.* Alvarez de Toledo.

Albaine, Albanie, *v.* Albany.

Albania, ii. 458.

Albanians, revolt against the Turk, 544, 868; ii. 260.

........., light cavalry in the Imperial service before Florence, dismissed, 524.

Albany, duke of, *v.* Stuart.

Albarez, Alvarez, Mencia, ii. 714, 680.

........., ..., de Toledo, D. Fadrique, second duke of Alba, *Int.* xiii., xxv.

Albertino, inquisitor at Valencia, 753.

Albion, Yolant de, of the bedchamber of queen Isabella, *Int.* xxii.

Albizzi, Anton Francesco degli, 522, 523 *note.*

........., Roberto de, 522 *note*, 523.

Albolotto, Jacopo, a Ferrarese lawyer, sent by the duke Alfonso to Rome (1531), ii. 180, 183, 185.

Alboracen, Alboracense, name given by Spaniards to Wolsey archbishop of York (Eboracum), ii. 835.

Albornoz, Bernardino de, Imperial courier, 123, 190, 191, 198, 206.

........., ..., the emperor's gentleman usher, 311, 317, 319, 544.

........., at Amiens as Hannaërt's secretary, ii. 548.

........., Cardinal Gil de, 614.

........., College founded by, in Bologna; delivers opinion in favour of the divorce, 641.

Albrecht, *v.* Brandenburg.

Albret, Henri d', called the king of Navarre, 109, 619; ii. 456, 689.

........., ..., his marriage broken off, 764.

........., ..., sister of (Jeanne), to be married to Francesco Sforza, ii. 290, 689.

........., Jean d', king of Navarre, excommunicated by the pope, ii. 336.

Albricias, from the Arabic *al-bisháyir;* meaning of, 189.

Alburquerque, duke of, *v.* Cueva.

........., duchess of, *v.* Velasco (Maria).

Alby, Arby, Mr. d', *v.* Derby.

Alcalá de Henares (Complutum) in Castille, 678-9, 720.

........., opinion of its university in the divorce case, 399, 400, 432; ii. 134.

........., letters dated at, 399, 400.

Alcantara, Military Order of, in Spain, 160, 164, 180, 432.

........., ..., permission to marry granted to the knights of, 142.

Alcantara, Military Order of—*cont.*
........., ..., high commander of, *v.* Cueva.
........., papal breves concerning the Order of, 822.
Alcaraz, Dr., Katharine's physician, *Int.* xxii.
Aleander, Aleandro, Hieronymo, bishop of Brindisi (1524–42), 688; ii. 575.
........., ..., sent by Clement on a mission to Charles (1531) respecting the council, ii. 231, 243, 396.
Aleman, Jean, *v.* Lallemand.
Alencastre, *v.* Lancaster.
Alençon, Anne d', daughter of René, dowager marchioness of Monferrato, 594 *note*, 678.
........., Charles, duke of, *v.* Valois.
........., Françoise d', wife of Mr. de Vendôme (Charles), accompanies Louise to the conferences of Cambray, 108; ii. 227, 990, 999.
........., Marguerite, wife of Charles duke of, ii. 108, 990, 999.
........., Jean II. duke of, ransom paid for the delivery of, in 1424, ii. 788.
........., René d', 594 *note*.
Aleppo, in Syria, 184.
... ., letters dated at, 125, 260.
Alexander VI., pope, (Rodrigo Borja,) 703, 753; ii. 55, 205.
Alexandria, in Egypt, ii. 333.
........., advices from, and the Turk (1530), 829; ii. 333.
........., an attack upon, proposed by the duke of Albany, ii. 77, 234, 333.
.... (Alessandria della Paglia) on the Tanaro, 16, 26, 209, 772.
........., fortified by Francesco Sforza, 166.
........., besieged by the imperialists, 237.
Alfaro, Francisco de, a knight of Saragossa, *Intr.* xxii.
Alferez, meaning of the word, ii. 888 *note*.
Alfonso IV. of Aragon, alluded to, 880 *note*.
........., of Portugal, ii. 10.
Algiers, in Africa, 733, ii. 83.
........., preparations for the expedition to, ii. 83, 266, 824, 916.
Alguer (Alghero, in Sardinia), bishop of, *v.* Pastorelli.
Aliacqua (?), ii. 140 *note*.
Alicante, a seaport town on the coast of Spain, the imperial fleet at, on St. Peter's day (1529), 121.
........., Barbarossa in sight of, 546.
Alicorno (Unicorn horn), presented by the Venetians to Solyman in 1530, 731.
Aljaferia, Moorish palace in Saragossa, 880.
Alliance of England with Spain during the reign of Henry VIII., said by the duke of Norfolk to have been highly injurious to the former, 789. *v.* Treaties.
Almazan, *v.* Perez de Almazan.
Almeyda, Estevão d', Portuguese ambassador at the court of Charles ii., 574–5.
Almirante, *v.* Admiral of Castille and Enriquez.
Almoner to King Henry, *v.* Lee.
.... to queen Katharine, 672–3. *v.* Ateca.
Alonso, king of Aragon, alluded to, ii. 459.
Altamura, in the county of Bari, 364.
Altenbourg, Altenburgh, Altenberg, 317, 378.
Alton in Hampshire, princess Mary at, 468.
Altovitti Bernardo, a Florentine, 574.
........., place or family so called at Rome, ii. 129.
Alvarez, Mencia, *v.* Albarez.
.... [de Toledo], secretary to the Catholic sovereigns (Ferdinand and Isabella), 752; ii. 985.
.... de Toledo, D. Fadrique, second duke of Alba, *Int.* xiii. xxv.
........., D. Garcia, duke of Alba, 660.
........., D. Pedro, marquis de Villafranca, *v.* Toledo.
Alvaro [de Bazan?], 567.
Amalfi, in Naples, 211; ii. 963.
........., duke of, *v.* Piccolomini.
Ambassadors, *English*, resident or extraordinary, in Rome (1529), *v.* Bryant, Casale, Gardyner, Ghinucci, Stokesley, Vannes.
...., ..., ask Clement to declare the dispensation brief of Julius II. to be a forgery, 2.
........., ..., protest entered by Mai and the Austrian ambassador (Burgo) against that assertion, 3.
........., ..., hint thrown out by one of them before the Consistory, "that, had the king known beforehand, he could have put an end to the dispute," meaning perhaps that he might have had poison administered to his Queen (Katharine), 10.
........., ..., summoned before the cardinals in Consistory, to hear Mai's protest read, 6.
........., ..., their answer, 7.
........., ..., and Mai's reply, 7–9.
........., ..., one of them (Gardyner?), a lawyer, whom his colleagues treat with great respect, 153.
........., ..., and who is to remain while the other two (Bryant and Vannes) leave, 172.
........., ..., have audience, and protest against the advocation of the divorce suit to the Rota, 172.
........., ..., ask that the case be personally submitted to the pope, 172.
........., ..., with whom all seem to be in great favour, 182.
........., ..., try to have the advocation and inhibition briefs modified, 181–2.
........., ..., and the legal proceedings suspended for awhile, 191.
........., ... resist as long as they can, 254.

Ambassadors, *English*, in Rome—*cont.*

........., ..., ask at least for a suspension of the proceedings, which Clement grants, 201–2.

........., ..., ..., and Charles approves conditionally, 207.

........., ..., ..., but which Katharine opposes as injurious to her cause, 305.

........., ..., write to Henry in December that they see no other way open than to persuade the emperor to consent to the divorce, and treat Katharine better, 384–5.

........., ..., (1530) two more appointed (Benet and Karne).

........., ..., on their way to the papal court, 498, 528.

........., ..., expected, 550.

........., ..., arrive (7 June), 579, 588, 662–3.

........., ..., remonstrate against the inhibition brief, 682–83.

........., ..., quarrel with Sancti Quatuor, who calls them "heretics," and tells them that they will surely lose their cause, *ibid.*

........., ..., their answer to Burgo when the question of a subsidy towards the Turkish war was first introduced, 684.

........., ..., complain of the duke of Albany's arrival at the papal court, as he is no friend of their king (Sept. 1530), 704.

........., ..., keep daily molesting the pope, and asking him to declare beforehand how he intends sentencing the divorce suit, 717.

........., ..., write home announcing the suspension of the proceedings at Rome, 736.

........., ..., ask for a new delay (October 1530), and present a letter on behalf of England, 738.

........., ..., insist upon Henry's marriage being dissolved without a legal process, 739.

........., ..., press Clement to declare beforehand what declaration he intends making on the divorce suit, *ibid.*

........., ..., solicit cardinals' hats for Casale and Ghinucci, 850, 878.

........., ..., insist upon the three points previously demanded, but do not deliver Henry's letter to Clement, 779.

........., ..., complain that the suspension granted, and about to expire, is too short, and ask for a new delay (Dec.), 835.

........., ..., negociate, 484, 611, 684, 736, 975.

........., ..., (1531,) *v.* Benet, Karne, Casale, Ghinucci, Sampson.

........., ..., report of their having asked for their "congé" (January), ii. 7, 276.

........., ..., said to have misunderstood Clement's words about the suspension of the suit, ii. 58.

Ambassadors, *English*, in Rome—*cont.*

........., ..., conversation of Ghinucci with Ortiz, ii. 238.

........., ..., apply for an audience to discuss points already settled, such as the rejection of the excusator, &c., ii. 335.

........., ..., ..., which is granted by Clement, all proceedings being suspended till after the Epiphany of 1531, *ibid.*

........., ..., apply to Clement for a suspension of the trial on the plea that they want doctors from Italian universities to go to Rome and dispute the case with the Imperial lawyers, ii. 340.

........., ..., (1532,) debate the question of the excusator, Karne, ii. 489.

........., ..., ..., which they ultimately lose, ii. 703.

........., ..., (1533,) recalled (October 1533), ii. 769, 772, 817.

........., ..., to the emperor in Spain (1529):

........., ..., Ghinucci and Lee enter a protest at Saragossa, 229.

........., ..., until they have passed the frontier on their return home, Mendoza to remain in Brabant, 133.

........., ..., to the same at Bologna :

........., ..., Boleyn, Lee, Carew, and Sampson (1529):

........., ..., with full instructions to treat and conclude the divorce case, 297.

........., ..., said to be the bearers of most liberal proposals, which are rejected, 506.

........., ..., how received, 387, 417–8.

........., ..., said to have gone at Charles's express desire, 447.

........., ..., dispute precedence with the Austrian, 473.

........., ..., their overtures to Clement after the emperor's departure from Bologna, 493.

........., ..., to the emperor himself at Bologna :

........., ..., (1529–30,) Lee, Sampson, Boleyn (Sir Thomas), and others, 417, 422, 424, 425.

........., ..., leave London (21 Jan. 1530), 432.

........., ..., their proposals rejected, 506, 534.

........., ..., to Charles (1530), at Innsbruck, *v.* Cranmer, Eliot, Harvey.

........., ..., one of them asks leave to go to Rome to attend to the divorce suit (8 May 1530), 528.

........., ..., one (Cranmer?) going to the emperor's court in June 1530, 593.

........., ..., another puts in the emperor's hands at Monçon? a letter of Henry to him, in which he speaks disparagingly of Clement (Sept. 1533), ii. 800.

........., ..., to the emperor in Germany (1531–2), *v.* Eliot and Harvey, ii. 69.

........., ..., one (Eliot) returns (June), ii. 453.

Ambassadors, *English—cont.*
........., ..., in France, *v.* Boleyn, Fox, Gardyner, Stokesley, Wallop. (1530–33.)
........., ..., one resident at Paris (1530) tries to delay the consummation of the marriage of Francis to the emperor's sister (Eleanor), 871.
........., ..., to Francis at Marseilles; Gardyner (1533), ii. 853.
........., ..., to the duke of Bavaria (William), *v.* Monthaborinus.
........., ..., one sent by Henry in July 1533, ii. 754, 841.
........., ..., to Denmark:
........., ..., one, a doctor, sent to Hamburg and Denmark, ii. 627.
........., ..., back in London (March 1533), ii. 627.
........., ..., to Flanders and to the Low Countries:
........., ..., (1529–30,) Hacquet, 427.
........., ..., (1531,) the same, 11, 12, 198.
........., ..., to succeed Harvey in Germany, 528.
........., ..., reports the death of Margaret, ii. 2.
........., ..., to the duke of Saxony (George) in June 1530, 642. *v.* Vaughan.
........., ..., to the Hanz Towns (Oct. 1533), ii. 818.
........., ..., to the Lutheran princes, ii. 875. *v.* Monthaborinus and Vaughan.
........., ..., to Venice (1529–30), Casale, Croke, Stokesley, 387, 502–3, 551, 657–8, 662–3, 697–8, 830.
........., ..., not allowed to consult the Venetian or Paduan doctors on the divorce case, 502.
........., ..., solicit the opinion of the bishop of Chieti, 503.
........., ..., determine to try Padua and Bologna, 527.
........., ..., in treaty with Zorzi, 869.
........., *French*, in England:
........., ..., (1529–30,) Guillaume and Jean du Bellay.
........., ..., negotiating for the recovery of Maximilian's jewels, and especially of the diamond "fleur de lis," 276–8, 285, 383, 388, 411, 419, 428, 430, 460–1, 465, 469.
........., ..., attending frequently the king's council, 357, 369, 379, 381–3, 395, 460–1, 466–7.
........., ..., (1531–2,) Gilles de la Pommeraye, 858, 862; ii. 254–6, 444, 449, 463–4, 513, 525, 533–5, 561.
........., ..., (1531,) Jocquin, La Guiche, 617.
........., ..., at Greenwich (9 Jan.), ii. 12.
........., ..., never so busy and active as at the beginning of 1531, ii. 15, 40–1, 78, 83, 114, 278, 334.

Ambassadors, *French*, in England—*cont.*
........., ..., (1532,) Montpezat, ii. 417, 424–5, 513.
........., ..., takes leave, 15 Feb. 1533, ii. 600.
........., ..., D'Inteville since February, 1533, ii. 600, 609, 626, 817.
........., ..., the same and Jocquin, ii. 626, 752–3, 761.
........., ..., the former accompanies the Scotch ambassador to court, whilst the resident Jocquin introduces Beauvois, ii. 761.
........., ..., takes leave (Nov.), ii. 864.
........., ..., a gentleman of Francis's chamber (May 1533) for the purpose of hastening the duke of Norfolk's departure for Nice, ii. 689.
........., ..., arrives in London, 6 Nov. 1533, ii. 857.
........., ..., said to have left the court of France at the beginning of October, *ibid.*
........., ..., Chastillon (Nov. 1533).
........., ..., two (Montpezat and D'Inteville) invited to the christening of Elizabeth at Greenwich in Sept. 1533, ii. 789.
........., ..., the bishop of Paris (Jean du Bellay, expected, Dec. 1533, ii. 885.
........., ..., *v.* Langeais, Du Bellay, Jocquin, La Guiche, La Pommeraye, Montpezat, Dinteville.
........., ..., to the emperor (1531), called by Clement a liar and a scoundrel, ii. 290.
........., ..., to Ferrara, (1533, June), one going to Alfonso d'Este, 595.
........., ..., to Milan, (1530):
........., ..., one (Francesco?) to demand from duke Francesco Sforza payment of certain monies spent upon Salluzzes' forces, 751.
........., ..., ..., as well as the restitution of the lands confiscated from the "fuorusciti," 754, 777, 782.
........., ... in Rome (1529):
........., ..., Turenne, Grammont:
........., ..., call upon Clement to join the Italian league, 82, 150, 164, 176, 199.
........., ..., complain of his alliance to the Emperor being the principal cause of his coming to Italy, 151, 163.
........., ..., (1530,) *v.* Grammont and Stuart (Albany).
........., ..., a groom of Francis' chamber (François?), 664, 676, 706, 705; ii. 185.
........., ..., a squire of the king of France (Pontremoli?) with a message to Albany (April 1531), ii. 121.
........., ..., (1531,) Grammont, Albany:
........., ..., propose an interview of Francis with Charles and Clement, ii. 258, 305–6.

Ambassadors, *French—cont.*

........., ..., instructed to help Henry's case as much as they can, ii. 340.

........., ..., dispute precedence to the Austrian (Burgo), ii. 347.

........., ..., (1533,) the same and Cardinal Tournon, ii. 731, 825.

........., ..., to Switzerland, *v.* Lamberg, Auguerant, Maigret.

........., ..., holding frequent conferences with Zwinglius, ii. 201.

........., ..., treating with the Swiss cantons, ii. 305, 762.

...., to Venice (1530–3), 615, 660. *v.* Langeac.

........., ..., a groom of Francis' chamber (Pontremoli ?), 615, 653.

........., ..., (1532), the same (?), ii. 425, 454, 680.

........., *Imperial*, in England :

........., ..., resident, *v.* Chapuys (Eustace), Mendoza.

........., ..., extraordinary, *v.* Le Sauch, Mingoval, Montbardon, Rosymboz.

... ., ..., (1532,) baron Montfalconet sent on a special mission to Henry (April 1532), ii. 433, 440, 449.

........., ..., one, a worthy and honourable personage, to be sent by Chapuys' advice to Henry, to communicate the definitive sentence, if it should be obtained, ii. 649.

........., ..., (1533,) one extraordinary, a person of rank, to remonstrate against the divorce, urgently asked for by Chapuys, ii. 756, 865.

........., ... the idea reluctantly accepted by Katharine, ii. 719.

........., ..., (1530,) in France : Noircames, Praët, Lachaulx, Bonvalot, Hanaërt, 416.

........., ..., (1531,) the same, ii. 89, 341.

........., ..., (1533,) Hannaërt, ii. 912.

........., ..., attempt made by the, to invalidate the opinion of the Sorbonne in the divorce case, ii. 199.

........., ..., to Rome, *v.* Santa Croce, Mai, Muxetula, Merino, Loaysa, Cueva, Cifuentes.

........., ..., to king Ferdinand, *v.* Mendoza.

...., in Portugal, *v.* Hurtado de Mendoza (Lope).

........., ..., to Venice, *v.* Caracciolo, Niño, Sanchez, Soria.

........., ..., two, sent to congratulate the Signory, 454.

.... *Austrian*, to the Grand Turk (1529):

........., ..., one sent to Solyman at Constantinople, 128.

...., returns with an answer ambiguous and unsatisfactory, *ibid.*

........., ..., Rocandolf, Quirós, and others sent in 1530, ii. 126–7.

........., ..., again with offers of truce (Apr. 1531), ii. 141.

Ambassadors, *Austrian—cont.*

........., ..., expected back, ii. 824, 834, 844.

........., ..., to the pope, *v.* Burgo (1529–33) : Sanchez (1531–2).

........., ..., to the emperor, his brother, *v.* Bredan, Nogarolo, Salinas.

........., *Bavarian*, in London :

........., ..., one sent by Louis, duke of Bavaria, to Henry, in 1531, ii. 41.

........., ..., another by William (1533), *v.* Botnykkes.

........., *Danish*, in England :

........., ..., a gentleman (Declyff Rotlowe) of the chamber of Frederic, king of Denmark, sent to Henry in March 1533, 627.

........., ..., to Austria, ii. 892.

........., *Ferrarese*, in England :

........., ..., unfavourably looked upon, 197.

........., ..., at rest, doing nothing serious, 383.

........., ..., to Francis, (Il Manfredo,) 639–40.

........., ..., his letter to the Dieci of Florence intercepted, 681.

........., ..., to the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este), 376.

........., ..., to Francis at Marseilles (1533), ii. 827.

........., ..., in Venice, 615, 653, 731.

........., ..., in Rome (1529–30), a secretary of the duke Alfonso d'Este, 34, 65, 82, 653, 684, 731, 782, 867 ; ii. 206.

........., ..., not present at the congregation held in Dec. 1531, ii. 347.

........., ..., *v.* Albolotto, Beringharius, and Ghilini.

........., ..., to the emperor, 184.

........., ..., in Venice, 731.

........., *Flemish*, in England, *v.* Le Sauch, Mingoval, Rosymboz.

........., ..., from the Low Countries, to France, *v.* Des Barres (Guillaume), Rœulx.

........., *Florentine*, in England (1530), 513.

........., ..., to the emperor (Capponi, Soderini, Strozzi, and Girolamo).

........., ..., at the emperor's court, 163, 167, 168, 178, 185, 188.

........., ..., how received, 188.

........., ..., to the prince of Orange before the siege of their city (Sept. 1529), 212.

........., ..., going to kiss the emperor's hands in thankfulness for what he did for them (Aug. 1530), 670.

........., ..., in France :

........., ... greater favour than ever shown in Paris to the, (July 1530,) 640, 676.

........., ..., to the pope at Rome (1532), ii. 480.

........., ..., one in Sept. 1529, 212.

........., ..., at the court of Ferrara, 603.

Ambassadors, *Florentine—cont.*

........., ..., in Venice:

........., ..., apply to the Signory for help (1529), 268.

........., ..., which is refused on the plea that they are reported to have already made terms with Clement, *ibid.*

........., ..., how occupied in June 1530, 615.

........., ..., his report to the Mantuan ambassador in Venice (July 1530), 664.

........., *Genoese*, to France, at Marseilles (1533).

........., ..., mission of the, concerning the intercourse of trade, unsuccessful, 824, 834; ii. 32, 464, 849, 889.

........., *Hungarian* (1532), from the vayvod of Transylvania to Rome, 736.

........., ..., a friar confessor of Zapolsky, the vayvod of Transylvania; at Rome in Jan. 1532.

........., ..., has an audience from Clement, ii. 376.

........., ..., two from the same vayvod to France and England, *v.* Biođeros and Corsino, ii. 829.

........., ..., take good care of keeping Henry well informed of the movements of the Turk, 257.

........., ..., of the Italian or Holy League at Rome:

........., ..., do not attend public prayers for the peace of Cambray, 82.

........., ..., at Cambray, ask for a draft of the projected treaty (July 1530), 870.

........., *Lorenese*, to the emperor (1532):

........., ..., one (an archdeacon of Toul) to claim money lent by the duke (Antoine) to Bourbon, ii. 576.

........., *Mantuan*, to the pope, (1529) 76, 80; (1530) 682, 762, 785, 811, 842–3; ii. 105, 133.

........., ..., to Venice, (1530) 615, 664, 730; (1532) ii. 456; (1533) 870.

........., ..., to the emperor, *v.* Bagarotto, Torre, 113, 490, 520.

........., *Milanese*, in England, *v.* Scarpinello, Bottigella.

........., ..., one of them (Scarpinello) most in favour with Henry, an annual pension having been assigned to him for his maintenance, 303, (1530) 467, (1531) ii. 16, (1533) 804.

........., ..., to the Emperor:

........., ..., at Piacenza in Sept. 1530, 201, 208–9, 213.

........., ..., in Venice, how engaged, 615, 698, 772, 837.

........., ..., in France (1531), *v.* Taberna.

........., ..., dismissed (Jan. 1531), ii. 47.

........., ..., at Marseilles (1533), ii. 854, 890, 986. *v.* Taberna.

........., ..., in Rome, *v.* Andreasi, Corbeta and Morone, 65, 73, 85, 119, 214, 247; (1530) 611, 615, 777, 837; ii. 503, 763–4, 843.

Ambassadors, *Muscovite* or *Russian*, to the emperor, ii. 961.

........., *Papal*, *v.* Nuncios and Legates.

........., *Polish*, to the emperor:

........., ..., one from Sigismond, king of Poland, at the court of Charles (1529), 101.

........., ..., closely interrogated by the emperor himself respecting his master's dealings with the Turk and the vayvod, 102.

........., ..., to the Turk (1533), ii. 755.

........., *Portuguese*, at the imperial court, *v.* Sarmento and Almeyda.

........., ..., at Rome, *v.* Sylva.

........., from *Savoy* to the pope:

........., ..., ask help against the Swiss Lutherans (1529), 151; ii. 911.

........., ..., proposals made by the resident, at Rome in 1530, 661.

........., ..., in London; an envoy of Carlo III. sent in August 1532 to claim the lordship of Cyprus, ii. 221.

........., ..., at the imperial court in 1532, ii. 919.

........., ..., conference with Cobos, ii. 919.

........., *Scotch*, in England (1530), Balwery, Pittgorno, ii. 534, 558–9, 568, 575–9, 575.

........., ..., one (May 1530) to seek reparation and compensation for damages inflicted in former times, ii. 534.

........., ..., ..., and bearing a message from the queen mother (Margaret) to Henry, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., which is answered rather sharply by Henry and Francis, ii. 535.

........., ..., to France:

........., ..., (1532, March,) to ask for a wife for king James, ii. 417.

........., ..., (1533, March,) bearer of a treaty of alliance with France, ii. 626–7.

........., ..., one, a bishop, sent by James to request Francis' help in his differences with Henry, ii. 664.

........., ..., ..., and to ask for the hand of his daughter Madeleine, *ibid.*

........., ..., another, calling himself king Francis' servant, though a native of Scotland, going to the court of Francis (March 1533), ii. 626–7.

........., ..., passes through London, ii 757.

........., *Scotch*, to Rome:

........., ..., Thomas Erskine, king James's secretary, *v.* Erskine.

........., ..., to the Low Countries:

........., ..., one in June 1529, with offers of marriage between king James and Margaret, the governess of the Low Countries, 98.

........., *Sienese*, in Rome:

........., ..., one (Mario Bandini) sent to settle the affairs of the "fuorusciti" (1530), 874–5; ii. 66, 221, 763.

........., ..., another (Ludovico Politi) in Feb. 1531, ii. 67.

Ambassadors, *Swiss*, to the pope, *v.* Isola (Stephano).

........., *Turkish*, in Venice (Ibráhim-Bey):

........., ..., arrival of a, (June 1530,) 613.

........., ..., leaves for Ragusa, escorted by one of the Signory's galleys, 614.

........., (1532, Dec.), another, ii. 457, 563, 572.

........., ..., at Marseilles, 1533, ii. 849.

........., ..., from the duke of *Urbino* in Venice, 615.

........., *Venetian*, in England, (1529) Ludovico Faliero, 197, 381–3; (1530) 467, 513, 617, 626, 653, 663, 819–20, 863; (1531) ii. 44, 114; 1531–3, *v.* Capello.

........., ..., to the emperor at Bologna, Bragadino, Dandolo, Gradenigo, Mocenigo, Suriano, Tiepolo, Pisani, (1529) 200, 653.

........., ..., at the court of France, *v.* Giustiniano, Pisano, Rosso, Venier.

........., ..., in Rome, (1529–31):

........., ..., resident, *v.* Suriano.

........., ..., with Clement at Marseilles (1533), ii. 869–70.

........., ..., extraordinary, Cornaro, Grimano, 21, 73, 75–6, 79, 159, 170, 268, 284, 286, 325, 381–3, 609, 873–4; ii. 325, 700, 807.

........., ..., conversation of the, with Mai on Italian politics, ii. 20–1.

........., ..., quarrrel, and high words exchanged between Burgo and the, in consequence of the latter having asserted that the Turk would not invade Christendom, (April 1531,) ii. 120.

........., ..., (1529), *v.* Suriano.

........., ..., (1532), Venier (Domenigo), ii. 563.

........., ..., at Milan (Basadona ?), ii. 786.

........., ..., in Constantinople, 693, 698, 731; ii. 323, 419, 457, 519, 573, 609, 693. *v.* Barbaro.

........., ..., son of the *balio* at, his conversation with Niño, ii. 421.

Amboise, in France, Francis and his mother Louise at, (September 1532), ii. 516–18, 546.

........., letter dated at, 998.

Amiens, in Picardy, 486; ii. 230.

........., letter dated at, 1023.

........., bishop elect of, in London, ii. 224, 230.

Ammunition for the Algiers expedition, ii. 266.

Amont, Aymont, le bailli d', *v.* Carondelet.

Amorcuende, Mayor, *Int.* xvi.

Ampthill in Bedfordshire, Katharine at, in the spring of 1532, ii. 423.

........., letter dated at, 931.

Anabaptists, dangers to be apprehended owing to the spread of the sect of the, 117, 120, 151.

........., said to the communists, 117.

Anart, *v.* Hannaërt.

Anatolia, the Grand Turk (Solyman) going to, 731.

Anchona (Ancona) on the Adriatic, taken by Luigi Gonzaga, and annexed to the Roman States (1532), ii. 503, 521.

........., cardinal of, *v.* Accolti (Pietro).

........., auditor of, *v.* Silvestro.

Andalusia, fear of troubles in, ii. 125.

André, Imperial courier, 112.

Andreasi, Rev., Milanese ambassador at Rome (1533), ii. 764.

Andrew, the tailor, burnt as heretic, (July 1533), ii. 996.

Andria, in Naples, letter dated at, 213.

........., duke of, *v.* Baux.

Andrinople in Roumelia, the Turks at, 457.

Angelis, Angell, cardinal (Fr. Francisco de los Angeles), *v.* Quiñones.

Angelo, Misser, a servant of the duke of Gravina, sent by his master to Spain (1529), 122.

........., servant of the admiral of Castille, ii. 112.

Angermont, Mr. d', *v.* Geogreff.

Angers, university of, in France (Andecavi), opinion of, respecting the divorce, 582; ii. 214, 217.

Angosmois, Angoumois, Madame the duchess of, *v.* Angoulême and Savoie.

Angoulême, town of France, 244, 553, 652, 685.

........., Mr. d', *v.* Valois (Charles).

........., duchess of, *v.* Savoie (Louise de).

Anguiano, Dr., imperial solicitor at Rome, ii. 553, 748.

Anguilara, count of, *v.* Cibo and Orsino.

Angus, earl of, *v.* Douglas.

Anhalt, Wolfang, prince of, *Intr.* xxvii.; 46, 48; ii. 9, 56.

Aniago, a village of Castille, in Spain, 775.

Anjou, duchess of, *v.* Savoie (Louise de), 29.

........., count of, ii. 812 *note*.

Annats of the clergy in England:

........., bills in Parliament concerning the, payable to the pope, ii. 390, 417.

........., measures concerning the, explained by Norfolk to the papal nuncio (Borgho), ii. 427.

........., no doing of the king, but of the Commons, *ibid.*

........., in Spain, one-half of the first-fruits granted by Clement to Charles for the expenses of the Turkish war, 146, 185; ii. 911. *v.* Crusade.

........., the measure in suspense, owing to the opposition of the Spanish clergy, ii. 834.

Anne of Bohemia, daughter of Louis, and wife of Ferdinand, king of Hungary, 128.

.... of Britanny, married to Louis XII. king of France, ii. 425 *note*.

Anne, lady and marchioness, *v.* Boleyn and Pembroke.

Antona, Antonne, Anthonne, *v.* Southampton.

Antoncort, *v.* Hampton Court.

Antwerp, 452, 531; ii. 83, 123, 297, 426, 841.

........., dean of, *v.* Banisiis.

........., post between, and London, 292.

........., Spaniard murdered at, ii. 936.

Apology, bishop Fisher's book, sent by Chapuys to Dr. Ortiz at Rome, ii. 912–3.

Aponte, captain, bearer of despatches to Rome and Naples, ii. 717, 741, 743, 881, 886.

........., ..., instructions to, 1162.

........., field-marshal, in Italy, ii. 881 *note.*

Apostolos refutatorios, meaning of, ii. 89.

Appiani, Jacopo IV. lord of Piombino, ii. 966.

........., Beatrice, ii. 966.

Apriarde (?) Lambertus, president of the imperial council, ii. 728.

Aquila, in the Abruzzo ult. (Naples), 138.

.... Nova, count of, a German, so called, from Juliers, on a mission to Henry, ii. 322.

Aquileia, patriarch of, *v.* Grimano.

Aquisgran (Aquis Granum), *v.* Aix-la-Chapelle.

Aragon, kingdom of, in Spain, 12, 537, 792.

........., states of, ii. 905.

........., council of, 152.

........., viceroy of, *v.* Lanuza.

........., canal (Acequia) of, 194, 208, 218, 613, 866.

........., Ana d', duchess of Medina Sidonia, ii. 125.

........., Fadrique or Frederic of, last king of Naples, ii. 973.

........., D. Fernando de, duke of Calabria, 713; ii. 334.

........., ..., sister of, to be given in marriage to the duke of Mantua, 509. *V.* Giulia, ii. 855 *note.*

........., Ferrante de, duke of Montalto, president of the Collateral Council at Naples, ii. 500 *note.*

........., Giulia d', daughter of Frederic, the last king of Naples, betrothed to Giovan Georgio, marquis of Monferrato, 663.

........., ..., to Frederico Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, 509, 728.

........., ... a marriage between her and the duke Francesco Sforza spoken of, 663.

........., ..., her previous marriage to Gonzaga dissolved, ii. 47.

........., Isabella de, widow of the last king of Naples, a pension of 4,000 ducats assigned to, by the Emperor, 494.

........., ..., her daughter (Giulia) betrothed to Frederico Gonzaga, 494, 496, 663, 755, 785; ii. 92, 115.

Aragon, Juan de, archbishop of Zaragoza, *Int.* xxii. 67, 814, 828.

........., ..., servant of, in Rome, 74.

........., ..., closely watched by Mai's order, 74.

........., ..., death of, 114, 828, 838; ii. 984.

.... y Navarra, D. Juan, ii. 999.

Aragona, Ferrante, a physician at Rome, 605.

........., Aragonia, Giovan Aloysio or Juan Luis de, auditor to the Rota, at Rome:

........., ..., acts as Katharine's advocate, ii. 38, 46, 53, 60, 439, 484, 703, 748, 847.

........., ..., his allegation against the divorce, printed, ii. 461–2.

........., ..., ordered by Clement to go to Marseilles, ii. 802, 806, 816, 847.

........., Nicolas de, auditor to the Rota, advocates Katharine's case before the Sacred College of Cardinals, ii. 46, 485, 703.

........., ..., sent by Clement on a mission to the emperor (1530), 480, 556, 565.

........., ..., ..., employed in the Ferrara suit, 865.

Aramandiz, Aramendez, Aramendi, Juan de, dancing-master to the sons of the High Commander (Covos), 1533, ii. 780, 823–4.

Aranda, count of, *v.* Ximenez de Urrea.

Arbitrators, judges, to be appointed to decide the divorce suit.

........., Henry complains of the Papal (Borgho) having told Gioachino what passed between them respecting the, 797.

Arbois in the Jura, prior of, 111.

Arcella, prothonotary, Fabio, papal nuncio at Naples, 550.

Archangel, secretary to Count Cifuentes, imperial ambassador at Rome, ii. 808.

Arcy, d', *v.* Darcy.

Ardres, proposed as the place of meeting of the English and Belgian commissioners in 1532, ii. 931.

Arego, Martin de, galley of, to remain in guard of the Eastern coast of Spain, 733.

Arezzo, town in Tuscany, 282.

........., ..., surrenders to the imperialists, 248.

........., ..., the inhabitants of, claim the protection of Venice, 663.

........., ..., ..., if refused, will make common cause with the Florentines, 664.

........., ..., send an ambassador to Rome to protest against the Florentine rule (1530), 873.

Argentina (Strassburg), 46, 309.

Argüelles, Dr., 883.

Arimini, *v.* Rimini.

Ariola, Mosen Pero de, *Int.* xxii.

Armendariz, Juan de, ii. 780 *note.*

Army, Imperial, in Italy:

........., ..., at the siege of Florence, 318, 478–9, 415, 424.

Army, Imperial, in Italy—*cont.*

........., ..., after the taking of that city to go to Siena for winter quarters, 702.

........., ..., threatening mutiny, ii. 179, 181.

........., ..., application made for quarters for the, ii. 192.

........., ..., Clement's contribution towards the expenses of the, ii. 195.

........., ..., Clement consents to a part of the, being quartered in the Roman state, provided the remainder be distributed between Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, ii. 341.

Arrabiati, a faction at Florence, 685.

Arras, bishop of, *v.* Granvelle (Perrenot).

Arsoli, Amico d', Florentine captain, slain at Gavignana, 680 *note.*

Artal, sent with despatches to the Emperor, ii. 531.

Arthur, king of England, inscription on his tomb at Glastonbury, ii. 26.

........., prince of Wales, and his marriage to Katharine, alluded, 275, 534, 668, 702, 835, 879, 882–5, 887 ; ii. 30, 70, 75, 87, 135, 145, 173, 179, 197, 223, 227, 237, 641, 676, 683, 721, 723.

........., ..., articles concerning Katharine's marriage to, sent to London for the inspection of her councillors, (June 1531,) ii. 197.

........., ..., ..., who, unable to meet and deliberate upon their consents, return them to Chapuys, *ibid.*, ii. 211.

........., ..., an important omission found in them, which will make it very difficult to have them proved in Flanders, ii. 197.

........., ..., at a meeting of lawyers and canonists held in London (in February 1532), a letter of the Catholic king of Spain, Ferdinand, is exhibited and read intimating that his marriage with Katharine had been consummated, ii. 599.

........., ..., the queen's terror in consequence, and frequent messages (three in one day) to Chapuys, *ibid.*

Artillery, ordnance, &c. :

........., ..., several pieces of, lent by Ferdinand to his brother the Emperor 336, 354, 430–31, 455.

........., ..., many with the arms of France said to have been sold by Leyva to the duke of Mantua, 485.

........., ..., at the siege of Florence, 603.

........., ..., king Henry about to inspect the, in the Tower (1531), ii. 3.

........., ..., several pieces of, to be cast, and gunners to be enlisted (Dec. 1533), ii. 877.

........., ..., papal, to Ostia, ii. 741.

Artois in Flanders, a portion of, to be demanded in payment of queen Eleanor's dower, ii. 554.

Ashur, *v.* Esher.

Asia, harvest in 1530, very poor and unsufficient, 573.

Assaphi (Spahi), a Turkish militia, ii. 286.

Assisi, the imperial army under Vasto quartered at, and in the Perugino, ii. 136, 139.

Astesan, the county of Asti, ii. 195, 208.

Asti, county of, 26, 41, 379, 405 ; ii. 136.

........., Francis proposes to buy the, for a sum of money on the plea that Louis XII. incorporated it with his crown, 313.

........., ..., yet renounces his rights to it, 379, 459.

........., to be invaded on behalf of the duke of Orleans (Henri), to whom it belongs (Sept. 1530), 725.

........., ..., given by the emperor to the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), ii. 315, 321.

........., ..., much against the wish of Francis, who claims it as his own, ii. 321.

........., the imperial army to quarter in the, 662, 711 ; ii. 192, 195.

........., Francis' pretensions to the, renewed, ii. 851.

........., town, 405, 496, 825 ; ii. 136.

........., Florentine and French correspondence intercepted at, 604, 740.

........., ..., proving that both Francis and Henry are encouraging and helping the besieged city with money, 607.

........., governor of, *v.* Scalenga.

Astorga, bishop of, *v.* Ossorio.

Astrologer, prediction of an, to Guido Rangone, 831.

Ateca, Atequa, Fr. Jorge de, Katharine's confessor and almoner, bishop of Llandaff (1516–37), 672–3.

Atri, duke of, *v.* Acquaviva.

........., ..., affair connected with, ii. 791.

Attenburu (Altenburgh) in Hungary, 317.

Auch, cardinal, archbishop of, *v.* Castelnau.

Audeley, Sir Thomas, speaker of the House (1528–32), keeper of the Great Seal (1532), lord high chancellor (Jan. 1533), 197, 324, 798–9 ; ii. 617.

........., ..., ..., seals delivered to, ii. 861–3, 798, 926, 928–9, 931.

Audiencias, or courts of Oyer and Appeal in Spain ; opinions of, on the divorce case to be forwarded to Rome, 17.

Auditors to the Rota at Rome :

........., one from England, Silvestro Dario, goes to Rome, 154.

........., another (the same ?) sent by Clement to Scotland, ii. 337.

........., passes through London, accompanied by a secretary of the duke of Albany, and another a Scotchman (Dec. 1531), ii. 337.

........., *v.* Aragona ; Dario.

Auffort, *v.* Oxford.

Augerant (Anguerant ?), Mr. d', French ambassador to the Swiss cantons (1531), ii. 201, 305.

Augusta (Vindelicorum), *v.* Augsburg.

Augsburg, imperial city of, 519, 568–9.

........., Charles's triumphal entry in, 611.

........., diet of (Nov. 1530), 482, 591, 642.

........., ..., breaking up of the, 761, 793, 800.

........., Franciscans of, ii. 306.

........., hopes of the Dominicans being recalled to, ii. 385.

........., letters dated at, 362, 367, 379, 393, 443–4, 478–9, 488–9, 491.

Augustinians, *v.* Austin Friars.

Augustines, prior of the (Brown), to be sent to Denmark, 818, 823.

Aumont, Aymont, le Bailli d', *v.* Carondelet.

Auria, cardinal, *v.* Doria.

Aurobello (?), Joan de, 491.

Ausburg, comte d', *v.* Oxford.

Austin Friars in London, one, an Englishman, a friend and follower of Luther, comes to England under a safe-conduct, 857 ; ii. 337.

........., prior of, *v.* Brown and Barnes.

.... in Venice, general of the, 638–9, 659, 664.

........., reports conversation with the bishop of Veroli at Milan respecting the General Council, ii. 326.

.... of Padua, 696.

Australins, Ostralins, *v.* Easterlings.

Austria, the provinces of, invaded by the Turk, 169, 203, 286.

........., the Turk to return to, 626 ; ii. 74.

........., D. Jorge de (George), natural son of Maximilian ; his pension on the see of Santiago, 330, 472, 520 ; ii. 30, 84.

........., ..., his marriage to Caterina de' Medici proposed by Mai, 704.

........., Isabella of, ii. 962.

........., Leopoldo de', 431, 704.

........., Margaret of, *v.* Margaret.

Autrept, *v.* Utrecht.

Autrey, le sieur d', 110–11, 259.

Auvergne, prov. of France, 794.

........., governor of, *v.* Stuart.

........., duke of, *v.* Bourbon (Charles).

Aux, *v.* Auch.

Auxerre (dep. Yonne) in France, bishop of, *v.* Dinteville,

Auxford, earl of, *v.* Oxford.

Aval, bailli d', *v.* Lachaulx.

Avalos, in Rioja (Spain), ii. 989.

Avergaveny, *v.* Neville.

Averoldi, Altobello, bishop of Pola (1497–32), papal legate in Venice.

Aversa, ii. 504.

Avignon, the English ambassadors try to persuade Clement to go to, (May 1529), *Int.* x ; 3.

........., papal legate at, *v.* Castelnau.

........., the legacy of, to be given to cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, 845.

Avila, in Castille, the empress Isabella's court at, 776 ; ii. 150.

........., Bishop of, *v.* Mercado.

Avlona, gulph and port in Albania, 539, 544, 567, 569, 611 ; ii. 468.

Avocation, brief, removing the divorce suit from the legatine court in England to Rome (15 July 1529), urgently requested by the imperial ambassadors, 161, 171.

........., ..., granted by Clement, 142, 563, 651.

Avranches, bishop of. French ambassador to Venice, *v.* Langeac.

Ayala, Diego de, silversmith, 746.

........., ..., Martin de, brother of Rodrigo Davalos ; recommended to Covos, ii. 736.

Ayerbe in Aragon, lord of, *v.* Urrias.

Aymont, *v.* Amont and Aumont.

Azemila, Azemilero, meaning of the words, ii. 62.

Azequia, meaning of the word, 866 *note* ; ii. 961, 963.

B.

Babá Aróx, *v.* Barbarossa.

Baberi, Babri, Bauri, *v.* Waury.

Babylon, 543.

........., letter dated at, 308.

Bachelor, the, (?) agent at Rome of the archbishop of Santiago, ii. 85.

Backgammon (*Fr.* tictacq), a game with dice, ii. 465.

Baçan, Bassan, *v.* Bazan.

Badajoz, bishop of, *v.* Gonçalez de Manso.

Bade (Bath), bishop of, *v.* Stillington.

Baeza, city of Andalusia, archdeaconry of, *Int.* xvi.

Bagarotto (Antonio ?), Mantuan ambassador at the imperial court, 113, 490, 520 ; ii. 973.

Baglione, Braccio or Baccio, opponent of Malatesta in the lordship of Rimini, 63, 119, 211 ; ii. 960, 964.

........., ..., invades the Perugino, 63, 68, 81, 119, 211 ; ii. 963.

........., Galeazzo, nephew of Malatesta, offers his services to the emperor, 211, 288, 680, 682 ; ii. 963.

Baglione, Lione, brother of Malatesta, governor of Spelle, capitulates, 211.

........., Malatesta, lord of Perugia, said to be arming against Siena, 15.

........., ..., declares for the French, 63, 86.

........., ..., joins the Italian league, 80.

........., ..., offers his services to the emperor, 164, 179.

........., ..., mistrusted by Clement, 193.

........., ..., overtures rejected, 201.

........., ..., in command of the Florentines, 284, 288, 575, 595, 602, 642, 677, 867; ii. 146, 960, 987.

........., ..., secretary of, returning from France, taken prisoner by the imperialists, 193, 603–4; ii. 960.

........., ..., another, with letters from Francis and the Florentine agents, arrested, 652.

........., ..., in treaty with Chalon and Gonzaga for the surrender of Florence, 608, 642, 677, 680 *note*, 682.

........., ..., the Florentines want to take the command away from, for they mistrust him, 686.

........., ..., said to have received a message from Francis exhorting him to leave the service of the Florentines together with Stephano Colonna and Giovan Paolo da Ceri, 602.

........., ..., intercepted letters of, shown by Muxetula to Clement, 604.

........., ..., ..., who believes them to be forged between that captain and the French ambassador in Rome, 604.

........., ..., his presence at Florence after the capitulation considered dangerous, 694, 706.

........., ..., leaves and retires to Perugia, 711, 727.

........., ..., Clement much afraid of, owing to his keeping an armed force in the Perugino, 748.

........., ..., wishing to be friendly, 845.

........., ..., ..., and making overtures for fear of the imperial army approaching the Perugino, *ibid*.

........., ..., offers his services to the emperor in the event of an attack upon Siena, ii. 47, 76.

Bailiwicks, the Swiss, ii. 492.

Bainham, James, a London citizen and proctor, burnt, ii. 996 (May 1531).

Balançon *v.* Valançon.

Balbi, Balby, Hieronimo de, a Venetian employed by the emperor in the East, 184, 455, 463, 543.

........., ..., letters to the emperor from Aleppo, 125, 260.

........., ..., ..., from Babylon, 308.

Balbus, Balbi, Balbo, (Girolamo,) bishop of Gurk, and cardinal, 139, 270, 434.

........., ..., his works, ii. 972.

Balcrique, *v.* Valtkirk.

Balearic Islands, 635; ii. 977.

Ballon, Ballone, *v.* Baglione.

Ballesta, a crossbow, ordered at Barbastro for king Ferdinand, 779–80.

Balsam, a casket of pure gold filled with, presented by Luigi Gritti to Francis, ii. 839.

Baltolina, *v.* Val Tellina.

Balwery, Sir William Scott of, Scottish ambassador in England (1531), ii. 568; *v. also* Scott.

Bandinelli (Vualdino), auditor at the Rota, and papal nuncio to Scotland; arrives in London accompanied by the duke of Albany's secretary and a Scotch gentleman (18 Dec. 1530), 857.

........., ..., object of his mission, 857.

........., ..., how received in London, 863.

........., ..., returns from Scotland, (April 1533), ii. 632.

Bandini (Francesco), archbishop of Siena, 23, 162, 334, 824; ii. 955.

........., ..., agent of, in Rome, 753.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 104.

........., Mario, Sienese agent at Rome, 659, 718, 874; ii. 66, 955, 985.

Banisiis, Bannisis, Jacopo de, the dean of Antwerp, 620, 776 (?); ii. 396.

Banquets and entertainments, Royal, given by Henry to the imperial and French ambassadors (Dec. 1529), 342, 348.

........., ..., to the French (Jehan Jocquin) in July 1530, 672.

........., ..., to Jean and Guillaume du Bellay, ii. 254, 525.

........., ..., by Anne Boleyn to king Henry at a new manor he has presented her with, ii. 254, 525.

Barbaro, Francesco, Venetian ambassador in Turkey, ii. 573.

Barbarossa (Baba Aróx), Turkish corsair:

........., ..., the galleys of, scour the Mediterranean, 321, 546, 615.

........., ..., threaten the coast of Catalonia (Dec. 1529), 377.

........., ..., make great ravages (1533), ii. 824.

........., ..., some of them, and one in particular, hoisting Solyman's imperial flag, taken by Doria (1531), ii. 192, 195.

........., ..., about to sail for Constantinople, and take the command of the Turkish fleet, ii. 797–8, 824.

........., ..., son of, at Algiers with the title of Bey, ii. 824.

........., ambassador of, at Marseilles, ii. 849.

........., Frederic, emperor, ii. 590.

Barbary, Doria to cross over to, 684.

........., pirates on the coast of, 543.

.... horses, ii. 706.

Barbastro, in Aragon, ii. 779–80, 904.

........., crossbows made at, *ibid*.

Barber, a, of Francis's chamber, takes a verbal message to Clement to assure him of his friendship and affection, 310.

Barbon, Jean de, secretary to the duke of Albany, on a mission to Scotland accompanied by a papal auditor, 857; ii. 337, 632.

Barcarans, Joan de, from Oloron in Bearn, *Int.* xxii.

Barcelona, 1, 2, 13, 14, 18, 20, 33, 35, 62, 136, 143, 706; ii. 779.

........., treaty of, between Clement and Charles ratified, 115, 118–19, 147.

........., alluded, 137, 178; ii. 849.

........., bishopric of, pension on, for Granvelle 172.

........., Franciscans of, 118, 780.

........., letters dated at, (1529), 10, 14, 30–3, 60–3, 120.

Barch, La, *v.* Barres.

Barchi (?), Francesco, 375–6.

Barde, *v.* La Barde.

Bardi, the firm of, Florentine bankers in London, ii. 975.

........., captain Francesco de', Florentine consul in London, 375–6, 574 *note*; ii. 975.

........., his audience from Henry, 522, 514.

........., Giorgio (?) Francesco, Florentine merchant in London, 574; ii. 975.

........., Pier Francesco, ii. 975.

Bari, town of Naples, 126.

........., duchy of, 166, 236–7, 266, 870.

........., included by the king of Poland in his treaty with Turkey, ii. 756.

........., archbishop of, *v.* Merino.

........., duke of, *v.* Sforza (Francesco).

Barletta held by Renzo da Ceri for the French, 25, 195, 363, 365.

........., surrendered to the imperialists, 363–4, 379, 389, 873.

........., prior of, *v.* Martinengo.

Barlo (Barlow), William, prior of Bisham, bishop of St. Asaph, on a mission to Flanders, 471; ii. 992.

........., ..., called the "Man of Louvain," 471–4.

........., ..., report concerning, 967.

Barnes, Dr. Robert, prior of the Austin friars, ii. 818, 823.

Barozzi, Antonio, bishop of Cividal di Belluno, ii. 970.

Barre, Jaques de la (?), provost of Paris, gerent of the property constituting the dower of the duchess of Suffolk, ii. 224; *v.* La Barre.

Barres, Master Guillaume des, sieur de Beodosnaes (?), secretary to the Imperial embassy in France, 29, 37–8, 107, 244, 263, 306, 312, 383, 458–9, 488, 496, 499, 500–1, 587, 687, 692, 744; ii. 13.

........., sieur de Vecin or Recin, 575; ii. 6.

Barroso, Christoval, 134–5; ii. 958.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 85, 86.

Barry (?), *v.* Bari.

Bartholomé, Don, *v.* Gattinara.

Bartholomeo (Fonzio), Lutheran preacher in Venice, *v.* Fonzio.

Barton, Elizabeth, (the nun of Kent,) arrest and trial of, ii. 857.

........., ..., ever since her arrest in the keeping of Cromwell or of his people, who treat her as a high-born lady, 861–3.

........., ..., sentenced, ii. 866–7, 998.

Basadona, ——, Venetian ambassador at Milan (June to Aug. 1533), 786.

Basilea, *v.* Basle.

Basle in Switzerland, ii. 311.

........., diet to be held at, on the 3rd of Sept. 1533, ii. 492.

........., a printer from, comes to London in company with Grinæus in search of old manuscripts, ii. 177.

........., doctors of, to be consulted respecting the divorce, ii. 178.

........., a German born at, who served in the Italian wars, and pretends to be the agent of the duke of Saxony, and of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, comes to London (Feb. 1531), and offers his services to Henry, ii. 618, 624, 632.

........., ..., Cromwell appointed to treat with him, *ibid.*

Basmallot (?), ii. 786 *note*.

Basra (Bassora), pach. of Bagdad, 455.

Bassan, *v.* Bazan.

Bath, bishop of, *v.* Stillington.

.... and Wells, bishop of, *v.* Clerk.

........., order of the, ii. 675.

Battista, shipwright at Monaco, 438.

Baubry, Baury, *v.* Waury.

Baudeloo in the Low Countries, the emperor at (23 March 1531), ii. 146.

Bauri, Baury, also called Vaurri, *v.* Vaury.

Baux, Pierre de, duke of Andria, ii. 973.

Bavaria, Lewis, (1508–50,) 478, 568, 591; ii. 703, 707.

........., William IV., brother of the preceding, (1508–50,) 315, 478, 568, 591; ii. 703, 707.

........., the election of the king of the Romans to fall on a prince of the house of, 516; ii. 778.

........., dukes of, ii. 89, 104, 804, 905.

........., ..., reported to have sacked a town belonging to the Empire, and murdered a Spaniard who went to ask them for some artillery, ii. 255.

........., ..., their business with the archduke and in Spain, ii. 824.

........., ..., likely to create disturbances in Germany, ii. 859.

........., ..., Henry sends an agent to the, ii. 841.

........., ..., agent of, in Spain (Conrad), negociating, ii. 790–91, 824, 905.

Bayard, Bayart, l'Elû Gilbert, one of Francis's secretaries, 37, 42, 102–4, 106.
………, ……, on a mission to the emperor at Bologna, 312.
………, ……, to Margaret in Flanders, 838.
………, ……, "secretaire des finances," and "general de Bretagne," (1530,) 487, 576.
………, ……, on a mission to the emperor, ii. 6.
Bayeux, bishop of, *v.* Canossa.
Bayonne in France, 487–8, 575.
………, not a fit place for the delivery of the sons of Francis, being (in Oct. 1529) afflicted by plague, 313.
………, queen Eleanor at, 619.
………, report of a French army being massed upon, ready to invade Spain, 799.
………, bishop of, *v.* Bellay.
Bazan, D. Alonso (?) de, ii. 93, 980.
………, D. Alvaro de, 567 ; ii. 93, 980.
……… ……, his proctor at Rome, 567.
………, ……, his voyage of inspection to reconnoitre the forts on the coast of Barbary, 706, 733.
………, Hernando (?) de, ii. 93.
………, Pedro de, 701 ; ii. 88, 93.
Beamont, Beamunt, Beaumont (?), Guillelmo, Guillaume de, count of Lerin, in Navarre, 116.
Bearn, prov. of France, ii. 845.
Beatrix of Portugal, infanta of Spain and duchess of Savoy, wife of duke Carlo III., *v.* Savoie.
Beaufort, baron de, *v.* Savoie (Philippe de).
Beaubois, Beauvois, Mr. de, French gentleman sent by Francis to Scotland, ii. 613, 682, 787, 818–19, 993.
………, ……, leaves (11 Apr. 1533), ii. 644.
………, ……, also called Beauvoir, ii. 993.
Beauvoir, *v.* Beaubois.
Beda (?), syndic of the Sorbonne, 692.
Bedber, sieur de, *v.* Nova Aquila.
Beer Haven, in Ireland, 51.
Behamonte *v.* Beamunt.
Bejar, duke of, *v.* Zuñiga.
Belgioioso, count Lodovico, condottiero in the Imperial service, 27, 36, 98–9, 124.
Belgrade, 120, ii. 455.
………, the Turk at, 102, 140, 145, 161, 317 ; ii. 161, 332–3, 519–20.
Belgues, *v.* Berghes and Bergues.
………, Mr. de, *v.* Bourgogne.
Belinzona, Swiss canton, ii. 314.
Bellay, Guillaume du, sieur de Langeais, French ambassador in England, arrival of, in London (Aug. 1529), 189.
………, ……, unable to see cardinal Wolsey, *ibid.*
………, ……, ostensible object of his mission, 190, 215.
………, ……, his conversations with Chapuys, 387–9, 390–91, 395, 469 ; ii. 613, 993.
Bellay, Guillaume du, &c.—*cont.*
………, ……, dines at the king's table (Dec. 1530), 416.
………, ……, brings to London many rich jewels, and amongst them a diamond cross worth 12,000 ducats, 436.
………, ……, ……, said to belong to a merchant of Lyons, but which Chapuys suspects are Francis's to bestow as presents in England, *ibid.*
………, ……, to remain in London whilst his brother (John) goes to France, 420.
………, ……, promises Henry to obtain the approval of the Sorbonne for him to carry out his divorce, 470.
………, ……, ……, and on his return to Paris has a conclusion to that effect, signed by no less than 30 doctors of that university, 497–8, 500–1, 514.
………, ……, ……, who yet refuse to decide in favour of it, 617.
………, ……, ……, at which Henry is both disappointed and offended, *ibid.*
………, ……, tries to corrupt the universities of France, 497, 500, 617, 622, 671.
………, ……, suspected of having worked in favour of cardinal Wolsey, 630.
………, ……, attends a banquet given by Anne Boleyn (Sept. 1532), at a manor house presented to her by Henry, ii. 254, 525.
………, ……, described by Chapuys as a most mischievous newsmonger, ii. 255, 525.
………, ……, again in London; arrives (24 Feb. 1533), ii. 613–15.
………, ……, his mission supposed to relate to the general council, *ibid.*
………, ……, introduces Mr. De Beauvois, ii. 615.
………, Jean du, bishop of Bayonne, (1525–9), of Paris (1530), French ambassador in England (1529–31), appointed, 88.
………, ……, in London, 58, 108, 190, 215.
………, ……, again expected in England (Dec. 1529), 388–9.
………, ……, travelling by short stages in a litter, owing to his having hurt his leg, 391.
………, ……, takes leave of Chapuys and returns to France, 420–21.
………, ……, to England again with a mission from Francis, 674, 689.
………, ……, arrives (18 Aug. 1530), 691.
………, ……, to court with Gioachino, the resident ambassador, 706.
………, ……, visits Chapuys, 707.
………, …… and Jean Joequin call immediately on king Henry, ii. 707.
………, ……, by whom they are coldly received, ii. 707–8.
………, ……, owing to their having proposed things which the Privy Council could not possibly admit, *ibid.*

Bellay, Jean du, &c.—*cont.*

………, ……, and among others that the King should at once proceed to his marriage with Anne Boleyn, *ibid.*

………, ……, with the assurance that, once married, Francis will obtain from the pope whatever dispensations may be required, 709.

………, ……, visits again Chapuys and holds several conferences with him, 709.

………, ……, Chapuys' instructions as to the manner of treating him, 720.

………, ……, causes of his altercations with the privy councillors, 737.

………, ……, leaves suddenly for Dover accompanied by Gioachino, 737, 749.

………, ……, said to have come over from France at the request of Henry, 790.

………, ……, to treat of a private league with Francis, *ibid.*

………, ……, his conditions so exorbitant that Henry quarrels with him, 790–91.

………, ……, sent again after the conference of Marseilles, ii. 885.

………, ……, arrival and cold reception of, in London (Dec. 1533), ii. 889.

………, ……, his conversation with Chapuys, ii. 890.

………, ……, visits him again, ii. 899–900.

………, ……, has audience from the king, ii. 901–2, 497–8, 575.

Belojo, Lorenzo, (1532,) his conversation at Venice with the Turkish ambassador, ii. 572–3.

Belona (la), Valona, Turkish sail at, ready to go to the coasts of Sicily and Naples, 539, 544.

………, plague at, ii. 468.

………, nassadites of the Turk at, 611.

………, revolt of the Albanians close to, 544.

………, *v.* Avlona.

Beltran, Dr., Spanish lawyer, 703, 752–3; ii. 30.

………, Capt. Francisco, a Spaniard formerly in the service of France, at Venice, acting as a spy upon count di Novellara, ii. 454–6.

Belvedere, palace at Rome, apartments prepared in, for the prince of Orange, 150.

Belvis, commandery of, ii. 77.

Belzares, *v.* Welzers.

Benafro, *v.* Venafro.

Benavides, imperial courier, ii. 42, 83.

Benedit, *v.* Lopez.

Benet, Dr. William, on an embassy to the Emperor passing through France, 311.

………, ……, his credentials (27 Oct. 1529), 200.

………, ……, expected at Rome, 564, 580, 586, 625.

………, ……, his arrival at Bologna (24 Nov.), 578.

………, ……, in Rome (June 1530), 588.

Benet, Dr. William—*cont.*

………, ……, expedient suggested to Clement by, to put an end to the divorce suit, 590.

………, ……, approved of by Mai, 590–91.

………, ……, said to have been suggested by Charles himself at Bologna, 629.

………, ……, as well as the trial of the cause by impartial judges out of Rome, *ibid.*

………, ……, conversation with Mai, 674.

………, ……, recalled, 858.

………, ……, leaves for England, where he is expected by Clement to do some good, ii. 329.

………, ……, about to start a second time for Rome, sends a message to Katharine, and asks her pardon for having worked there against her, as no one cared more than he for her welfare, ii. 352.

………, ……, expected back in Rome; should he not bring Henry's mandate to represent him, the suit to go on, ii. 369.

………, ……, writes from Lyons that he is the bearer of a resolution on the divorce case, ii. 370.

………, ……, arrives at Rome without any special mandate (Feb. 1532), ii. 388.

………, ……, questioned by Clement, answers that as soon as Charles quits Italy for Germany the mandate shall be sent, ii. 392–3.

………, ……, further reproached for not having brought powers from Henry, answers that it is not his province, but the excusator's, ii. 556.

………, ……, returns from Rome (Jan. 1533), ii. 674.

Benetto, Benoyt, *v.* Benet.

Benevento, pawned by Clement, 185, 290.

………, held by Ferrante Gonzaga for the emperor, 822.

Benfayan (Benifayo?), commandery of, 77.

Beodosnaes (?) sieur de, *v.* Barres.

Berdenberg, *v.* Werdenberg.

Berengaro, Beringaro, Beringharius, Marcello, secretary to the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este), 34.

………, his letter to the emperor, 13.

Berga (Bourg?) in dep. Gironde, 620.

Bergamo, the podesta or governor of, ii. 92.

Bergaveney, Bergavenney, Burguevenney, *v.* Avergaveny and Neville.

Bergenroth, Gustav, quoted, *Int.* i.; 64–5, 125, 134, 239, 351, 363, 375, 562, 664, 696, 729, 752, 787, 814, 850, 860, 885, 887; ii. 18, 56, 208, 351, 516, 576.

Berghen, Cornelius van, bishop of Liege and cardinal, 629–30, 633.

………, ……, sent by Clement to the emperor to announce his departure for France, ii. 815.

Berghes, Mr. de (Jean), of Margaret's Privy Council (1531), 37, 39; ii. 98, 786.

………, ……, Bergues, *v.* Berghes.

Berg-up-Zoom in the Netherlands, merchant ships laden with English goods not allowed to sail for, in consequence of certain duties to be imposed on their cargoes, ii. 426, 875.

Beringharius, Marcellus, secretary to the duke of Ferrara, and his agent at Rome, 34 ; *v.* Berengaro.

Berlanga, marquis of, *v.* Velasco.

Berne, Swiss canton, joins the Lutheran league, ii. 212.

........., ..., to be attacked by the Catholics, ii. 305.

........., ..., before its junction with Zurich is effected, ii. 313, 315.

Berners, lord (John Bourchier), ii. 497 *note*, 992.

Bertrade, married to Philippe Auguste, king of France, ii. 812 *note*.

Berthe, repudiated queen of Philip Auguste, ii. 812 *note*.

Berwick (Warwick castle ?), ii. 488.

Berzosa, Juan, his collection at Simancas, *Int.* xxiii. ; 322 *note*, 729, 887 ; ii. 8, 93.

Besançon, hospital of Sancti Spiritus at, 167.

........., officer of, 459.

........., bishopric of, to be given to a son of La Chaulx, 561.

.... in Burgundy, ii. 327, 903, 905.

........., prior, dean, and treasurer of, *v.* Bonvallot.

Bethune (Pas de Calais), governor of, *v.* Ostin.

Betoun, James, archbishop of St. Andrews, ii. 753.

Bèvres, Adolphe de Bourgogne, sieur de, privy councillor in the Low Countries, 42, 510.

Biertanberge, *v.* Wurtemberg.

Bilaque, *v.* Villach.

Bilboa (Bilbao), ii. 904.

Bilia, Billia, cavalier, ambassador of the duke of Milan in Spain, 32, 114.

Binasco in Lombardy, 16.

Bioderos (?) Stefano or Esteban, ambassador of the vayvod (Zapolsky), 764 ; ii. 982.

........., ..., not received by the emperor at Mantua ; Caracciolo appointed to hear him, Apr. 1530, 494.

........., ..., to be arrested, if possible, at his passage through Asti, 496.

Biondo, Paris, a Mantuan ; witnesses the marriage contract between Isabella Colonna and Luigi Gonzaga, 558 *note*.

Biran, port of, (Beer Haven,) in Ireland, 51.

Biscay, 34.

Bisham, in Berks, ii. 471.

........., prior of, *v.* Barlo.

Bishop's Hatfield, *v.* Hatfield.

Bisignano, prince of, 575.

........., ..., death of, without male issue reported, 594.

Bitonto (Terra de Bari), 364.

Black Forest (Swartzwald), the people of the, with Marco d'Embs at their head, to make a diversion against Zurich, ii. 313, 314.

Blackfriars, the court at (May 1529), Henry and Katharine summoned before, 96.

Blais, *v.* Blois.

Blanca, a small silver coin of Castille, 567.

Blanche Rose, surname given to Richard de la Pole, 322 *note*.

........., la Reine, title given by courtiers to Mary, duchess of Suffolk, 366 ; ii. 723.

........., ..., why so called, ii. 969.

Bles, *v.* Blois.

Blois, Bloys, the French court at, 640, 815–16; ii. 454.

........., ..., letters dated at, 486, 505, 507.

Blosio, papal secretary, ii. 365, 493, 556.

Blount, Gertrude, wife of Henry, marquis of Exeter, to be godmother to Elizabeth, ii. 789.

........., ..., the only true friend and comforter queen Katharine and her daughter ever had, ii. 800.

........., ..., communicates with Chapuys, ii. 800.

........., William, lord Mountjoy, Katharine's chamberlain, 190, 215 ; ii. 524, 963.

........., ..., ordered to keep guard over her for fear she should be induced to quit England, ii. 629.

Blues, imperial messenger, 281, 308.

Boccalini di Mantova, Francesco, 558 *note*.

Bocking, Dr. Edward, canon of Christ Church in Canterbury, ii. 999.

Bohemia, king of, *v.* Ferdinand.

........., diet to be held at Budweis in, 120.

........., the army of, to be sent back after the relief of Vienna, 315.

........., queen of, *v.* Anne.

Boil, Guillen, bishop of Gerona, 28 Nov. 1532, ii. 76, 247.

Boissy, sieur de, *v.* Gouffier, 620.

Boleyn, Anne, 78–9, 406, 445, 489, 634, 883.

........., ..., should the king's affection for, abate in the least, Wolsey is sure to find the means of settling the divorce question, 368.

........., ..., considered by Henry as his wife, since he fully intends marrying her against the pope's will, 405–6.

........., ..., report of her probable marriage to the earl of Surrey current at Rome in June 1530, 590.

........., ..., her chief reliance and trust is in France, 711.

........., ..., her encounter with the duchess of Norfolk (Oct. 1530), 761.

........., ..., jealous of Henry, and not without cause, 788, 837.

........., ..., at one of Henry's conferences with Chapuys, overhearing what passed, 803.

Boleyn, Anne—*cont.*

………, ……, arrival in London of the monitory brief ordering her immediate dismissal from court (Dec. 1530), 832.

………, ……, considering herself already sure of her affair, is fiercer than a lioness, ii. 3.

………, ……, ill-treats a gentleman of the king's household (Jan. 1531), ii. 33.

………, ……, in consequence of which Henry quarrels with her, *ibid.*

………, ……, her demonstrations of joy at hearing that Parliament and the English clergy have declared Henry Supreme Head of the Church in England, ii. 63.

………, ……, some talk in Feb. 1531 of her being dismissed from court, 70, 71.

………, ……, she and her father, the earl, more Lutheran than Luther himself, ii. 96.

………, ……, knowing that Guildford, the controller, is no friend of her, threatens him, ii. 177.

………, ……, accompanying the king in his hunting excursions without any female attendants of her own, ii. 198, 212.

………, ……, declares that her marriage will take place in 3 or 4 months at the latest, *ibid.*

………, ……, (July 1531), providing slowly for her royal estate, *ibid.*

………, ……, a house in London presented to, by Henry, ii. 254.

………, ……, her spite towards Rice, the Welsh lord, and the reason for it, ii. 323.

………, ……, her miscarriage reported at Rome (Dec. 1531), ii. 315, 343.

………, ……, refuses to intercede for a coin-shaver, a priest; answer to her father on the occasion, 481.

………, ……, insulted by women during an excursion with Henry to the North (July 1532), ii. 487.

………, ……, created marchioness of Pembroke, ii. 508.

………, ……, prepares to accompany Henry to Calais, ii. 494–5, 524.

………, ……, well provided with jewels and costly dresses, *ibid.*

………, ……, and her father staunch Lutherans, ii. 507.

………, ……, her marriage to Henry privately solemnized by Dr. Lee, about St. Paul's day (Feb. 1533), ii. 609, 633, 652, 655–6.

………, ……, boasts that the very moment she becomes queen, she will make the princess (Mary) her maid of honour, ii. 630.

………, ……, suspected by Chapuys to be in the family way (Apr. 1533), ii. 638.

Boleyn, Anne—*cont.*

………, ……, the Imperial Privy Councillors in Spain consulted as to whether she ought to be included in the papal excommunication or not, ii. 659.

………, ……, trying to win the affections of the Londoners, ii. 675.

………, ……, anecdote related by Chapuys concerning, ii. 699.

………, ……, from Greenwich to the Tower of London, to be crowned at Westminster, ii. 700.

………, ……, making use of Katharine's royal barge on the occasion, *ibid.*

………, ……, the king's passion for, on the decrease in May 1533, ii. 673.

………, ……, preparations for the coronation of, ii. 675.

………, ……, highly offended with the consul of the Easterlings in London, ii. 740.

………, ……, who, on the day of her coronation, placed the imperial eagle over and above the arms of England, *ibid.*

………, ……, as well as with the rejoicings in certain villages close to town on the princess's passage through them, *ibid.*

………, ……, not satisfied with Katharine's jewels, which she appropriates, applies for a gorgeous cloth used at Royal christenings (July 1533), ii. 756.

………, ……, jealous of Henry, and not without legitimate cause, ii. 788, 837, 842.

………, ……, quarrels with him, *ibid.*

………, ……, persuades Henry to have Katharine removed by force to a most unsalubrious house, and the princess to another destined for Elizabeth's residence, ii. 893.

………, ……, excommunicated together with Henry, ii. 836–7.

………, ……, one of her maids of honour hears Henry say that he would rather be reduced to beg his bread than part from, ii. 842.

………, ……, not to be included in the sentence of excommunication; reasons adduced by the imperial lawers for such a course, ii. 923–5.

………, George, brother of Anne, on a mission to Paris, 190, 215, 257; ii. 965.

………, ……, created lord Rochfort, 386.

………, ……, at court, 467.

………, ……, to France for queen Eleanor's coronation, with Carew and Brown (Dec. 1530), 854.

………, ……, again on a mission (March 1533), ii. 619.

………, ……, returns accompanied by Beavois, ii. 644.

………, ……, to form part of Norfolk's embassy to France in May 1533, ii. 700

………, ……, arrives suddenly from a place in the country where he was staying with the duke of Norfolk (27th July 1533), ii. 754.

Boleyn, Sir Thomas, lord viscount Rochfort, lord high treasurer of England, 69, 70, 72, 79, 185, 195.

........., ..., created earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, 366 ; ii. 969.

........., ..., receives Chapuys, and takes him to Katharine, 409, 418.

........., ..., on an embassy to Charles, 422, 437.

........., ..., reaches Bologna on the 14th of April 1530, passing through Milan, 486, 634.

........., ..., graciously received by the emperor and the pope, *ibid.*

........., ..., fails completely in his mission, 515, 564.

........., ..., the king dissatisfied at his manner of conducting the negociations, as he has given no proofs of intelligence or ability, 534.

........., ..., never was there a worse conducted mission than the one entrusted to, by Henry in 1530, 629 ; ii. 40.

......, ..., sent on a mission to France, 627, 629, 631.

........., ..., with the avowed purpose of congratulating Francis on the delivery of his sons, 631.

........., ..., and claiming payment of certain debts, 632.

........., ..., but, as Chapuys imagines, intent upon mischief of some sort, 631–2.

........., ..., daily expected back, not at all pleased with the court of Francis, 674.

........., ..., returns (Aug.), 690, 734.

........., ..., meets Chapuys at the duke of Norfolk's, 790.

........., ..., breaks out in abuse of Clement, *ibid.*

........., ..., plots against cardinal Wolsey, 819.

........., ..., at Greenwich with the privy council, ii. 12.

........., ..., invites the French ambassador to supper, and has a farce represented of cardinal Wolsey going down to hell, ii. 40.

........., ..., deputed with others to go to the queen and induce her to consent to the suspension of the proceedings in the divorce suit, June 1531, ii. 74, 79, 171.

........., ..., declares by way of an excuse that he has nothing to do with the affair, and has not been the promoter of it, ii. 175.

........., ..., at Eltham, ii. 557.

........., ..., said to have opposed as long as he could Henry's marriage to his daughter Anne, ii. 699.

........., ..., his discussions with Chapuys in the privy council respecting the treatment of princess Mary, and that ambassador's letter to Henry, 231, 376, 506, 629, 669–70, 673, 722, 734 ; ii. 12.

... ., ..., his countess, 304 ; *v.* Howard.

Bollan, Bollen, Bollin, *v.* Boleyn.

Bologna, 283, 286, 308–9, 314, 320, 336, 461, 486, 577.

........., symptoms of disturbance at, 49.

........., ..., fomented by the French and the Italian league, 50.

........., plans of the confederates upon, 65, 73.

........., chosen instead of Rome for Charles's coronation, 240, 249, 281.

........., Clement's journey to, 283, 286, 290, 309.

........., Charles's arrival at, 308–9, 320.

........., preparations for the coronation, 454–6.

........., ..., which takes place 24th Feb. 1530, 472.

........., the college of, founded by a Spaniard (Albornoz), delivers an unanimous opinion in favour of the divorce, 614–15, 728.

........., English ambassador about to try what he can do at, 547.

........., a consummate theologian from, writes against the divorce, ii. 490.

.... chosen instead of Rome for a second interview of Clement and Charles, ii. 544.

........., departure of Clement for, the second time (18 Nov. 1532), ii. 555.

... ., brief of separation (*separatorio*) to be procured at, ii. 556.

........., preparations for the emperor's reception (Dec. 1532), ii. 563.

........., St. Dominic of, cardinal Loaysa lodged at, ii. 564.

........., Charles at, for the second time (from 13 Nov. 1532 to 28 Feb. 1533), ii. 561.

........., leaves it, to return to Spain, (26 Feb.), ii. 608.

........., university of, decides in favour of the divorce, 818 ; ii. 41, 214, 563.

........., vice-legate of, *v.* Gambara.

........., La Certosa di (Charter-house), 310.

........., governor of, *v.* Gambara, Guicciardino.

........., Jacopo di, 865.

........., Madelena di, 541 *note.*

........., letters dated at, 178, 189, 193, 202–3, 213, 220, 227, 258–9, 262–3, 266–9, 271–5, 274, 1032.

........., congress held at, for the purpose of devising means of repelling the Turkish invasion, 265, 271, 308, 369, 610.

........., doctor from, writes in favour of the divorce, ii. 460–2.

........., Paduan doctors not allowed by the signory to meet and give opinion on the divorce case, propose going to, for the purpose, 546, 549.

........., the English ambassadors (Lee and Sampson) graciously received by the emperor at, 416.

........., assemble at, and meet the English ambassadors (Karne and Croke), 552.

Bolougnie, *v.* Boulogne.

Bolsena, on the lake of Viterbo, ii. 633.

Bonacorsi, Buonacorsi, Giuliano, Florentine merchant, 522, 575.

Bonacursio di Grino, *Int.* xxvii.

………, instructions to, 21.

………, his letter to Ferdinand wrongly calendered, ii. 955.

……… di Trino (?), ii. 955.

Bonar, Bonard, Bonnart, *v.* Boner.

Bonds, imperial, for sums borrowed by Maximilian from Henry; the French anxious to have them in their power, 675.

Boner, Bonner, Dr. Edmund, king's chaplain, formerly of the queen's council, ii. 376.

………, ……, on a mission to Italy, to get the opinion of the universities on the divorce case (Jan. 1532), ii. 376.

………, ……, and to the emperor, ii. 377.

………, ……, to leave for Rome with new proposals from Henry (10 Feb. 1533), ii. 598, 601.

………, returns and is again sent to the pope, ii. 674, 998.

………, ……, to remain there after the recall of his colleagues in the embassy, ii. 817.

Bonifacio VI., marquis of Monferrato, 663.

Bonvalot, François, dean and treasurer of Besançon, imperial ambassador in Paris (1530), *Int.* x.; 355, 459, 499, 501, 587, 596, 600, 607, 692, 744; ii. 227, 469, 791, 886, 904.

………, ……, on a mission to Switzerland, 733, 762, 791, 798, 828, 849, 865; ii. 227 *note.*

………, Nicole, married to Nicolas Perrenot, *Int.* viii.

Books in favour of the queen and against the divorce, written or printed, 509.

……… by Abel, ii. 992.

………, by Drs. Garay, Moscoso, and Sepulveda, *q.v.*

……… by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, 818, 832–3, 847.

………, many being written against the divorce, and in favour of Katherine, which Chapuys forwards to Miçer Mai at Rome (Nov. 1530), 805.

………, one against Clement, the council, and the divorce, and criticising his conduct, sent by the duke of Ferrara to Francis in Oct. 1530, 737.

………, the papal nuncio instructed to obtain possession of it, *ibid.*

………, a talk in Nov. 1530 of having one printed in England and circulated (Wakefield's ?), 818.

………, another sent from England and addressed to king Francis, ii. 169, 194.

Books—*cont.*

………, Henry sends Clement, through his nuncio, one just printed, on condition of his not showing it to any living soul for some time to come, June 1531, ii. 170.

………, small one in English containing nine articles, ii. 902.

………, distributed profusely, *ibid.*

………, of which Chapuys had the day before obtained a copy to forward to Granvelle, *ibid.*

………, another procured by Chapuys in Aug. 1532, and handed over to the papal nuncio for inspection, ii. 514.

Boquinguien *v.* Buckingham.

Bordeaux, 620, 636, 640; ii. 338.

………, archbishop of, *v.* Grammont (Charles de).

……… letter dated at, 368.

Borgo de' Fornari, 188.

Borgho, Borgo, baron del (Antonio de Pulleo), a Sicilian, employed by Clement; sent to England as papal nuncio, 621, 648, 677, 689; ii. 236.

………, …… lands at Dover (3 Sept. 1530), 710.

………, ……, arrives in London, 712.

………, ……, how received, 708, 710, 712.

………, ……, has audience from Henry at Hampton Court, 719–20, 758–61.

………, his arrival in London said to have had a beneficial influence over the English Parliament, 689.

………, ……, imagines (Sept. 1530) that a suspension of the divorce suit on condition of one of the parties giving notice one year or six months before, might prove a good expedient, 719.

………, ……, proposes it among others to Henry, who does not accept, *ibid.*

………, ……, desired by the king to discuss with Norfolk and Gardyner the matter of his divorce, 719.

………, ……, gives Chapuys an account of his interview with Henry, 721–7.

………, ……, goes to Court to represent against the statute (Sept. 1530), 734.

………, ……, his conversation on the subject with the duke of Suffolk and earl of Wiltshire, 734.

………, ……, and with the King, 735–6.

………, ……, writes to Clement (in Oct. 1530) that, as there is no hope of Henry altering his course, he must proceed at once to pass sentence in the divorce suit, 737.

………, ……, has again audience at Hampton Court, 758–62.

………, ……, and writes to Clement recommending Henry's proposal about the election of judges out of Rome, 760.

………, ……, invited by Jean Jocquin to meet Chapuys at dinner, 788.

Borgho, Borgo, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., puts in Henry's hands Clement's answer to the petition of the kingdom, 797.

........., ..., communicates with Chapuys, and informs him of the result of his conference with the king in Nov. 1530, 797–8.

........., ..., Henry highly displeased with him on that account, 824–5.

........., ..., calls secretly on the duke of Norfolk, who begs him to take no notice of Henry's violent words against Clement the day before, but exert his influence at Rome that the king's wishes may be granted, 804.

........., ..., if so, he (the duke), would take care that not one of the king's threats should be carried into execution, *ibid.*

........., ..., reports to Clement on the state of affairs, and urges him to pronounce sentence in the divorce suit, 818, 833.

........., ..., Henry dissatisfied with, 824–5.

........., ..., when interrogated by Henry on the supposed dealings of cardinal Wolsey, refuses to answer, 819–20.

........., ..., on familiar terms with Chapuys, who praises his conduct and advises him how to act, ii. 8, 18–19, 20–21, 2.

........., ..., calls on the archbishop of Canterbury and remonstrates, ii. 27–8.

........., ..., answer made by the latter, ii. 27–8.

........., ..., receives a letter from Clement, ii. 34.

........., ..., attends the convocation of the clergy, ii. 39, 40.

........., ..., applies for an audience, and is told that Henry is unwell and cannot see him, ii. 43.

........., ..., presents the papal brief in answer to the king's letter, ii. 61–4, 70–1, 74, 84.

........., ..., charged by Clement to make his excuses for having rejected Karne's application, ii. 96–7.

........., ..., and to announce the Turk's threatened invasion, ii. 97.

...., has audience of Henry (March 1531), ii. 97.

........., ..., how received, ii. 97–8, 353.

........., ..., his interview with the duke of Norfolk, ii. 416–17.

........., ..., requested by Chapuys to forward to Rome a properly attested account of his conversation with Henry and the king's threatening language on the occasion, ii. 227.

........., ..., ready to present the Pope's letter brought by Monfalconet, though Katharine thinks that the opportunity is unfavourable, ii. 337, 433.

........., ..., his conversation with Norfolk, to whom he declares the contents of the papal brief, ii. 445.

Borgho, Borgo, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., and complains of a preacher having called the pope a heretic, *ibid.*

........., ..., has again audience from Henry (13 May), and exhorts him to co-operate to the defence of threatened Christendom (13 May), ii. 447, 469, 536.

........., ..., changes by Chapuys' advice his tone, and obtains from Norfolk vague promises of assistance, ii. 481.

........., ..., ordered by Clement to notify to Henry the declaratory brief on the divorce case, ii. 485–6, 494.

........., ..., summoned to attend the meeting of the Commons (Feb. 1533), ii. 594–5, 600.

........., ..., expressly requested by Norfolk not to write home, and announce Fisher's arrest, ii. 629, 661.

........., ..., not attending so steadily to business as before Henry's second marriage (May 1533), ii. 644, 674.

........., ..., recalled; may take leave of the king on the plea of going to Nice, to the conferences, or on any other excuse, ii. 712, 740, 769, 817, 832.

........., ..., conversation with Clement and count Cifuentes at Rome, ii. 838.

........., ..., said to have been so much in Henry's confidence whilst in England, that Katharine had good reasons to suspect him, *ibid.*

........., ..., and to have been instructed not to notify the second inhibition brief to Henry if Chapuys or any other person could not do it on behalf of Katharine, ii. 838.

........., ..., memorandum of, and opinion of an imperial councillor upon it, ii. 1139.

........., ..., reports to Rome, 726, 779, 780; ii. 169, 345, 371, 441, 459–60, 516, 663.

........., ..., his Italian secretary, ii. 725.

........., ..., letter to the pope, 429.

Borgo di San Donnino, in the duchy of Parma; the emperor at, 311.

........., letters dated at, 201, 1031.

Borgoforte, ii. 968.

Borja (or Borgia), Cesar, 500 *note.*

........., Don Juan de, son of pope Alexander VI., claims the duchy of Camerino, 530, 585, 662; ii. 55, 205.

Borrello, count, *v.* Pignatello.

Bossu, Mr. de, 481, ii. 5. *V.* Hennin.

Bosworth, battle of, alluded, 833.

Botnikkes, And., ambassador of the duke of Bavaria in London (1531), ii. 41.

Bottigella, Piero Francesco (1530), 514–16.

Boulang, *v.* Boleyn.

Bolougnie, Boulang, *v.* Boleyn.

Boulogne-sur-Mer, interview of Francis and Henry at, ii. 494, 517, 543.

Boulogne-sur-Mer—*cont.*

........., Francis' act of renunciation of all his rights on Naples, Milan, &c., signed at, (19 Dec. 1529), 370.

........., proposed as the place of meeting of the English and Belgian commissioners in Dec. 1532, ii. 931.

Bourbon, Charles de, duke of Vendôme; one of his daughters (Marguerite) to be married to king James of Scotland, ii. 417, 757, 990.

........., ..., duke of Auvergne and Bourbonnais, constable of France, alluded, 111, 824 *note.*

........., ..., property belonging to, taken away a second time from his heirs, 334.

........., ..., fulfilment of clause relating to his inheritance indefinitely postponed, 459, 531.

........., ..., Chapuys, the ambassador, once in the service of, 806.

........., ..., money lent to, by Mr. de Lorraine, ii. 576.

........., François de, count of Enghien, his marriage to Caterina de' Medici, proposed in the event of that of the duke of Orleans not taking place, ii. 29.

.........-Montpensier, Louise de, princesse de la Roche-sur-Yon, 174.

........., Renée, duchess of Lorraine, 174.

Bourbonnais, the dukedom of, offered by Francis to Francesco Sforza in exchange for Milan, ii. 689.

Bourbourg, in Belgium, ii. 384, 937.

Bourchier, Henry, earl of Essex, privy councillor, ii. 669, 830, 877.

........., John, lord Berners, ii. 992.

Bouret, Françoys, 576.

Bourg (Gironde?), king Francis at, 578.

........., the court of France and queen Eleanor going to, 578, 620.

........., letter dated at, 339.

........., Antoine de, president of queen Louise's council in France, 576.

Bourges in the Berri, France, 652.

........., bishop of, created cardinal, 561.

........., university of, in France, determines in favour of the divorce, 818.

........., Mr. de, *v.* Burgos and Mendoza (Iñigo de).

Bourgogne, Jean de, sieur de Bredan, 98, 266, 271, 281, 286, 354, 378, 474 *note*; ii. 4, 5, 98, 266, 965, 972.

Bourgues (Burgos), in Castille, *v.* Burgos.

Bourke (De Burghe?), earl of Clanricarde, ii. 497.

Brabancia (Brabant), duchy of, 133; ii. 330, 471, 937.

........., duke of, ii. 777; *v.* Charles, emperor.

Brabo, secretary Sancho, ii. 780.

Bracalon, Bracabalon, *v.* Baglione (Braccio).

Bracciano, a stronghold belonging to the Orsini, 809.

Bracciano—*cont.*

........., the ex-abbot of Farfa at, 13, 171, 193, 212.

........., siege of, by the papal troops under Ascanio and Sciarra Colonna, 610, 635, 657.

........., on the point of surrendering (August, 1530), 678, 701.

........., capitulates, but the "rocca" holds out, 684.

........., garrison of, making forays into the Campagna, 702.

........., all owing to Clement's shifting policy, and his wish to be on good terms with both parties, 705.

........., Orsino to be pardoned at the intercession of the French ambassador, and the "rocca" to be placed in the hands of Sir Gregory Casale for arbitration, 717, 872.

........., siege of, again entrusted to Giovan Paolo da Ceri, 750, 785, 809, 842.

Bradford, William, his correspondence of Charles V. quoted, 188, 292, 833; ii. 984.

Bragadino, Lorenzo, 454.

Brandenburg, Albert von, grand master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, a heretic and a married man, 262.

........., ..., in league against Ferdinand, ii. 475.

........., Frederic, ii. 296.

........., George, marquis of 46, 48.

........., John Albert, marquis of, cardinal archbishop of Mainz (1514–45), 334, 823; ii. 84, 474–5.

........., ..., pension to, 791, 796–7.

........., ..., report of his marriage, 531.

........., ..., agent of, in London, 434, 451–2

........., ..., memorial of, 334, 823.

........., ..., affairs of, at Rome, 823.

........., marchioness of, 145.

Brandon, Sir Charles, duke of Suffolk; on a mission to France to prevent, if possible, the meeting of the ladies at Cambray, 40, 104–6.

........., ..., back in London, 63, 69, 235–6, 276, 296, 388, 416, 420–1, 427–8, 434.

........., ..., having large possessions in France, 420–1.

........., ..., long absent from court, 535.

........., ..., various causes assigned for his absence, and, among others, his having denounced to the king a criminal connection of Anne Boleyn, 535.

........., ..., his conversation with the papal nuncio, 734.

........., ..., ... with Cromwell at the king's table, 798–9.

........., ..., would, if he dared, oppose Henry's second marriage, ii. 177.

........., ..., ... as well as his duchess and Fitz William, the treasurer, *ibid.*

Brandon, Sir Charles, duke of Suffolk, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., deputed with others to call on Katharine and persuade her to relinquish the title of queen, ii. 625, 629.

........., ..., in the privy council, ii. 669, 699.

........., ..., to leave for the conferences of Nice or Marseilles in company with George Boleyn (7 May 1533), ii. 700.

........., ..., after the death of his duchess (Mary Tudor), marries again, ii. 788.

........., ..., deputed to go to Katharine and have her removed, whether she will or not, to Fotheringay or Somersham (Dec. 1533), ii. 893.

........., ..., ..., his behaviour on the occasion, *ibid.*

........., ..., and to Mary, the princess, on a similar errand, ii. 894.

........., ..., lord H., created earl of Lincoln, ii. 366, 969.

Bravo, Sancho, imperial secretary at Naples, ii. 402, 780, 845, 835 *note*; *v.* Brabo.

Bredan, sieur de, *v.* Bourgogne.

Bregilles, Jean de, Margaret's equerry, 185; ii. 197.

Bremgarten in Switzerland, a second diet to be held in, ii. 202.

Brewer, Rev. J., quoted, 306, 676, 306, 696, 860; ii. 296.

Brian, Sir Francis, 460, 469.

........., ..., on a mission to France, 575–6.

........., ..., returns, 710.

........., ..., leaves again for that country (15th Oct. 1530), 762, 788.

........., ..., back to England (20 Dec. 1530), 858; ii. 337.

........., ..., to leave again for France, ii. 253, 523.

........., ..., ..., and to form part of Norfolk's embassy thither, ii. 647.

........., ..., his protest at Bayonne in Henry's name, 337.

........., ..., on a mission to France, ii. 512.

Brianturk, *v.* Tuke (Brian).

Briceño, Dr. Luis, at Salamanca, signs opinion of the university against the divorce, 841.

Bridewell, Henry's palace at, ii. 700.

........., the French ambassador (La Pommeraye) entertained at, 862.

........., ..., apartments in, given to him, *ibid.*

Briefs, papal; one of advocation to Rome of the divorce suit urgently applied for by the imperial ambassadors, 161, 171.

........., ..., at the same time exhorting Henry to lead a conjugal life with Katharine, *ibid.*

........., ..., and inhibiting all judges, ecclesiastical or civil in England, *ibid.*

........., ..., obtained, 563, 651.

........., ..., to be published in all the churches of Spain and Flanders, *ibid.*

Briefs, papal—*cont.*

........., ..., one solicited from Clement by the English ambassadors, allowing the universities of Bologna and Padua to give opinion in the divorce case, 836.

........., ..., to which the imperial ambassador at Venice (Niño) objects, *ibid.*

........., another forbidding the university of Paris to write in a body on the divorce question, urgently applied for by Miçer Mai (June 1530), 563, 588.

........., ..., a third to proceed with the cause during the vacations, 588–9.

........., a reaggravory and formal interdict to be procured (Dec. 1530), 854.

........., ..., a most outrageous measure, says Norfolk, considering that the king has always shown himself a dutiful son of the church, 832.

........., a second and more binding, forbidding Parliament, the primate of England, and all other authorities, civil or ecclesiastical, to take cognizance of the divorce case; applied for by the imperial ambassadors; obtained in January 1531, ii. 7–8.

........., forwarded to the papal nuncio to present it to Henry in case of need (12th Jan. 1531), ii. 18–19.

........., ..., a duplicate copy of, sent to King James, ii. 28.

........., ..., of execution in Flanders, ii. 344–5, 533.

........., a new one with censures, applied for by the Imperial ambassadors (Jan. 1532), ii. 370.

........., ..., which Clement at first refuses to grant, ii. 462.

........., another to Henry respecting the ravages of the Turk, ii. 378.

........., ..., how received, *ibid.*

........., ..., not to be attended to, unless the divorce suit be revoked to England, ii. 379.

........., monitory (*exhortatorio*); the papal nuncio (Borgho) puts it into Henry's hands, 459.

........., ..., how received, 462.

........., ..., duplicate of, lost, nobody knows how or where (July 1532), ii. 491.

........., another, declaratory of the first, urgently applied for by the imperial ambassadors, ii. 502.

.... of separation (*breve separatorio*) cannot be made out until Clement's arrival at Bologna (Dec. 1532), *ibid.*

........., ..., monitory, another to be prepared and sent, ii. 563.

........., one absolving those who were present at, or consented to, the sack of Rome, 101.

Brightelmoston (Brighton), 69.

Brindisi, taken by the Venetians, 192, 205.

........., imperial governor of, 364, 598, 602.

........., Venetians raise the siege of, 211, 300.

Brindisi, archbishop of, *v.* Aleander, Mota.

Brinon, Jean, sieur de Vilaines d'Humières, president of the regent's council in France; of Rouen, in Normandy; chancellor of Alençon, 103, 105, 108, 622–3.

Brion, Bryon, small town of France, sieur de, *v.* Chabot.

Briones, *v.* Brion.

Britanny (Bretagne), 576.

........., two French ships captured by pirates on the coast of (May 1531), ii. 157.

........., Francis in (May 1532), ii. 444, 454, 496.

Brizene (Brixen), in Tyrol, 520.

Brown, Master, and Sir Anthony, grand squire (1527), to France for queen Eleanor's coronation (Dec. 1530), 854.

........., ..., to the pope at Nice, ii. 199.

........., ..., to form part of Norfolk's embassy in, 1533, ii. 647.

........, father, prior of the Austin Friars in London, preaches a sermon on Easter day (1533), recommending his audience to offer prayers for the health of queen Anne, ii. 646.

........., ..., designated to go to Denmark on a mission, ii. 818, 828.

Bruges (Bourges), in France, 561; ii. 766.

........., bishop of, *v.* Tournon.

........., in West Flanders, 96, 236–7; ii. 9, 929, 931–2.

Brum, Brun, *v.* Brown.

Brundusin, Brundusino, bishop, *v.* Aleander.

Brunswick, Ernest, duke of, 128.

........., ..., arrears of pay owing to, 100, 186; ii. 157.

Brussels, *Intr.* i, 56; ii. 69.

........., rejoicings and carousals for the emperor's reception at (April 1531), ii. 199.

........., letters dated at, 8, 9, 43, 83, 118, 173, 195, 617–18, 638, 1177.

Bryant, Sir Francis, *v.* Brian.

Bucentaur, the Venetian state galley, 754.

Buckingham, duke of, 322 *note*, 323, *v.* Stafford.

Bucla (?), consistorial advocate; sent to Marseilles to discuss the divorce case (1533), 570; ii. 835.

Buda, in Hungary, the country about overrun by the Turks, 161.

........., the city itself besieged, 197, 268, 284.

........., taken (October 1529), 284, 317, 379, 860.

........., Ferdinand lays siege to, 463.

........., news of the taking of, by Ferdinand's army, and of the vayvod and Gritti being made prisoners, reach Rome on the 19th Nov. 1530, 814, 829.

........., false report of its relief by the Turks, 848.

........., of its taking by Ferdinand, ii. 2.

........., ..., who is said to have raised the siege of it, ii. 72.

Buda, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., and to have provisioned it again, ii. 351, 434, 491, 520.

........., letter dated at, 552.

Buda (?), Il, consistorial advocate at Rome, (1530), 570; *v.* Bucla.

Budvicio, *v.* Budweis.

Budweiss, in Bohemia, a new diet of the Bohemians to be held at (1529), 120, 124, 444; ii. 122, 126.

........, letters dated at, 73, 691.

Buelna, count of, *v.* Niño (Pedro).

Bugatti, Gasparo, Italian historian, quoted, 321 *note*.

Bugden (Buckden), in Huntingdonshire, queen Katharine at, ii. 292.

Bugia, on the coast of Africa, ii. 83.

Buonaccorsi, Giuliano, Florentine merchant, 375, 522, 575.

Buondelmonte, Benedetto, gonfaloniere at Florence, ii. 209.

........., Philippo, ii. 209.

Buren, count of, *v.* Egmont.

Burgain, *v.* Burgoyne.

Burgo, Andrea del, count de Castil Leone Austrian ambassador to Clement, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11–12, 19, 44, 60, 80, 82, 120, 136–7, 139–40, 153–5, 161, 202, 218, 251, 530, 611.

........., ..., not present at the Church service in Rome to celebrate the peace [of Cambray], owing to a question of precedence between him and the ambassadors of France and England, 212.

........., ..., ill with the gout, 355.

........., ..., in Bologna for the emperor's coronation, 474.

...., helps Mai and the rest of the imperial ambassadors, 70, 73, 75, 84, 173, 192, 309, 335, 472–3, 477–8, 480, 606, 732, 740, 763, 806, 821, 823, 825.

........., ..., as proctor of queen Katharine presents a petition to Clement, 737.

........., ..., tries to obtain from Clement a subsidy towards the expenses of the Turkish war, 781.

........., ..., returns to Rome after a short absence (June 1530), 868.

........., ..., helps Mai and Muxetula, ii. 84–5, 89, 125, 130, 164, 186, 191, 193–6, 342, 539.

........., ..., dangerously ill, ii. 504.

........., ..., the countess, his wife, 530.

........., ..., letters to the Emperor, 77, 193, 232–3, 435–6, 437–8.

Burgos, capital of Castille, 97, 433, 479, 742; ii. 31, 40, 116.

........., the plague raging at, 713.

........., convent of St. Francis at, 882.

........., bishop cardinal of, *v.* Mendoza.

........., letters dated at, 571.

Burgoyne (Burgaveny), described by Chapuys as one of the most powerful and wisest lords in England, ii. 814 ; *Int.* ii. xxviii.

Burguen, Burguer, *v.* Berners, De Burghe, Burgaveny, and Neville.

Burgundy, to be restored to France, 126, 174, 279, 870.

........., proposals by Francis of a conference with the emperor at a town of, 485.

........., considered dangerous by Henry, who dissuades him from it, *ibid.*

........., house of, 427.

........., president of, *v.* Marmier.

Burjo, *v.* Borgho.

Buscet, Theodoro, captain at Naples, 365.

Buse (Busso, Busselengo), in Lombardy ; letter dated at, 882.

C.

Caballero, Blas, armourer at Valladolid, works a steel cap for king Ferdinand, 776 ; ii. 713.

Cabrera, Diego, confessor of Charles ; presented to the see of Huesca, ii. 999.

Cabrero, Martin, high commander of Montesa, and viceroy of Sardinia, 880.

........., Juan, bishop of Huesca, 119 ; ii. 999.

........., another, Juan, the chamberlain, nephew of Martin, 881.

Cachadiablo, Algerine pirate, 321, 635.

........., ..., slain in battle, 635.

Caetano, cardinal, *v.* Vio.

Cafarello, Giovanni Pietro, a Roman, sent by the prince of Orange on a mission to Malatesta Baglione, 192–3.

Cairo, in Egypt, ii. 333.

........., remains faithful during the revolt of Syria against Solyman, 184.

........., an attack on, proposed by the duke of Albany, ii. 234.

........., advices from, ii. 333.

Calabria, revolt in, 13, 456.

........., proposal of cardinal Colonna that the inhabitants of Barletta, Monopoli, Trani, and other towns in, be removed to the interior, and the places repeopled by Spaniards, 456.

........., duke of, *v.* Aragon.

Calais, in Picardy, Don Iñigo de Mendoza detained at (1529), 94.

........., a deed on vellum, supposed to be a papal brief, seized at, ii. 41.

........., the master of the artillery sent for the purpose of inspecting its defences (Dec. 1530), 848.

Calais—*cont.*

........., letters from, to merchants and private people in England, opened and read by order of king Henry (Jan. 1531), ii. 41.

........., one packet, however, from Flanders, addressed to Chapuys, escapes detection, *ibid.*

........., meeting of Henry and Francis at, much talked of, ii. 253, 494–5, 517, 524, 530–1, 533, 535, 543–4, 546, 557.

........., account of, forwarded by the imperial agents, ii. 554–5.

........., one merchant from, and two English doctors to attend the conferences at Bourbourg, ii. 384.

........., (effected Oct. 1532), ii. 480, 494, 543.

........., said by La Pommeraye to have been designed merely for their mutual defence against the Turk, ii. 533.

........., and principally for the sake of amusement and sport, ii. 619.

........., no foreign ambassadors admitted, ii. 581.

........., overtures of the imperial ambassadors respecting, ii. 734, 853.

........., Francis to be encouraged to take, from the English, provided he forsakes Henry's alliance, and helps to the execution of the papal sentence, ii. 853.

........., the staple (debit) of, ii. 754, 758, 782–4.

........., trade of, stopped by Henry's order, 773.

........., Chapuys and Le Sauch dispute the measure in the privy council, 774–5.

........., to be replaced on its original footing, ii. 859.

Calatayud, in Aragon, 880.

Calathabellota, in Sicily, count of, *v.* Luna.

Calatrava, military order of, permission to marry, granted to the knights of, 142, 161, 164, 180, 432.

........., high commander of, *v.* Vazquez de Molina.

Calis (Cadiz), bishop of, *v.* Teodolo.

Calle (Cagli), in Tuscany, 864.

.... (Calli di Casale ?), in the duchy of Urbino, 286, 289, 874.

........., letter dated at, 190.

Calvet, Calvete, Dr., inquisitor at Mallorca, 880.

Calzena (erroneously printed Catzena), secretary to the catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, 880.

Camarata, in Naples, countess of, 644.

Camarino, Camerino, duchy of, claimed by Don Juan de Borja, 530, 662 ; ii. 55.

........., ..., to be made to contribute towards the expenses of the Turkish war, 811.

........., ..., described, ii. 390.

........., duchess of, *v.* Cibo and Varana.

Cambray, town of Flanders, 754, 832.

.........., Louise de Savoie and Margaret of Austria meet at, for the purpose of negociating a peace, 41, 64, 80, 85, 97, 102–9, 141, 143, 153, 199.

.........., Clement complains of the secrecy observed respecting the negociations for the peace of, 74.

.........., Henry wishes to become one of the contracting parties, 97.

.........., peace of, proclaimed in the cathedral church (5 Aug. 1529), 162, 173, 181, 207.

.........., variously spoken of in France and elsewhere, 241.

.........., alluded, 37, 39, 42, 62, 64, 85, 198–9, 230, 237, 245, 276–7, 279, 294, 419, 439, 459, 560, 851; ii. 10, 301–3, 311–12, 313, 343, 732, 825, 836, 845, 847, 853, 870.

.........., ratified, 276, 279, 306, 337, 354, 411, 413, 462, 469, 517, 522, 531.

.........., solemnized in London with great rejoicings (Sept. 1529), 197.

.........., ..., and at Rome, 198–9.

.........., swearing of the peace of, at Bologna, 387, 390, 423.

.........., objections raised by Francis to the peace of, 427–8.

.........., Henry asks that the divorce suit be transferred to, and there decided by impartial judges, 245, 337, 367, 419.

.........., the emperor consulted by Clement thereupon, ii. 832.

.........., cannot return a categorical answer unless he communicates with the queen first, *ibid.*

.........., Francis about to submit to his Parliament the question of whether he can, or not, legally ratify it, 676.

.........., ..., modification of, expected, *ibid.*

.........., ..., very much urged by Francis, 732.

.........., news-letters from, 76, 102.

.........., advices from, 172–3, 177.

.........., report of an interview of Francis and Charles to take place at, 754.

.........., bishop of, *v.* Croy.

.........., dean of (Aug. 1529), 162.

Cambridge, university of, Dr. Fox and another ecclesiastic sent to the, to procure the doctors' seals in favour of the divorce, 467, 508–9, 568–9.

.........., ..., great row and fight at, in which six students remained dead on the field, 476.

Camerino, duchy of, *v.* Camarino.

Camonibus, Johannes de, ii. 209.

Campagna di Roma, 48.

.........., forays into the, by Napoleone Orsino and his party, 701, 705.

Campania, *v.* Campagna di Roma.

Campanil, officer in the kingdom of Naples, 365.

Campanus, Franciscus, (Francesco Campana da Colle,) secretary at Florence, ii. 147, 284.

.........., ..., letter countersigned by, 713.

Campeggio, Lorenzo, bishop of Salisbury, and cardinal, protector of Germany, and papal legate to Charles; of the Legatine court in England, 7, 10, 12, 14, 195–6, 266, 382, 433, 507, 556, 565, 619, 631, 636, 640, 759, 887.

.........., ..., receives a letter from Clement touching the divorce suit, 155.

.........., ..., reports, 195.

.........., ..., has, according to Mai, behaved badly in the queen's business, 158–9.

.........., ..., wishes to quit London immediately after the inhibition brief, 214.

.........., ..., receives through Chapuys a kind message from Katharine, 234–5.

.........., ..., sees the king at court, 196, 257.

.........., ..., is visited by Chapuys, who thanks him in Katharine's name for his exertions, 273.

.........., ..., obtains permission from the king for Wolsey to present himself at court, 235, 257, 266.

.........., ..., ..., and accompanies him thither, 272–3.

.........., ..., not allowed to take leave of the queen before his departure, *ibid.*

.........., ..., assures Chapuys that wherever the divorce case be tried, in England or in Rome, the Queen's marriage will be declared legitimate and indissoluble, *ibid.*

.........., ..., expected back in Rome together with Ghinucci, 292.

.........., ..., prepares an answer to the memorandum of the Lutheran princes, 641, 644.

.........., ..., arrives, (Nov. 1529) 361.

.........., ..., appointed papal legate to Charles in Germany, 669, 720, 728.

.........., ..., Clement to act upon his report, 616.

.........., ..., said to have destroyed a letter from Clement to Henry assuring him of his determination to decide the divorce case in his favour, 759.

.........., ..., ..., for fear of its falling into the emperor's hands, *ibid.*

.........., ..., the revenues of his see (Salisbury) sequestered, and the protectorate of England at Rome taken away from him, ii. 205–6.

.........., ..., the see of Huesca offered to, by Charles as a compensation for his losses, 866; ii. 999.

.........., ..., ..., also that of Mallorca, ii. 999.

.........., ..., back in Rome from his legacy in Germany, ii. 708, 806.

.........., Marco Antonio, nephew of Lorenço, ii. 999.

Campo Fragoso, Janus, 36.

Cancelliera, name of a party at Pistoia, opposed to the Panciatichi, 574.

Candia, island of, 543, ii. 518.

Cannara, in the Perugino, 201.

Canossa, count Lodovico di, bishop of Bayeux, French ambassador in Venice (1528), ii. 9.

Cans (Khans?), in Persia, 543.

Cantelmo, Cesare, Neapolitan refugee, accompanies Rincon to Constantinople, ii. 421.

........., ..., a great friend of count Guido, *ibid.*

........., ..., appointed gentleman of the chamber to Francis, *ibid.*

Canterbury, 494.

........., church of, ii. 253.

........., ..., more valuable in Henry's eyes than that of Rome to the people across the sea, 386.

........., archbishops of, *v.* Warham and Cranmer.

........., chancellor of, *v.* Cox.

........., prothonotary of, 763, 821.

........., papal bulls for the archbishop of, applied for, 625.

........., ..., on the arrival of which Henry will proceed to his marriage with Anne Boleyn, *ibid.*

........., priest of, present at Henry's marriage with Anne, ii. 608.

........., had Clement delayed the bulls of, till after the sentence much harm might have been spared, 623.

........., immediately after their arrival Henry will let Clement know what he is about, ii. 599.

Capello, Carlo, Venetian ambassador in London (1531–33), *Int.* vii; ii. 513, 812, 993.

........., ..., appointed to succeed Faliero (Jan. 1531), ii. 993.

........., ..., arrival of, in London (9 Nov. 1531), ii. 513, 993.

........., ..., present at a conference of Chapuys with La Pommeraye, ii. 550.

........., ..., to intercede with the Signory for the relief of Coron, ii. 634.

Capino, Cappino, gentleman in waiting to the duke of Mantua, 718.

Capisucci, Cappisuccis, Paolo, auditor at Rome, *Intr.* xxiv., 5; ii. 108, 206, 589, 633, 659, 744, 763, 768, 806.

........., ..., to intimate the papal sentence to Henry, 766, 768.

Capitolio, the "conservatori" of Rome, to meet in, 14.

Capoa, Capua, Ferrante di, duke of Termoli (Termini), 364.

.... , Isabella di, marries Ferrante Gonzaga, 666.

........., archbishop of, *v.* Schomberg.

Cappel, monastery of, in Switzerland; battle fought at, between the five Catholic cantons of Switzerland and the Lutherans (1531), ii. 282, 311–12.

........., ..., Zwinglius slain at, *ibid.*

Capponi, Nicolo, gonfaloniere of Florence, deposed, 16, 167, 188, 377, 633.

Caps, French, the introduction of, in England, forbidden by an order of the privy council, 355, 369.

........., ..., remonstrance of the French ambassador respecting that fiscal measure and others, 355.

Caracciolo (Gian, Giovan), prince of Melfi, one of the Neapolitan "fuorusciti," Brian intercedes for, 314.

........., ..., his estate in Naples confiscated and sold, 717, 911, 963.

........., ..., servant of, at the court of France, ii. 471.

........., Prothonotary Marino, grand chancellor for the duchy of Milan, *Int.* xix.; 30, 32, 89, 112, 142, 207, 454, 571, 603, 786.

........., ..., sent to Mantua to treat with the marquis, 65, 80, 83, 85, 180.

........., ..., appointed to Venice, 199, 204.

........., ..., ... and to Cremona, to treat with Sforza, 210.

........., ..., ..., terms offered to the latter rejected, 213, 217.

........., ..., ordered again to Venice, 488.

........., ..., returns therefrom, 492, 496.

........., ..., again extraordinary ambassador to the Signory, 496, 502–3, 542.

........., ..., ill at Milan, 698, 755.

........., ..., negociating with the Swiss Catholics, ii. 19, 23, 311, 662, 664–5, 762, 828.

........., ..., the emperor's instructions to, 53, 82, 281.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 288–9.

........., ..., letters to, whilst at Milan, 1160.

........., ..., instructions to, for his mission to Mantua, 53.

........., ..., ..., to Venice, 281.

Carachulo, *v.* Caracciolo.

Caraffa, Giovan Pietro, bishop of Chieti, in the Abruzzo, 503, 571 *note*, 697, 973, 980.

Carasa (?), gentleman of the chamber to the king of France, takes a message to Spain, ii. 516, 697.

Carbon, postmaster at Naples, ii. 260.

Carbonell, Francisco, a banker of Naples, 365.

........., ..., loan made by, 540, 568.

Cardinals, in May 1529, preparing to leave Rome in the event of Clement's death, and proceed elsewhere to the election of a new pope, 43.

........., ..., for fear of the imperial army at Naples, 44.

Cardinals—*cont.*

.. .., three (Medici, Santacroce, and Farnese,) appointed to receive Charles at Genoa, 143, 147, 152, 239, 553.

........., of the French party, 603.

........., of the imperial, 606.

........., congregation or meeting of, at Bologna, for the purpose of finding means to repel the threatening Turkish invasion, 674–5.

........., ..., not attended by Mai or Burgo, *ibid.*

........., ..., generally averse to the meeting of the general council, though having voted for it, 843.

........., Clement's excuses for not creating all the, proposed by Charles (Dec. 1530), 850.

........., second congregation of, held in February 1531, for the same purpose as the first, ii. 77.

........., hats applied for, in the Emperor's name (for Seville, Santiago, Monaco, and Capua), 683, 787; ii. 95.

.... so numerous in May 1531 that Clement thinks of issuing a decretal enjoining that three days after the death of a pope a conclave should be held, ii. 165, 909.

........., third congregation of, at Rome, in Dec. 1531, to propose means for the defence of Christendom against the Turk, ii. 347.

........., ..., which all foreign ambassadors attend, except the French and Ferrarese, *ibid.*

........., two French, (Grammont and Tournon) sent to Rome by Francis to promote the divorce suit, and ask for judges out of the papal court to sentence the case, ii. 554–5, 564, 645–6.

........., nothing to be attempted in the meantime during Clement and Charles's interview at Bologna, *ibid.*

........., French, in Rome, try to have Henry's marriage invalidated, 836.

........., offer in Henry's name that the papal mandate will be obeyed, provided the trial of the divorce case be transferred to Cambray, or some place out of Rome, 836.

........., bills of exchange to the value of 30,000 cr. remitted by Henry to Rome to be spent in bribes to the, ii. 566.

........., hats applied for by Francis in 1531, 850.

........., ..., as well as by Charles, ii. 95.

........., sacred college of, 147, 167, 198, 452, 683, 741, 814, 816, 836, 847, 850.

........., consistory of, ii. 326–8.

Cardona, Hernando de, high constable of Aragon, present at Barcelona for the ratification of the treaty between Clement and Charles, 116.

........., Luis de, cardinal archbishop of Tarragona, 12–13; ii. 33.

Cardona, Ramon de, viceroy of Naples (1509), alluded, ii. 351.

Carducci, Baldassare, Florentine ambassador to France, 46, 522, 574, 652; ii. 975.

........., ..., letter of, to the Dieci, 383; intercepted, 681.

........., ——, Florentine consul in England, 375–6, 522, 617, 652, 674.

........., ..., ..., becomes bankrupt, 691.

........., Francesco, gonfaloniere of Florence (1529), 377 *note.*

Carew, Sir Nicholas, grand squire or master of the horse, 190, 215, 239, 259, 470, 972–3.

........., ..., recommended by queen Katharine, 279.

........., ..., to Bologna on a mission to the emperor (Oct. 1529), 257, 428; ii. 965.

........., ..., back in London, and favourably disposed towards Katharine, 470, 514, 536, 587, 692.

........., ..., to France for the coronation of queen Eleanor, 854.

........., ..., Henry staying at a country house of, ii. 72.

........., ..., in friendly communication with Chapuys, ii. 114.

........., ... with Henry and Anne Boleyn, at Windsor, ii. 198.

........., ..., to start again for France (1st Oct. 1531), ii. 253, 524, 28, 536.

........., ..., lady, niece of the duke of Norfolk, and wife of Sir Nicholas, 428.

Carlo III. duke of Savoy (1504–53), 109–10, 151, 240–41; ii. 963.

........., minister of finance to, taken prisoner by the French, 241.

........., at Bologna for the emperor's coronation, 471, 478.

........., he and the infanta, his wife, doing their duty to the emperor, 516.

........., ..., and helping Dr. Ortiz, ii. 41, 46, 48.

........., afraid of the Swiss Lutherans, ii. 911.

........., cannot well defend his estate unless he is helped with money by the emperor and the rest of the Christian princes, 661.

........., promises to contribute to the expenses of the Turkish war, 795.

........., ..., the payment of which he delays under various pretences, 811.

........., endeavouring to come to an agreement with the Swiss, 823; ii, 228, 290.

........., his differences with the count of Geneva, 315.

........., ..., with the Swiss, ii. 46.

........., ..., with France, ii. 321, 330.

........., requested to intercede for Katharine ii. 720.

........., his ambassadors at the imperial court, ii. 919.

........., secretary of, ii. 908.

Carmagnola, in Piedmont, ii. 782 *note.*

Carmel (?) 432.

Carmona, *v.* Cremona.

........., Fr. Alonso de, ii. 413.

Carne, Edw., excusator, *v.* Karne.

Carnisseca, a servant or secretary of Schomberg, the Capuan, ii. 828, 849, 868, 1000.

Carnizuza (?), one of the pope's secretaries, ii. 828.

Caro, *v.* Carew.

Carondelet, Claude de, bailli d'Amont, 110–11, 258–9 ; ii. 965.

........., Ferry de, archdeacon of Besançon, ii. 965.

........., Jean de, archbishop of Palermo, president of the council of the Low Countries, and cardinal, 37, 39 ; ii. 955.

........., agent of, at Marseilles (1533), ii. 829.

Carpi, county of, given in fief to Alfonso d' Este, on the occasion of his son (Ercole) being about to marry the emperor's daughter (Margaret), 132.

........., ..., to be restored to its legitimate owner, count Alberto Pio, 582 ; *v.* Pio da Carpi.

........., count of, *v.* Pio (Alberto).

........., ..., his family, ii. 828.

Carrone, Felice, marchese di San Thomaso, his "Tavole Genealogiche" quoted, ii. 964.

Carroz de Vilaragut, Luis, Spanish ambassador in England (1509–15), 881.

Cartagena, seaport town on the east coast of Spain, 34.

........., bishopric of, to be united to that of Orihuela or Murcia, 734, ii. 806.

Carvajal, *v.* Galindez de Carvajal.

Carvyane (?), 259.

Casal, Messire Jeronimo del (?), supposed to be the same as Sir Gregory Cassalis, ii. 554.

Casale, capital of Montferrato :

........., bishop of, *v.* Castellari.

........., Francesco da, younger brother of Sir Gregory, ii. 978, 987.

........., prothonotary Giovanni da, English ambassador in Venice, 52.

........., ..., leaves for Milan (Apr. 1530), 521.

........., ..., returns to Venice, 552.

........., ..., much suspected by the imperialists, 615.

........., ..., conversation with Rodrigo Niño about the divorce, 654–6, 657–8, 662.

........., ..., Bracciano to be put in the hands of, pending arbitration, 717.

........., ..., recommended for a cardinal's hat, though too young for it, 719, 789, 844–5, 846–7, ii. 7.

........., ..., in correspondence with the agent of the vayvod, 736.

........., ..., whom he is to represent at the conferences of Nice, ii. 807.

Casale, prothonotary Giovanni da—*cont.*

........., ..., brings to England a proposal of marriage between Francesco Sforza and princess Mary, 830.

........., ..., if successful to be rewarded by the duke with considerable estates in Milan, *ibid.*

........., ..., leaves for England with all the signatures and seals he could procure in favour of the divorce, ii. 7.

........., ..., writes to his brother (Sir Gregory) that the duke of Mantua has taken them all from him, ii. 10.

........., ..., which report Mai believes to be untrue, for if the duke took any papers, it was only the opinions of the Mantuan doctors and canonists, *ibid.*

........., Cassalis, Sir Gregory de, English ambassador at Rome, 196, 249, 270, 356, 382, 389, 563, 647, 673 ; ii. 807.

........., ..., reprimanded in a letter from Henry, 740.

........., ..., ..., which he answers, telling him many truths, 740.

........., ..., promises to cardinal Trani an income of 10,000 ducats in England, if he only will take up Henry's cause at Rome, 741.

........., ..., goes to Bologna to fetch his wife, 779.

........., ..., cousin of (Paolo), in London, ii. 80.

........., ..., about to leave Rome for England, ii. 525.

........., ..., or for Calais to attend the conferences (Oct. 1532), ii. 530.

........., ..., letter to his brother John, the prothonotary (Dec. 1531), 878.

........., ..., accused by Anne Boleyn of having been the cause of the non-success of the divorce suit, ii. 554.

........., ..., sent back to Rome post-haste to prevent any decision of the case before the arrival of the French cardinals, ii. 555.

.... Paolo da, brother of Sir Gregory, papal nuncio in England, appointed (Oct. 1529), 270, 301 ; ii. 969, 978, 987.

........., ..., arrival of, in London (Dec. 1529), 353, 355–6, 381–2, 388.

........., ..., secretary of, a Florentine, takes a message to Chapuys, 381.

........., ..., bishopric of Belluno given to, ii. 970.

........., Raphaele da, a Bolognese, cousin of Sir Gregory, employed by Henry, 578, 673–4 ; ii. 80, 978, 987.

........., Vincenzo, ii. 978, 987.

Casal, Maggiore, in the Cremonese, 309.

........., ..., letter dated at, 197.

Cassano, in Lombardy, 35.

Cassel, provost of, *v.* Theimseke.

Castaldo, Gio. Battista, Italian captain in the imperial service, 206, 318, 529.

........., ..., servant of, bearer of despatches, 584.

Castelalto, captain or governor of Trent, 124; ii. 778, 791.

Castel Beltran, abbacy of, 208.

Castelfranco, in Lombardy (?), 310, 485, 585.

Castellamare (Castel a mare di Stabia), in Naples, bishop of, *v.* Centellas.

Castellari, Bernardino, bishop of Casale, 594.

Castel, Castil-Leone, in the Milanese; count of, *v.* Burgo.

.... di Piero, ii. 991.

Castell San Giovanni, 188 *note.*

........., letter dated at, 136.

Castelnau, François de, bishop of Narbonne (1502–7); of Aux (1507–38) papal legate at Avignon and cardinal, (d. 1540), 845 *note.*

Castiglione, family at Milan, one of the, assassinated, ii. 817.

........., count of, *v.* Castil Leone.

........., Baldassare, papal nuncio in Spain (1528–9), ii. 236.

Castilla, 135, 528, 537, 728.

........., the nobility of, discontented at Charles's long absence from that kingdom, 551.

........., cardinal, protector of, at Rome, *v.* Colonna.

........., admiral of, *v.* Enriquez.

Castillejo, Christobal de, one of king Ferdinand's secretaries, *Int.* xx., viii.; 100, 124, 265, 308, 314, 771; ii. 957.

........., ..., letters to, from Martin de Salinas, 1087.

........., ..., letters of, to Micer Andrea del Burgo, 58, 73.

........., Pedro de, nephew of Christobal, and secretary in Spain, ii. 714.

Castil Leone, count of, title given by Ferdinand to Andrea de Burgo, his ambassador in Rome, 585, 675 *note.*

........., countess of, 585.

Castrioto, Alfonso, marquis de la Tripalda; Camilla, his sister, married to Luigi Gonzaga, ii. 968.

Castro, Pedro de, one of Ferdinand's secretaries, *Int.* xxviii.; 124, 776; ii. 780.

.... y Pinós, D. Alonso de Só, bishop of Huesca, ii. 999.

........., Ramon, viscount of Evol, ii. 980, 999.

Catalina, once a slave to queen Katharine, 885.

Catalonia, principality of, 185, 377, 792.

........., the imperial fleet of 29 sail ordered to the coast of, 523, 528.

........., viceroy of, *v.* Portugal.

Catania, in Sicily, bishopric of, vacant, 561, 867.

Catarina, Caterina, Clement's niece, *v.* Medici.

Cavalleria, D. Francisco de, murdered at Saragossa, 686.

........., D. Sancho de la, arrives in Rome, 822; ii. 10.

Cazaza, in Africa, ii. 916.

Cenete, marquis de, *v.* Nassau.

Centellas (Centelles), Hieronimo, bishop of Castellamare, a Spaniard, appointed papal nuncio to Austria, 5, 59.

........., ..., resigns, 60.

........., ..., in Rome, consulted by Mai, 178, 609, 648, 670, 679; ii. 831 *note.*

Centurione, Domenico, Clement's chamberlain, 14; ii. 249.

........., ..., sent on a mission to the emperor, 502; ii. 846–8.

........., ..., to king Francis, 661, 682; ii. 912.

........., Simon, banker at Rome, ii. 115.

Cephalonia, Venetian captain general in, ii. 521.

Cerbellon, Felipe, in Rome, 827.

........., ..., his son presented to the abbacy of Castel Beltran, 192, 208.

Ceri, Giovan Paolo da, son of Lorenzo, prisoner of war, 48.

........., ..., released, and going to France with his father Renzo, 526, 546.

........., ..., said to be arming in favour of the Florentines, 562, 573, 575, 602; ii. 470, 850.

........., ..., taken prisoner at Gavignana (1530), 680.

........., ..., insolence of, at Rome, 717–18, 732.

........., ..., his services solicited by the duke of Albany (Stuart), 806–7.

........., ..., the siege of Bracciano entrusted to (Oct. 1530), 750.

........., ..., suddenly in Clement's favour, owing to his being in possession of certain secrets of the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso), *ibid.*

........., ..., concerned in the attack upon the Portuguese embassy, 871; ii. 470, 850.

........., ..., in communication with Mai, ii. 521.

........., ..., some engagement to be taken with, before the French secure his services, ii. 540.

........., Renço da, or Lorenço Orsino da, condottiere, in the pay of the Venetians, 40, 48, 195, 199, 240, 314, 328, 363, 365, 546, 562, 603, 615, 680, 685; ii. 334, 338, 455.

........., ..., going to France with his son, 526, 636–7, 873.

........., ..., secretary of, accompanies Giorgio Gritti to Constantinople, ii. 334, 850.

........., ..., in Padua, 573.

........., ..., expected in Venice, ii. 521.

Certosa, La, Carthusian convent, near Bologna, 321.

Cervia, in Romagna, seized by the Venetians, 16, 21, 49, 166.

........., to be restored, 126, 267, 699.

Cervian (?), master of a galley captured by Andrea Doria on the coast of France, 36.

Cesarino, cardinal Alessandro, protector of Aragon, 2, 12–13, 61, 119, 153, 181, 194, 708, 806, 810, 849, 875; ii. 115, 958.

........., ..., cousin of, at Rome, in favour of the imperialists, ii. 138.

........., ..., recommended to the emperor, ii. 206.

........., ..., deputed for the Emperor's reception at Bologna, ii. 515, 563.

........., ..., not going to the conferences of Marseilles, ii. 806.

Cesenna (Romagna), 289; ii. 561.

Cesi, cardinal Frederico, 45; ii. 542.

Chabot, Philippe de, sieur de *Brion*, admiral of France, 242–6, 244–5, 284, 328, 356; ii. 330, 384, 420, 454, 867.

........., ..., at Piacenza, for the ratification of the peace of Cambray, 311.

........., ..., negociating, 312–15.

........., ..., at Bayonne, for the delivery of the sons of France, 620.

........., ..., much commended by Norfolk, ii. 582.

........., ..., brother or near relative of, recommended for a cardinal's hat, ii. 851.

........., ..., supposed to be in favour of Clement's overtures about Calais, ii. 853.

Chalayn, Mr. de, a pension to, ii. 395, 575.

Chalex (Chablaix ?), abbot of, arrives in London for the purpose of visiting the monasteries and convents of his order, ii. 225, 989.

Chalon, Philibert de, prince of Orange, viceroy of Naples, *Intr.* v.; 17, 19, 35, 39, 48, 63, 65, 83, 112–14, 118, 123, 128, 150, 179, 206, 250, 288, 501, 677–8; ii. 962.

........., ..., appointed to the command of the imperial army against Florence, 30.

........., ..., instructions to, 10.

........., ..., arrives at Rome and holds a conference with Clement, 141, 144, 146, 150.

........., ..., receives orders from the Emperor to besiege Florence, 163, 166–8.

........., ..., leaves for the camp (Aug. 1529), 168, 172, 176–9, 184.

........., ..., at Foligno, about to attack Spelle, 191–2, 195.

........., ..., at Cannara, eight miles from Perugia, 201–2, 208.

........., ..., Spelle, in Umbria, taken by his troops, 211.

........., Cortona capitulates with, 219.

........., ..., marching on Florence, 240, 280–2, 309, 868.

........., ..., his differences with Vasto settled, 523, 525.

Chalon, Philibert de, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., lays siege to Florence, 501, 540–1, 546, 549, 562, 566, 569, 583, 592, 596, 603, 608–9, 642.

........., ..., pension granted to, 525.

........., ..., defeats the Pisans and Florentines at Gavinana (3rd Aug.), 679.

........., ..., is slain in the encounter, 679, 694, 812, 871–2; ii. 979.

........., ..., no funerals to be performed for him at Rome, 681.

........., ..., letter to the Emperor, 233.

Chamberi, in Savoy, 61, 84.

........., the earl of Wiltshire (Sir Thomas Boleyn) at, ii. 228.

Chamberlains, papal, one (*Camarlengo*) passing through Mantua with a cardinal's hat for the bishop of Trent (Clesi), 485.

........., ..., to the emperor, *v.* Nassau and Cueva.

........., ..., high lord, to Henry, *v.* Sandys.

Chancellor, High, to Henry VIII., *v.* More and Audeley.

........., ..., to Francis I., *v.* Prat.

........., ..., to Charles V., *v.* Gattinara.

Chancery, French, 425.

........., court at Valladolid, president of, *v.* Gonzalez Manso.

Chançonette, Claude, ambassador of Antoine, duke of Lorraine, to the emperor, 99, 111 *note.*

Chantilly, a fine estate belonging to the grand master of France (Montmorency); Francis and his mother Louise, at, 102, 107.

Chantrain, knight commander; Englishmen residing at the house of, in Louvain (?), ii. 471.

Chapuys (Chappuys), Eustace, imperial ambassador in England (1529–33), notice of, *Int.* v., vi., xviii., xxi.; 45–6, 115, 278–9.

........., ..., formerly in the service of Bourbon, 805.

........., ..., credentials to, 54, 55, 117, 120.

........., ..., on an embassy to the duke of Savoy, 109–10, 174.

........., ..., to the duchess of Lorraine, 174.

........., ..., meets Don Iñigo de Mendoza at Antwerp, and holds a conference with him respecting English affairs, *ibid.*

........., ..., arrival of, in London, 189.

........., ..., has audience of the king at Grafton, 213, 220.

........., ..., explains his mission in French, as he knows no Latin, 221, 222–31.

........., ..., asks and obtains permission to see queen Katharine, 214.

........., ..., is conducted by Sir John Russel to her apartments, 214, 232.

Chapuys (Chappuys), Eustace, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., advised by her to call on Campeggio before his departure for Rome, but not on Wolsey, 214, 232.

........., ..., nor on the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, 278.

........., ..., as the Cardinal's affairs are very low, and it is not yet decided who will succeed him, 214, 232, 278.

........., ..., corresponds secretly with her by means of her physician and other officers of her household, 189, 220, 305, 365, 513; ii. 197, 817.

........., ..., strongly recommended by Margaret to try persuasion and bribery, 332.

........., ..., at Henry's table (Dec. 1529), 348.

........., ..., holds conferences with Norfolk, 355.

........., ..., warned by Lachaulx and Des Barres, in Brussels, that on his arrival in London he will be confined to prison, 383.

........., ..., his conferences with the king and Norfolk on general politics, and the Turkish war, 302, 337–42, 355–61.

........., ..., on the Lutherans, the Council, and the affairs of Germany, ii. 74, 85, 617.

........., ..., on the divorce with king Henry himself, 415, 504–7.

........., ..., and with the duke of Norfolk, 417, 623–4.

........., ..., (1530) visits Katharine again, accompanied by the earl of Wiltshire (Jan.), 419.

........., ..., accused by Henry of spreading false reports about him, 464.

.... , ..., and of writing to the Emperor, and to his ambassadors at Rome what was not true, *ibid.*

........., ..., which accusation is reproduced by Norfolk, who warns him to be more cautious in future, 466, 580.

........., ..., has a second audience from the king at Windsor, in April 1530, 504.

........., ..., receives secret messages from Katharine, 689.

........., ..., whose letters to pope and emperor pass mostly through his hands, ii. 113.

........., ..., residing one league out of London on account of the plague (sweating sickness,) having broken out at his lodgings, and carried off his chaplain, 707–8, 788.

........., ..., servant of, returning to London with despatches from Rome (Oct.), 741.

........., ..., precautions taken by Mai to ensure their safe delivery, *ibid.*

........., ..., has again audience of the king at Greenwich (12th Nov.), at which German politics, the general council, and the divorce are discussed, 798.

Chapuys (Chappuys), Eustace, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., Anne Boleyn overhearing the whole conversation from an adjoining gallery, 803.

........., ..., suggests that the opinions of the universities against the divorce be printed and published, as well as the list of the doctors who voted for the queen, 818.

........., ..., sends to Charles, Fisher's treatises against the divorce, 847.

........., ..., and applies to Rome for copies of every paper written in favor of the same, 847.

........., ..., communicates with Katharine in writing, ii. 3, 8, 10.

........., ..., to Greenwich to present queen Mary's letter, ii. 12.

........., ..., is graciously received by Henry, and obtains permission to call on the queen, ii. 14.

........., ..., calls and tells her the way of defeating any motion made in Parliament, ii. 15.

........., ..., fancies that Henry is likely to stop in his rash and disorderly career, ii. 16, 33.

........., ..., which opinion Katharine does not share, *ibid.*

........., ..., instructed to appeal and protest in Katharine's name, ii. 18.

........., ..., has again audience from Henry, ii. 43.

........., ..., and visits Katharine in Feb. 1531, ii. 69.

........., ..., highly commended by her to the emperor, ii. 113.

........., ..., sends one of his secretaries to Calais to report on the conferences, ii. 546–8, 551.

........., ..., has a long audience from Henry (15th March 1531), and discusses at length general politics, the council, and the divorce case, ii. 620–4.

........., ..., again in April, ii. 635, 640.

........., ..., warned not to present to Henry apostolic letters of any sort if he values his life, ii. 667.

........., ..., writes to Henry and protests against the divorce suit being tried and sentenced in England (5th May 1533), ii. 668.

........., ..., summoned before the Privy Council to explain, ii. 669.

........., ..., debates with the earl of Wiltshire and the rest, and exhibits his powers, ii. 671–2.

........., ..., informs Mary of Hungary of the probability of a truce being made between England and Scotland (May 1533), that she may, in the event of it, safeguard the interests of the Flemish in the fisheries, ii. 690.

........., ..., asked by Henry to persuade Katharine to obtemperate to Cranmer's sentence; refuses, ii. 719.

Chapuys (Chappuys), Eustace, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., recommends the sending of an extraordinary embassy, together with a sort of manifesto from the Spanish grandees, ii. 658, 721.

........., ..., in frequent communication with Katharine, 327, 689; ii. 3, 8, 10; ii. 69, 463, 718–9, 839–40.

........., ..., and with the Princess Mary, ii. 839–40.

........., ..., in close relation with the papal nuncio (Borgho), 275, 508, 537, 580; ii. 680, 721, 868.

........., ..., corresponds with Granvelle, ii. 277.

........., ..., with Mai, Ortiz, and Cifuentes at Rome, ii. 71, 230.

........., ..., holds frequent conferences with Cromwell, ii. 749–60.

........., ..., again before the King and his privy councillors for the regulation of the trade between England and the Low Countries, ii. 796.

........., ..., protests against the title of princess of Wales being given to Elizabeth, ii. 799, 823.

........., ..., his hotel in London partly consumed by fire, ii. 819.

........., ..., draws out a protest for Mary, ii. 822, 881.

........., ..., is promised another audience of the king, ii. 865.

........., ..., ..., which is postponed until the receipt of news from Marseilles, ii. 866.

........., ..., his conferences with Norfolk, *v.* Howard.

........., ..., ..., with Cromwell, ii. 723, 739–40, 756, 758–9; *v.* Cromwell.

........., ..., ..., with Mr. du Bellay, 387–91.

........., ..., ..., with Gioachino da Passano, 254–5, 368.

........., ..., ..., with La Pommeraye and La Guiche, ii. 513, 525, 533–5, 550.

........., ..., his secretaries, ii. 2, 189, 220, 257, 286, 292, 296, 557, 785–6, 797; ii. 2, 257, 420, 555, 817, 841, 860; *v.* Montoya.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, (1529) 117, 132, 135, 182, 194, 211, 216, 224, 228, 232, 241; (1530) 247, 249, 250, 252, 255, 265, 270, 290, 302, 345, 354, 366, 373, 396, 411, 421–2, 425, 433, 445, 460, 481, 492, 509, 522, 539, 547, 549, 555.

........., ..., ..., (1531), 584, 590, 598, 615, 619, 635, 641, 646, 648, 664, 683, 720–1, 739, 753, 765, 775, 778, 786, 788, 796, 801–2, 805, 808, 814, 818, 838, 853, 865.

........., ..., ..., (1532), 880, 883, 888, 897–8, 899, 907, 915, 926, 934, 943, 948, 951–2, 954, 957, 962, 968, 980, 986, 993, 995, 1003, 1008, 1024, 1030, 1033.

Chapuys (Chappuys), Eustace, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., ..., (1533), 1041, 1043, 1047, 1053, 1055–8, 1061–3, 1072–3, 1076, 1081, 1091, 1107–8, 1117, 1123–4, 1127, 1130, 1132–3, 1137, 1144, 1149, 1153–4, 1157–8, 1161, 1164–5.

........., ..., ..., to Margaret of the Low Countries, 118, 136, 152–3, 168.

........., ..., ..., to Mr. de Granvelle, 291, 972.

........., ..., ..., to Dr. Ortiz, at Rome, 936.

........., ..., ..., to the high commander (Cobos), 866, 899, 922, 1026, 1155.

Chappuys, Jean de, secretary to the duke of Burgundy, *Int.* vi.

Charles V., emperor, decides to visit Italy, 15, 20, 33.

........., ..., sails from Barcelona on the 27th July (1529), *Intr.* ii.; 15, 21, 105.

........., ..., touches at the island of Yères, 162.

........., ..., lands at Villafranca di Nizza, 166, 401.

........., ..., goes to Genoa, 166.

........., ..., preparations for his coronation, 168.

........., ..., which is to take place at Bologna instead of Rome, as at first intended, 183, 201.

........., ..., requested by the pope to take the oath for Parma and Piacenza, 197.

........., ..., at Piacenza from the 6th of Sept. to the 26th of Oct. 1529; 208, 210, 213, 217, 249.

........., ..., advised from Rome to be very careful about his cooks, and have his food tasted every day, 218.

........., ..., leaves for Bologna, 311, 335.

........., ..., political views of, as explained in a long holograph letter to his brother Ferdinand, 396–409.

........., ..., his reasons for leaving Spain, visiting Italy and Germany, and reinstating Sforza, 400–3.

........., ..., owns that all his embarrassments proceed from want of money, 403.

........., ..., his coronation, 456.

........., ..., ..., as king of Lombardy on the 22nd of February, and as emperor on the 24th (1530), 472.

........., ..., prepares to go to Germany, 477.

........., ..., at Mantua, with the marquis, after duke of, from the 25th of March to the 20th of April 1530; 481, 484, 494.

........., ..., account of his arrival there and reception by the duke, 484, 493.

........., ..., leaves for Trent, 495.

........., ..., his arrival and reception in that city (April), 519.

........., ..., at Innsbruck (4th May), 528.

........., ..., in Germany, 531.

Charles V., emperor—*cont.*

........., ..., at Augsburg, attending the second diet (15th June), 611.

........., ..., back to the Netherlands, 782, 801, 811; ii. 3, 6.

........., ..., preparing to visit Italy, ii. 38.

........., ..., at Aix-la-Chapelle, for his brother's coronation as king of the Romans (10th Jan. 1531); ii. 42–3.

........., ..., his Spanish subjects discontented at his protracted absence, ii. 112.

........., ..., represented by Grammont as shut up in Flanders, and unable to return to Spain (June 1531), ii. 180, 184.

........., ..., rumours of his going thither in June 1531, leaving Lutherans and Papists to fight their own quarrels in Germany, ii. 202.

........., ..., falls from his horse whilst hunting, ii. 449, 450.

........., ..., recovers, ii. 474–5.

........., ..., account of his treatment by Dr. Escoriaza, his chief physician, 953.

........., ..., at Bologna, for the second time (Feb. 1533), ii. 544, 561.

........., ..., consulted by Clement upon the project of marriage between princess Mary and Henry earl of Surrey, ii. 735.

........., ..., his reception at Bologna discussed in consistory, ii. 563.

........., ..., two cardinals, Cesarini and Grimano, deputed to go out and meet him, *ibid.*

........., ..., instructions to the prince of Orange in 1529; 10.

........., ..., ..., to Leyva, Caracciolo and the marquis of Mantua, 53, 159, 682.

........., ..., ..., to his ambassadors at Rome in 1533, ii. 721.

........., ..., letters to king Henry, 19.

........., ..., to Katharine, 54, 55, 57, 120, 124.

........., ..., to Wolsey, 18.

........., ..., to Chapuys, 52, 169.

........., ..., to pope Clement, 124, 367, 378, 480, 846.

........., ..., to the College of Cardinals, 61.

........., ..., to Margaret, 491, 586.

........., ..., to the empress Isabella, 126, 268, 299, 329, 331, 348, 391, 443, 527, 617, 650–1, 776, 807, 982, 1046, 1052, 1178.

........., ..., to his sister Mary, 586.

........., ..., to his brother Ferdinand, 245, 597, 711, 1172.

........., ..., to the duke of Lorraine, 47.

........., ..., to his ambassadors in France, 253, 264, 587, 677.

........., ..., to his ambassadors at Rome (Praët and Mai), 63, 70, 139, 145, 148, 151, 156, 183, 199, 298, 360, 394, 434, 482, 566, 940.

Charles V., emperor—*cont.*

........., ..., to Mai and Merino, 183.

........., ..., to Figueroa, at Genoa, 71.

........., ..., to the earl of Desmond, 84.

........., ..., to his grand chancellor Gattinara, 39, 130, 137.

........., ..., to cardinal Colonna at Naples, 144, 362, 489, 966.

........., ..., to Lope de Soria, at Venice, 146.

........., ..., to the archbishop of Bari, 183, 184.

........., ..., to cardinal Loaysa, 904, 923, 927.

........., ..., to prothonotary Caracciolo, 406, 837, 1160.

........., ..., to Niño, 478.

........., ..., to Cueva, 479.

........., ..., to Muxetula, 488, 556.

........., ..., to Fonseca, 528.

........., ..., to Ortiz, 638, 891, 956.

........., ..., to cardinal Accolti, 674, 895.

........., ..., to Padilla, 752, 793.

........., ..., to the duke of Saxony, 1094.

........., ..., to Cifuentes, 1122.

........., ..., to Poupet de Lachaulx and secretary Des Barres, in France, 201.

........., ..., to Luis Sarmiento in Portugal, 221.

.... of France alluded, ii. 24.

.... VIII. king of France, his arrival in Italy alluded, 38.

Charran, capt., a Biscayan; the widow and children of, recommended by Chapuys to the French ambassador, ii. 272.

Chartres, duchess of, 639; *v.* Renée de France.

Chasteaubrien (Chateaubriand), Mr. de, at Cambray with Louise de Savoie, 108.

Chastillon, Châtillon, sieur de, *v.* Coligny.

Chateao Brian (Chateaubriand), in dep. Loire Inferieure, France; king Francis and his court at, ii. 454–5, 459.

Chaulx (Charles Poupet, seigneur de la), *v.* Lachaulx.

Chennets, sieur de, *v.* Dinteville (Guillaume).

Cherri, Chierri, *v.* Ceri.

Chieti, Theati in the Abruzzo, bishop of, *v.* Medici.

Chiple, Chipre, *v.* Cyprus.

Church, patronage of the, 728.

........., reform of the, discusssed in Henry's privy council (1530), 798.

Cheyne, Sir Thomas, gentleman of the privy chamber; king Henry staying at, ii. 253, 524.

Chiamarra, Chimarra, *v.* Cimarra.

Chiavenna, count, sent by Leyva to Germany to bring down a division of German lanskenets, 25.

Chieri, *v.* Ceri.

Chivizano, Pirro da, 606–7; ii. 304, 316, 991.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

Christiern II. king of Denmark (1513–23), dethroned by Frederic, duke of Holstein, ii. 818.

........., ..., daughter of, *v.* Dorothea.

.... III., son of Frederic I. king of Denmark and Norway (1533–59), called the new king; about to make an alliance with Charles, ii. 818.

Christierna (Christine), daughter of Christiern II. ; to be married to Francesco Sforza, ii. 204, 962.

Cibacus, *v.* Gibacus.

Cibo, Caterina, daughter of Francesco, and widow of Giovan Maria Varana, duke of Camerino, 530 *note.*

........., [di Massa], Innocenzio, cardinal, 282 *note*, 585, 826, ii. 35, 683.

........., Francesco, natural son of Giovan Battista, count of Anguillara and Ferrentino, 530 *note.*

........., Giovan Battista, cardinal, and pope (Innocent VIII. 1484–92), 530 *note.*

........., Lorenzo, son of Francesco (?), 873.

Cifuentes, count de, *v.* Silva.

Cilicia, *v.* Sicily.

Cilly, Claude de, the marshal, 61, 123.

Cimarra (Cimara), the Albanians fortify, 611, 868 ; ii. 260.

Cinco Iglesias, Fünfkirchen or Five Churches, a village of Hungary, 50.

........., taken and destroyed by the Turks (1529), 169.

Cingolo Militare, institution of the, 777 ; ii. 982.

Cinque Ports, a fleet from Lubeck about to attack the Dutch anchored at, ii. 787.

Ciochi, Antonio, *v.* Monte.

Cipizzano, Pirro da, colonel of Italian infantry, ii. 316 ; *v.* Colonna and Chivizano.

Cisneros, imperial courier, 216.

Ciudad Real, town of La Mancha, in Spain, 776.

........., Rodrigo, in Extremadura, Spain, ii. 714.

........., ..., bishop of, *v.* Maldonado.

Cividal di Belluno, bishop of, *v.* Barozzi and Casale.

Civitta Castellana, del. Viterbo, 282, 284.

.... Vecchia, in the Roman states, 131–6.

Clanricarde, earl of, *v.* Bourke and De Burghe.

Clarence, Henry's king-at-arms, sent to France for the purpose of inviting knights for a tournament to be held in London at Anne's coronation, 11th April 1533, ii. 643.

........., duke of, brother of Edward IV., ii. 813.

Clarmont, *v.* Clermont.

Clèves, duke of, *v.* John III. and William.

Claude, de France, first wife of Francis I., 108.

Clement VII., pope, frequent relapses of his old complaint, 11, 17–19, 43, 148, 153.

........., ..., publicly insulted by the English ambassadors, 18.

........., ..., described by Mai as sordid and low-minded, 20.

........., ..., confesses to Muxetula that fear of the Madrid convention and its results made him absolve king Francis from his oath, 20.

........., ..., negociations for the treaty of Barcelona, 21.

........., ..., much afraid of Charles's visit to Italy, and above all of the General Council, 25.

........., ..., much better of his usual complaint, and drinking mineral waters, 51.

........., ..., rumours of his intended journey to Spain, 63, 69, 118.

........., ..., discontented at not receiving news of the negociations at Cambray, 85.

........., ..., not expected to live long, for he has taken the papal potion, 148.

........., ..., promises his help against the Turk, and against the Lutherans, 126–7.

........., ..., issues bulls in favour of Charles and Ferdinand, but gives no money, 127.

........., ..., wishing for the restoration of his family in Florence, but unable to provide funds for Chalon's expeditionary force, 144.

........., ..., in bad health again, 137, 153 ; ii. 958.

........., ..., to Bologna for the emperor's coronation, 218.

........., ..., travelling by short stages, owing to his indifferent state of health, 283.

........., ..., arrives (October 1529), 311, 314, 402.

........., ..., his wavering politics in general, 260, 705.

........., ..., Charles's opinion of, in a letter to his brother Ferdinand, 404–5.

........., ..., returns to Rome, 493.

........., ..., (March 1530) asks the emperor what answer he is to give to the English ambassadors, 480–1.

........., ..., reported to have written to Henry that as long as the emperor's army remained in Italy he could not venture to give judgment in the divorce suit, 507.

........., ..., reported to have pawned all his jewels at Venice, and raised money for the support of Chalon's army before Florence, 509.

........., ..., to despatch an auditor of the Rota and two more lawyers to the emperor that they may explain his claims on Ferrara (May 1530), 539.

Clement VII., pope—*cont.*

........., ..., informs the emperor of the discontent prevailing in Spain owing to his protracted absence, 551.

........., ..., asked by the Imperial ambassadors to forbid under ecclesiastic censures the universities and colleges of France to give opinion on the divorce case, 581–3, 588.

........., ..., afraid of Florence being sacked by the imperialists, 583.

........., ..., proposes a suspension of the proceedings in the divorce suit on condition of Henry promising not to innovate, 589.

........., ..., attempt by the Florentines to poison, 609.

........., ..., will do in every case the emperor's bidding, 629.

........., ..., contributes with money towards the expenses of the siege of Florence, 660.

........., ..., described by Mai as a thorough Frenchman at heart, and trying to go over to Francis (July 1530), 661.

........., ..., his conversations with Muxetula on the affairs of France, 670.

........., ..., ..., with Mai on the divorce suit, 581, 597 ; ii. 131–2.

........., ..., ..., with Silva, ii. 633, 701, 711, 734–5, 748, 763, 800.

........., ..., intends sending Sancti Quatuor (Pucci) or Salviati to the Florentines, to persuade them to capitulate, 678.

........., ..., death of, reported (August 1530), 686.

........., ..., said to have issued a brief (4 Aug. 1530), authorizing doctors and theologians, as well as canonists and lawyers, to give opinion in the divorce case, 697.

........., ..., almost impossible to detach him from the French or English alliance, 704.

........., ..., timid and irresolute, and wishing to be on good terms with both kings, 705.

........., ..., his claims on the duke of Ferrara, who intercepts his letters, and sends them to the emperor, 711.

........., ..., instructs his nuncio in France to procure at any cost a book sent by the duke of Ferrara to Francis, denouncing his conduct with regard to the council and to other matters, 747.

........., ..., of the two bulls found by Ghinucci at Rome one is so close and binding, that, should it be presented at a general council, the emperor would have the greatest difficulty in helping him, 748.

........., ..., leaves for Ostia (4 Oct. 1530), 751,

........., ..., his answer to Henry's letter (27 Sept. 1530), 751.

Clement VII., pope—*cont.*

........., ..., pays one-third of his stipulated contribution in help of the Swiss Catholics, 741, 850.

........., ..., his conversations about Milan, Florence, and the Turk with Mai, 842.

........., ..., ..., with Muxetula, 756–7, 841.

........., ..., ..., with Don Pedro de la Cueva and Burgo respecting the convocation of the general council, 835.

........., ..., his desire of keeping on good terms with Henry, said by Chapuys to be the cause of the successive suspensions of the proceedings in the divorce suit, 853.

........., ..., has been so dilatory and so dissembling with respect to the divorce question that he is not in favour with either side, *ibid.*

........., ..., said to have answered Henry's intemperate and insolent letter in a prudent and grave way, more befitting a pope than a secular prince, ii. 9.

........., ..., orders his nuncio in England to intimate the brief to Henry, ii., 21, 34.

........., ..., wanting to go Bologna in September 1531 to meet the emperor, ii. 33.

........., ..., appears to be satisfied with the emperor's award respecting Ferrara, and thanks him for it, ii. 36.

........., ..., very desirous to please the emperor; not only has he paid regularly the 10,000 crs. of his contribution, but has actually permitted the imperial forces to quarter within the territory of the church (January, 1531), ii. 46.

........., ..., willing to convoke a council on certain conditions, ii. 56, 131–2.

........., ..., no great desire on his part to settle the divorce suit one way or other, for he wishes to keep up dissension between the Christian princes for fear they should agree as to the reform of the clergy, ii. 70.

........., ..., bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices bestowed by (in 1531), to valets and grooms without any regard to age, condition, or learning, ii. 194.

........., ..., summons all his cardinals, except Burgos and Siena, to appear at Rome on the 1st of October 1531, ii. 245, 249.

........., ..., pressed to contribute towards the keeping of the imperial army in Lombardy, answers that he has no money, ii. 304.

........., ..., promises not to grant any more delays, and sentence at once the matrimonial cause, ii. 340.

........., ..., gives audience to foreign ambassadors, and explains the danger of Christendom from the Turk, ii. 342.

Clement VII., pope—*cont.*

........., ..., recommends a crusade against the Infidel, *ibid.*

........., ..., his confidential reporter at the court of France, ii. 480.

........., ..., forwards the Canterbury bulls instead of delaying them, as he was desired, until after the sentence of the divorce case, ii. 625.

........., ..., ..., at which queen Katharine and her party are greatly alarmed, *ibid.*

........., ..., sure to deceive the emperor in the end, ii. 629.

........., ..., pressed by the imperial ambassadors to give sentence, says that he must know first how the emperor intends helping to the execution of it, ii. 662, 665.

........., ..., believed by Davalos to have issued certain secret breves that will prevent his complying with the emperor's wishes respecting the divorce suit, ii. 729.

........., ..., ..., yet promises once more to do justice, *ibid.*

........., ..., being a bastard, the king of France is sure to work for his deposition at the future general council, ii. 732.

........., ..., his departure for Nice fixed for the 24th of August, ii. 741.

........., ..., preparing to hold a conference with Francis at Nice, ii. 763.

........., ..., to embark at La Spezzia without passing through Florence, and avoiding Savona and Genoa, ii. 764.

........., ..., agrees to meet Francis and have a conference at Nice, which is afterwards changed for Marseilles, ii. 806.

........., ..., starts on his journey (9 Sept. 1533), ii. 808.

........., ..., Francis' overtures to (Oct.—Nov.), ii. 824.

........., ..., his great art consists in temporising, ii. 826.

........., ...,holds a conference at La Spezzia with Andrea Doria, ii. 850.

........., ..., Francis' reception of, at Marseilles the cause of the ill-humour and disappointment visible in Henry's countenance (Nov. 1533), ii. 839.

........., ..., printers in England forbidden to publish accounts of, ii. 856.

........., ..., proposes a compromise of the matrimonial suit, ii. 860.

........., ..., described by Doria as the most accomplished politician in all Italy, and yet always choosing the worst path, ii. 868.

........., ..., his legate in Romagna, ii. 127.

........., ..., avogado fiscal, or fiscal advocate to, 584.

........., ..., his secretaries, *v.* Salviati and Sanga, ii. 69.

Clement VII., pope—*cont.*

........., ..., his equerry, ii. 67.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 93, 101, 149, 178, 202, 275, 287, 316, 330, 380, 431, 502, 525, 541, 543, 610, 625, 725, 771, 849, 930, 973, 1102.

........., ..., ..., to king Francis, 392.

........., ..., ..., to queen Katharine, 178.

........., ..., ..., to the signory of Venice, 521.

Clerk, John, bishop of Bath and Wells, ii. 197–8.

Clergy, English, very rich, and therefore an object of envy for nobles and commoners, 325.

........., ..., the reformation of the, decreed in consequence of the advocation of the divorce suit to Rome, 366, 450; ii. 79, 82.

........., ..., bill in Parliament against those who obtained preferments during Wolsey's legacy, 673.

........., ..., in great consternation, 726–7.

........., ..., their temporalities to be taken away, 800.

........., ..., composition money offered to Henry by the, ii. 38–9, 44.

........., ..., withdraw their offer, ii. 61.

........., French, the convocation of the, suspended by Francis until February 1533, as a sort of threat to Clement, should he sentence the divorce suit against Henry, ii. 564.

Clermont, provost of, (Jacques de la Barre,) 622 *note.*

........., Mr. de, a gentleman of the Dauphinois, to accompany ambassador Poupet de la Chaulx to the court of France, 247.

........., ..., on a mission of Francis to Florence (Jan. 1530), ii. 964.

Clesis, Bernardo de, bishop of Trent, 120, 124, 328, 378, 431, 455–7, 471, 474, 477–8, 494–5–6; ii. 84,105, 107, 788, 791, 824.

........., ..., present at the emperor's coronation in Bologna, 472–3.

........., ..., created cardinal, 485, 568.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 875.

........., ..., ..., to Mai at Rome, 669.

........., ..., ..., to Andrea del Burgo, 64, 72, 108.

Clèves, duchy of, chancellor of, comes to London, ii. 322.

........., François de, duke of Nevers, ii. 977.

........., Jean III. Pacifique, duke of, 800.

........., William, ii. 290.

........., ..., death of, 562.

Clissa (Clutz), in Dalmatia; report of its surrender to an agent of Luigi Gritti, ii. 207, 454, 469, 521.

Cloth, report of woollen, of English manufacture, having been forbidden in Flanders and the Low Countries (Jan. 1532), ii. 360.

Cobos, Covos, Francisco de los, the emperor's principal secretary, *Int.* xxv., xx., vi., 125, 186 *note*, 318, 320, 333, 375, 537, 578, 583–4, 747, 762, 771, 791, 808, 824–5, 834, 871 ; ii. 115, 162.

........., ..., sons of, taking lessons of dancing, ii. 824–5, 832.

........., ..., marginal notes of, in his handwriting, 731.

........., ..., memorandum of, 123.

........., ..., pension offered to, by the Austrian ambassador (Salinas) in 1533, ii. 824–5.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 568, 1040, 1181–3.

........., ..., ..., to the empress Isabella, 239, 328, 393.

........., ..., ..., addressed to, by the imperial ambassadors in Rome, 162, 204, 343–4 ; *v.* Mai, Loaysa, &c.

Cocchi, Carlo, beheaded at Florence, 291.

Codroip, Desiderio, a spy sent by George Gritti, arrested, ii. 858, 999.

Coin shaver, released from prison through Gioachino's influence (May 1531), ii. 156.

........., another, a young priest, arrested and executed (July 1532), ii. 481.

Colardi, Dr. Jehan, proctor from Flanders, ii. 704, 823.

Coligny, Gaspard de, sieur de Chastillon, French ambassador in England, arrival of (6 Nov. 1533), ii. 857.

Collado, Dr., of Salamanca, 841.

Collins, Rodolph, sent by Zwinglius from Zurich to Venice, ii. 201.

........., ..., to France, ii. 305.

Cologne, (Kœln, Kohl), 483, 493.

........., ..., letters dated at, 556, 586–9, 879.

Coloma, Mossen, secretary to the Catholic sovereigns of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, alluded, 752.

Colonia, Kohl, *v.* Cologne.

Colonna, Ascanio, 44, 62–3, 119, 560, 608, 635–6, 666–7, 826 ; ii. 850.

........., ..., suing for the duchy of Urbino, in right of his mother Agnesina di Montefeltro, 23, 212.

........., Claudia, daughter of Julio ; report of her marriage to Napoleone Orsino, 540, 559, 592, 594, 660, 666, 677, 705.

........., Fabricio, son of Ascanio, 666.

........., ..., secretary of, ii. 158–9.

........., (Giulia, Julia), widow of Vespasiano, *v.* Gonzaga.

........., Isabella, daughter of Vespasiano, 282, 536, 539, 567, 613, 636, 666, 684, 823, 865.

........., ..., pretenders to her hand, various, 567.

........., ..., report (false) of her being married to the ex-abbot of Farfa, 677.

Colonna, Isabella—*cont.*

........., ..., married to Luigi Gonzaga (Rodomonte), Jan. 1531, ii. 33.

........., ..., marriage settlements sent to the emperor for approval, 702.

........., Julio, lord of Montefortino, 541, 594–5, 610, 635.

........., Marcio, in the service of the emperor at the siege of Florence, 364, 680 *note.*

........., ..., Marco Antonio, daughter of, married to Waury, 165 ; ii. 959.

........., Pirro, da Stippiciano, or da Castel di Piero ; before Florence ; in communication with Malatesta Baglione, 606–7, 991, 998.

........., ..., who reveals to him a plot to poison Clement, *ibid.*

........., ..., to be Zucharo's lieutenant, ii. 304, 316 ; *v.* Chivizano.

........., cardinal Pompeo, protector of Castille at Rome, *Int.* xvi., 12 ; ii. 52, 56, 129, 324, 466, 470–1.

........., ..., appointed to succeed Chalon in the vice-royalty of Naples, 199, 205, 247, 328, 364, 371–3, 525, 566, 572, 592, 595, 608, 677, 700, 816 ; ii. 46, 334.

........., ..., Clement's sworn enemy, and capable of doing anything to annoy him, 594.

........., ..., envious of the prince of Orange, and aiming at the pontificate after Clement's death, 595.

........., ..., his hatred of the pope so intense that nothing will satisfy him short of the sack and total destruction of Florence, 792.

........., ..., quarrels with Muxetula, 816–17, 822, 826.

........., ..., on bad terms with Alarçon, 843.

........., ..., death of (July 1532) ; succeeded by Don Pedro de Toledo, ii. 500.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 416.

........., ..., ... from the emperor to, 362.

........., Porcia, daughter of Marco Antonio, married to François de Rupt, sieur de Waury, 165.

........., Prospero, alluded, ii. 966.

........., Sciarra, condottiere, 635.

........., ..., takes Bracciano, 684.

........., Scipio or Scipione, killed in battle, 680 *note.*

........., Stefano, da Palestrina, condottiere, in the service of Florence, 201–5, 602, 685, 694 ; ii. 962.

........., ..., in the pay of France, and heading the Neapolitan "fuorusciti," ii. 120.

........., ..., in London (May 1531), staying at the French embassy, ii. 155.

........., Vespasiano, duke of Traietto, ii. 966.

Colonnese, feud of the, with the Orsini, 15, 48.

........., ..., to be interfered with by the imperial ambassadors as being fraught with danger, 118.

........., ..., on the point of being settled, 595.

Coma (Como ?), D. Rafael de, Spanish canon, 696 ; ii. 980.

Comachio, Commachio, (Comacchio,) in the deleg. of Ferrara, the duke (Alfonso d'Este at, 749.

........., ..., bishop of, *v.* Ghilini.

Comares, D. Luis, marquis of, governor of Oran, 773 ; ii. 266.

Commacre, *v.* Commercy.

Commercy, secretary, president of the court of Requests in Paris, 105–6.

Commissary, papal, one appointed in Dec. 1530, to accompany Ferrante Gonzaga to Siena, 862.

Commons, war of the, in Castille (1520–2), alluded, 34, 447 *note*, 463 *note*, 602.

Como, in Lombardy, offered by Sforza as pledge and security, which is declared insufficient, 204–5.

........., threatened by the marquis of Mus, ii. 122.

........., to remain in the hands of the imperialists, 403, 654, 704, 772.

........., artillery at, 431.

........., Raffaele da, ii. 168.

........., ..., regular canon at Padua, 696 ; *v.* Coma.

........., ..., his letter to the emperor, 737.

........., bishop of, *v.* Triulzo.

Compiegne, 106–7.

........., letter dated from, 49.

Complutum, *v.* Alcalá de Henares.

Compostella, *v.* Santiago de.

Comptroller of the royal household, *v.* Guilford and Paulet.

Compulsoriales (compulsory letters), documents to be presented at Rome in virtue of the, 701–3 ; *v.* Letters.

Comunidades (Commons), war of the, in Spain (1520–2), alluded, 34 ; *v.* Commons.

Concepcion, Fr. Geronimo de la ; his history of Cadiz, ii. 121 *note.*

Conchano (Conciano ?), maestro di Casa, or chamberlain to Santa Croce, 826.

Conchillos, Lope de, Ferdinand's secretary, *Int.* xxv.

Conclaves, papal, 321.

Concordia, count Galeotto della, murders his uncle Gian Francesco, and takes possession of La Mirandola, ii. 849.

........., ..., applies to Venice for a condotta, ii. 870.

Confederates, the army of the, in Puglia (1529), 44.

Conferences, of Henry and Francis at Calais, ii. 253, 494–5, 517, 524, 530–3, 535, 543–4, 546.

........., of the Pope and Francis first proposed for Nizza (Nice), 728–9 ; ii. 204, 660–2, 674, 705.

........., ultimately held at Marseilles (Oct.–Nov. 1533), ii. 844–5, 886–9.

Confessor of Henry, *v.* Longland.

.... of Charles, *v.* Loaysa and Quintana.

.... of pope Clement, ii. 912.

Congresses (1529), three proposed by Margaret, the governess of the Low Countries, to deliberate on the best means of carrying on war against the Turk ; one for Italy and Spain, another for France, England and the Low Countries, a third for Germany, 262.

........., one to be held in Bologna for the purpose of providing to the repulsion of the Turk, 308, 369.

Conrad (?), a servant of the duke of Bavaria, on a mission to the archduke Ferdinand, ii. 790–1, 224.

Consistory, congregation of cardinals with the pope's attendance, 65, 335, 341, 343–4, 369, 386, 514, 725, 728, 731, 846, 850, 860 ; ii. 164.

........., cardinals meet in, and reject Dr. Karne's application (10 Feb. 1531), ii. 49, 50, 53, 59.

Constable of Castille, *v.* Velasco.

........., high, of France, *v.* Montmorency.

Constance, Constanza, (Constanz), town and lake of, in Switzerland, 46 ; ii. 201, 309.

........., council of, alluded, ii. 282.

Constantius the emperor, alluded, ii. 23.

Constantino, a Neapolitan gentleman, ii. 791.

Constantinople, news from, 15, 502, 521, 526, 539, 543, 548, 602, 664, 823–4, 827–8, 863 ; ii. 334, 339, 341, 755, 844.

........., Venetian bailli at, 698.

........., Gritti's mission to, ii. 211.

........., negociations for the transfer of the spice mart to, 731.

........., friar from, arrested as a spy, ii. 145.

........., attack upon, to be led by Francis in person, ii. 514.

Contareni, Contarini, Gasparo, Venetian ambassador, sent to congratulate Charles upon his landing, 454.

........., ..., his conversation with Rodrigo Niño in Venice, 638.

........., ..., in Rome, 20–1, 75–6, 966.

........., Marco Antonio, Venetian ambassador with the emperor (Aug. 1533).

Contraditas, or contumacy, the divorce suit to be tried by, owing to Henry not appearing at Rome, ii. 8, 9, 89, 90, 94, 135, 165, 186, 478, 480, 593.

Contribution of the Catholic powers towards the expenses of the Turkish war, fixed ; difficulties attending its payment.

Contribution of Clement to the expenses of the siege of Florence.

Conturbery, 386 *note; v.* Canterbury.

Convocation, 533, 625, 672, 689, 758, 766, 852; ii. 26, 28.

Coppa, Antonio, archbishop of Rossano, 1517–33.

........., ..., appointed papal legate to the court of Ferdinand (1529), 59, 82, 88, 117.

Corange, Curinghen, or Cureghem, in Brabant, ii. 363.

........., ..., letter dated at, 887.

Corata, Corato, marquisate of, in Naples, ii. 395, 575.

Corbeta, Galterio, a Milanese lawyer, friend of Micer Mai, agent at Rome for Francesco Sforza, 65.

........., ..., in correspondence with the marquis afterwards duke of Mantua, ii. 963.

Corca (Kork), in Ireland, 51, 54.

Cordeliers or Franciscans, 863.

Cordoba in Andaluzia, letter dated at, 649.

........., D. Pedro [Fernandez] de, master of the horse to Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary (1529–30), 34, 68, 101, 215, 271, 281, 336, 479, 715; ii. 995.

Corfu, Corphu, island of, 13, 50; ii. 869.

Coria, in Extremadura, bishopric of, 61; ii. 84.

........., bishop of, *v.* Mendoza, Vandenesse.

Cork, in Ireland, 54.

Corn, permission granted to Jean Jocquin (Giov. Givachino) to export, from England to Bordeaux, 858.

Cornaro, Francesco, cardinal, Venetian ambassador at Rome, supposed to be a staunch imperialist, 63, 140–1, 164, 180, 190, 199–200, 268; ii. 286, 966.

........., ..., his conversation with Clement on Italian politics (Sept. 1530), 732.

Cornelis, ii. 297, 912; *v.* Scepperus.

Cornwall, archdeacon of, *v.* Sampson.

........., the marquis of Dorset said to be recruiting men in, and the adjacent counties, ii. 214.

Coron, in Greece, besieged by the Turks, 791.

........., its defence to be entrusted to the order of St. John, ii. 718, 800, 807, 818, 823, 831, 869.

........., news from, ii. 666, 905.

........., the relief of, determined upon, ii. 634, 717, 741, 743, 748.

........., departure of the forces for, ii. 791.

........., relieved by Doria, ii. 816, 818, 823, 889.

........., Francis will not help in the relief of, ii. 827.

........., nor will the grand master of Rhodes, unless provided with money and adequate means, *ibid.*

........., to be dismantled and the garrison to return to Naples, ii. 903, 905.

Coronation, preparations for the, of Charles, at Bologna, 281, 320, 379, 471–2.

........., effected (24 Feb. 1530), 472.

.... of Ferdinand as king of the Romans, papers, bulls, &c. to be prepared for (1529), 186, 189, 828, 829.

........., ..., effected at Aix-la-Chapelle (1531), ii. 42–3.

........., ..., though opposed by Francis and Henry, ii. 12.

........., ..., festivals at Rome in celebration of, ii. 54.

.... of Eleanor as queen of France, 745, 821–2.

.... of Anne Boleyn in London, ii. 700.

Coronel, Dr., at Rome, 530.

Correggio, Giangaleazzo da, ii. 968.

Corsicans, defending certain villages in the Sienese, slain by Vargas and his men (Feb. 1531), ii. 56.

Corsin, Corsino, Corsyn, Andrea, Hungarian secretary to Zapolsky, and his agent at the French court, a Florentine:

........., ..., sent on various missions, 726, 736.

........., ..., to king Francis, 726, 755.

........., ..., said to be returning home or going to Venice, 764; ii. 982.

........., ..., ..., if so, to be arrested at his passage through Asti, 764.

........., ..., again to France, 845.

........., ..., in London (Jan. 1532), ii. 379.

........., ..., in Rome (1533), ii. 839.

Corsinis, Alessandro Gherardi de, a Florentine, ii. 209.

Cortes, the Spanish, 83, 86, 396.

........., supplies for the Turkish war reluctantly granted by, 742.

........., grant a subsidy to Charles, ii. 2.

........., those of Aragon meet at Monçon in 1553, ii. 791, 823–4, 904.

........., of Catalonia (1533), ii. 905.

Cortona, in Tuscany, besieged, 21.

........., surrenders to the prince of Orange, 219, 240, 289.

........., cardinal bishop of, *v.* Passerino.

Cosenza, in Calabria (Naples), archbishop of, *v.* Gaddi.

Cotton caps, of French manufacture; importation of, prohibited, 369.

Cottonian MSS., collection of, in British Museum, 55 *note.*

Council, Œcumenical, first proposed by Charles:

........., Clement greatly afraid of the, 24, 48.

........., sends the Capuan (Schomberg) to represent against it, 333.

........., ..., and says that if assembled he will quit Rome and take to the mountains, 334.

........., Francis' resolution not to attend the, personally, if held anywhere else than in Italy, 178.

Council, Œcumenical—*cont.*
........., ..., owing to which Osma and Muxetula advise the Emperor to have the meeting postponed, 178-9, 182, 185.
........., ..., ..., and some sort of agreement entered into with Luther, 179.
........., ..., ..., in which opinion Mai also concurs, 186-7, 190, 194-7.
........., negociations at Rome, 329, 669, 670, 674, 755; ii. 85, 101.
........., Charles wishes it to be general, not provincial, as suggested, 407.
........., ..., and to be held in Germany or in the North of Italy, 787.
........., if a general one be proposed, and the Lutherans refuse to attend it, the Catholics will do what is proper, 641-2.
........., Mai thinks that it ought to be national rather than general, 645.
........., general feeling at Rome respecting the, ii. 105.
........., Henry would rather wait before he gives his opinion about it, 674, 734, 798.
........., obstacles raised by Francis with a view to please Clement, 670; ii. 164.
........., Clement's hesitation with regard to the meeting of the, 705, 835.
........., ..., which the French and English ambassadors represent to him as fraught with danger, 674.
........., the Venetians do not entirely disapprove, but the Germans, it is thought, will not accept of it, 684.
........., the signory think that once the, assembled, Clement will remain without one single vassal, and that they will thus be able to keep Ravenna and Cervia, 699.
........., Venice to be told in the Emperor's name that when a general, was proposed, he had no other object in view than matters of Faith, and that the, is indispensable for the suppression of the Lutheran heresy, 699, 700.
........., the proposal made of referring the divorce suit to the, disapproved by Henry, 719, 724-5.
........., Francis' intentions respecting the, apparently good, 727.
........., Clement consents at last conditionally to the convocation of a, (1530, Nov.,) 787.
........., ..., yet prepares a memorandum of the difficulties attending it, 817, 824.
........., the covocation of a, (said king Henry to Chapuys in Nov. 1530), except on matters of Faith, is not the Pope's province, 798.
........., and not needed at all to reform the German Church and deprive the clergy of their temporalities; that can be accomplished without it, 800.
........., Henry will oppose the meeting of the, with all his power, though at one time he seemed in favour of it, 802-3, 812.

Council, Œcumenical—*cont.*
........., two congregations held at Rome in Nov. 1530, respecting the, 821.
........., the matter to be decided in consistory, 821.
........., Clement and his cardinals dislike it exceedingly, 822, 824, 826.
........., ..., divided in opinion, and yet agreeing on one point; fear of its consequences, 828.
........., some afraid of the reform beginning with them and their lives, *ibid.*
........., others will delay it as long as they can, *ibid.*
........., most think there is no need of one, and that an assembly of ecclesiastics would be sufficient for all purposes, 823.
........., a few only are in favour of its immediate convocation, *ibid.*
........., the majority vote for the celebration of one, though under certain restrictions, *ibid.*
........., difference of opinion as to the place of the meeting, 820.
........., ..., Mantua or Milan proposed by Charles, 836.
........., ..., Francis will have Turin, 836.
........., cardinals in Rome sneer at it, 835.
........., Clement's brief of convocation for the, (Dec. 1530), 521.
........., and say that Charles' only wish is the pacification of Germany, not the reform of the Church, 837.
........., cardinal Quiñone's opinion that the, will not assemble unless Francis consent to it for his own particular views, 831.
........., (10 Jan. 1531,) king Francis represented as rather in favour of the, but saying that an interview with the pope and emperor [in Italy] ought to come first, ii. 11.
........., every day Clement's dread of the, increasing, ii. 17, 21, 54.
........., ..., and yet, when mentioned by Cueva and Mai, his words are so conciliatory and so liberal that there is reason to doubt whether he is in earnest or not, ii. 32.
........., Henry intends appealing to, from the sentence, 853; ii. 47.
........., a circular to be sent to, the Christian powers, ii. 51.
........., conditions of the convocation, 632.
........., Ferdinand's opinion of the, in a letter to his brother the emperor (27 April 1531), ii. 140-3.
........., answer given to Praët by Francis respecting the, ii. 148, 164.
........., supposed to have been dictated by Clement, ii. 148.
........., ..., who plays his cards so well that there will be no, at all, *ibid.*

Council, Œcumenical—*cont.*

........., Francis' objections as to the place of meeting, intended to prevent it altogether, ii. 164, 182.

........., general impression at Rome (June 1531) that it will not meet, ii. 192, 195.

........., the Emperor to print a manifesto showing to the world that he has done everything in his power to promote it, ii. 194.

........., intercepted letters of Clement to his nuncio in France show his profound dislike of the, ii. 241.

........., ..., which letters, he says, are an invention and a forgery of the duke of Ferrara, 608; ii. 242, 266, 466.

........., convocation of, agreed to by Clement, ii. 306–7.

........., all questions of Faith to be referred to the, ii. 492.

........., Francis' ideas about the, communicated to Clement at Marseilles (Oct. 1533), ii. 738, 740, 825, 859.

........., five different, mentioned in support of Henry's opinion respecting his marriage, 505.

Council, Privy, in England, 234, 256, 276, 305, 307, 391, 421, 428, 467, 617, 660, 672, 676, 680, 721–2, 735, 737, 761, 790; ii. 155–6, 687, 818–9, 860–3.

........., Chapuys before the, 460–1.

........., said to have advised Henry to consent to the divorce suit being tried at Rome (Sept. 1530), 712, 785.

........., Henry complains that what passes in his, is divulged, 727.

........., such rigid measures being taken in consequence that it becomes impossible to obtain intelligence except by bribery, *ibid.*

........., members of the, and other parties interested in Henry's divorce, begin to show fear (Jan. 1531), ii. 16, 61, 87.

........., a deputation of lords and members of the, sent to queen Katharine in May 1531, ii. 196, 270.

........., ..., another in April 1533, ii. 629.

........., ..., and to the princess in Oct. 1533, ii. 819.

.... mistrust Du Bellay's words altogether, ii. 707.

.... reject the measures proposed by him and Giachino for the settlement of the divorce question, ii. 708.

........., all vote against them except the duke of Norfolk and earl of Wiltshire, *ibid.*

........., the affair of the Lubeckian fleet brought before the (1533), ii. 790, 793, 796.

........., the staple of Calais discussed in the, ii. 758, 773, 927.

.... deliberating as to Katharine's and the princess's allowance, 800.

........., Chapuys complains to the, on the subject, ii. 840–1, 845.

........., its members, ii. 928–9.

Council of Regency in Spain to assist the empress Isabella in the government of the country during Charles's absence, ii. 281.

........., how composed, 337.

.... of War in Spain, 438; ii. 847.

.... of Finances, 183 *note.*

.... of Castille, or the emperor's privy council in Spain, *Int.* xii., 35, 99, 102, 265, 314, 379, 396, 713–14, 824; ii. 162, 478, 951.

........., how composed, *Int.* xxv.; ii. 903.

........., president of, *v.* Tavera.

........., in the Low Countries, 41.

........., president of, *v.* Carondelet.

.... of the Ten (*Dieci*) in Venice, 15, 548, 558, 658, 662; ii. 325.

.... refuse to pay their contribution towards the Turkish war, 730.

........., the duke Francesco Sforza before the, 771.

........., ..., for what purpose, 772.

........., French, ii. 582.

Couriers, English; one carrying letters for the Signory of Venice stopped by an imperial captain, 161.

........., ..., another from Bologna brings news of the arrival of the earl of Wiltshire in that city, 486.

........., ..., one to Rome with the seals of the English universities, 690.

........., ..., back from Rome; arrives in London (23 July 1530), 673.

........., ..., another on the 20th September, announcing the suspension of the proceedings, 736.

........., ..., in March 1531, with papers and allegations in favour of the divorce, ii. 97.

........., ..., of Henry, on the 15th of April 1533, to tell Clement that the attempts against his authority are not his, but the Commons', doing, ii. 645.

........., ..., one despatched by Henry to Rome with plenty of money to corrupt the Pope and the Cardinals, ii. 822.

........., ..., from Marseilles with news of the conferences (Nov.), ii. 864.

........., Imperial, one from England in nine days, takes to Rome the duplicate of Katharine's powers of attorney to the imperial lawyers, 181.

........., ..., another despatched, in Oct. 1529, with letters for the pope and emperor, 292.

........., ..., two murdered (1530), between Velletri and Sermonetta, 699, 700, 704.

........., ..., one from Muxetula to the Emperor meets with an accident between Modena and Reggio (Feb. 1531), ii. 50, 52.

........., ..., another from Francis to Rome to ask that the proceedings in the divorce suit be suspended for a time (Feb. 1531), ii. 58.

Couriers, English—*cont.*
........., ..., two from Rome and one from France arrive in London (10 Aug. 1533), ii. 760.

Courrant, king Henry's chaplain, 204.

Courtney, Henry, marquis of Exeter, ii. 550.
........., ..., letter probably written by, and containing particulars about Casale and the divorce suit, handed over to Chapuys (Nov. 1532), *ibid.*
........., ..., and his marchioness in communication with the Nun of Kent, ii. 857.

Cox, John, chancellor of Canterbury, defamatory libel against, 847.

Cracow, in Poland, ii. 346.

Cranmer, Thomas, said to have formed part of the earl of Wiltshire's embassy to Bologna in 1530, 432.
........., ..., on a mission to Germany (1532), ii. 497–8, 970.
........., ..., elected archbishop of Canterbury, and application made to Rome for the bulls (1533), ii. 598, 608.
........., ..., the expedition of which, at Katharine's request and by Chapuys' advice, ought to have been delayed until after the sentence, ii. 599.
........., ..., he being a staunch Lutheran, and having lately taken into his service two priests who preached for the divorce, *ibid.*
........., ..., consecration of, as archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 601, 608.
........., ..., marries secretly Henry and Anne Boleyn (Feb. 1533), ii. 609.
........., ..., the divorce not to be determined by any but, ii. 628, 663, 666–7, 671–2, 722, 724.
........., ..., sentences the divorce case, and declares the king's marriage with Katharine dissolved, ii. 738, 760.
........., ..., copy of the sentence, and proclamation to that effect, forwarded by Chapuys to the emperor, ii. 768.
........., ..., his departure on a mission to the pope at Nice talked of, ii. 787.
........., ..., present at Elizabeth's christening, ii. 789.
........., ..., persecutes Lutherans, ii. 822.
........., ..., letter to the emperor, 583.
........., ..., memorandum of, 987.

Cravelluzo, Pietro, at Rome with news from Turkey, 603.

Crema, Santa Maria di, at Ragusa, abbot of, 698.

Cremes, letter from, 203.

Cremona, in the Milanese, held by the duke Sforza, 17, 200, 204–5, 209, 603.
........., ..., to be attacked, 217, 261, 284, 309.
........., ..., much coveted by Venice, 754, 772.

Cremuel, *v.* Cromwell.

Crevecœur, in Burgundy, 449, 510, 532.

Croatia, 827.
.... invaded by the Turks, ii. 519–20.
........., captain-general or ban of, *v.* Kechonitz.
........., rumours of its invasion by Luigi Gritti, at the head of a Turkish force (1533), ii. 859.

Croke, Richard, tutor to the duke of Richmond, 529, 552, 557.
........., ..., generally called "Il Ricaldo," 657.
........., ..., in Venice, 657, 662, 665, 830.

Croma (Cromer?), to form part of the English embassy to Charles, 432; ii. 970.

Cromwell, Thomas, appointed to treat with an envoy of the duke of Saxony (March 1533), ii. 618.
........., ..., one of the principal secretaries of state, and enjoying the king's confidence, ii. 669, 673, 693, 781.
........., ..., the oldest of the privy councillors and enjoying most credit with the king, ii. 677.
........., ..., a man of wit, and well trained in government affairs, ii. 752.
........., ..., two of his clerks on a mission to Germany, ii. 754.
........., ..., transacts business with Chapuys, ii. 723, 756, 759, 740, 758, 799, 809–11, 812, 839, 854, 856, 870–4.
........., ..., showing great affection towards the imperial subjects in England, ii. 859–60.
........., ..., offers him his services on the occasion of a fire at the imperial embassy, ii. 819.
........., ..., assures him that no one in the privy council labours more assiduously for the maintenance of the mutual friendship, ii. 841.

Crossbows, makers of, at Barbastro, ii. 779.
........., ..., at Saragossa, ii. 779.
........., ..., at Valdezcaray, 885–6.

Croy, Ferry de, surnamed the Bastard of Rœulx, 37, 105, 716, 770, 775–6, 783, 912.
........., Robert de, bishop of Cambray, 162.

Crusade, bulls for the, 1, 18, 20, 23, 138, 146, 172, 180, 185, 249, 319, 567, 611, 668, 728, 739–40; ii. 51–2, 611, 668.
........., ..., not to be granted to France, 787.
........., ..., general, and indulgence from sins, to be obtained from the Pope (1529), 307; ii. 530.
........., ..., accountants of the, 183.

Crusich (?), Capn. Pedro, 490; ii. 521.

Cuello Tuerto, Juan del, Spanish courier, ii. 189.

Cuenca, bishop of, *v.* Ramirez.

Cuero (wrongly printed Cuevo), Juan de, 885, 887.

Cueva, D. Beltran de la, count of Ledesma, and first duke of Alburquerque, 787 *note*, 859; ii. 985.

Cueva, D. Beltran II., second duke of Alburquerque, viceroy of Navarre, ii. 845.

........., D. Pedro, high commander of Alcantara; sent by the emperor to congratulate Clement upon his safe arrival at Bologna (Oct. 1529), 315; *Int.* xiv.–xxi.

........., ..., ambassador extraordinary to Rome in Nov. 1530, to urge the convocation of the general council, 807; ii. 544–5, 552.

........., ..., instructions to, 479.

........., ..., arrives at Rome, passing through Sienna (15 Nov. 1530), 808–9.

........., ..., question of precedence between the duke of Albany and, 821.

........., ..., negociates with Clement, 787–8.

........., ..., communicates with Mai, Loaysa, and Muxetula respecting his charge, 811, 826, 835, 846, 859, 878–9; ii. 33, 66, 80–8, 191, 197.

........., ..., credentials, 480.

........., ..., returns to Rome (Nov. 1532), ii. 552.

........., ..., brother of (D. Luis), ii. 104, 859, 879.

........., ..., letters to the Emperor, 495, 497, 503, 529, 530, 554, 1006, 1021.

........., ..., to Covos, the high commander of Leon, 496, 498, 510, 511, 536, 540, 542, 1009, 1014, 1180.

........., ..., notice of, *Int.* ii. xiv.–xxi.

.... y Velasco, D. Christoval, count of Siruela, ii. 809, 977.

Cuevas, Alonso or Alfonso de, a Spaniard, acts as notary at Rome, 3, 11, 330, 561, 659, 888.

........., ..., recommended by Micer Mai, 826.

Cup, one of gold, of great value and singular workmanship, presented by Katharine to king Henry on New Year's day, ii. 353.

........., ..., which the King refuses to accept, ii. 354.

Cupi, Cupis, Giovanni Domenico da, archbishop of Trani and cardinal, ii. 75.

........., ..., attempt made by the English ambassadors to corrupt, 740–1, 984.

........., ..., a bishopric with a considerable pension in England offered to, 815.

Curiel, Lite., ii. 31.

Currieres (Courrières), Mr. de, *v.* Montmorency (Philip).

Curtogli, Admiral, in command of the Turkish fleet, 543.

Curwin (Kirwan ?), Dr., royal chaplain, preaches at Greenwich in favour of the divorce, ii. 428, 992.

Çamora, bishop of, *v.* Zamora.

Çapata, Pedro, *v.* Zapata.

Çaragoça, *v.* Saragossa and Zaragoza.

Çarate, *v.* Zarate.

Çuaçola, the treasurer, ii. 394.

Cyprus, island of, the rents of, to be farmed out, ii. 91.

........., negociations about, conducted in London by an envoy of Carlo III. of Savoy, ii. 228.

D.

Dabole, bishop of, (Bath and Wells ?), ii. 602.

Dacia, *v.* Denmark.

D'albi, Dalby, *v.* Derby and Stanley.

Dalebret, *v.* Albret.

Dalmatia, ii. 51.

........., stipulation about, made between the signory of Venice and Zapolsky, ii. 334.

Dalzanto (da'l Zanto), *v.* Zante.

Damascus, in Syria; in the revolt of 1529 remains faithful to Solyman, 184.

Damont, *v.* Amont and Aymont.

Dandolo Marco, a Venetian; sent to Bologna to attend Charles' coronation (1530), 454 *note.*

Danes, fears entertained in England of the, and Hamburghers (1531), ii. 705.

......, capture an English merchant ship, ii. 367.

Dantzig, ii. 448, 451.

........., people of, become Lutherans notwithstanding all the efforts of Sigismond of Poland to prevent it, 801; ii. 983.

Danube, ii. 520.

........., the overflow of the, prevents the Turks from reaching Buda on the appointed day, 491.

Darcy, Sir Thomas, lord, ii. 536, 568.

Dario, Silvestro, papal sub-collector in England and auditor of the rota, goes to Rome on a mission from Henry, 154.

........., ..., to Scotland as papal nuncio (June 1532), ii. 465.

Darshot, *v.* Aaarshot.

Darts, Biscayan, richly ornamented; presented by Anne Boleyn to Henry on New Year's day (1532), ii. 354.

Datary, Clement's, at Rome (Giberti ?), 248, 566; ii. 89, 659.

Dauphin of France, *v.* Valois.

Dautrey, Mr., *v.* Autrey.

Davalos, Rodrigo, Spanish lawyer and imperial agent; to replace Mai as Katharine's proctor, ii. 656 *note*, 703, 987.

........., ..., arrival of, at Rome (14 June, 1533), ii. 708.

........., ..., reports on the state of the matrimonial cause, ii. 709–10, 712, 729, 731–3, 735, 736–7, 743–5, 747–8, 800.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 1083, 1088, 1095.

Davalos, Rodrigo, &c., to the high commander of Leon, 1092, 1096, 1098.

Davalos d'Aquino, Alfonso, marquis del Vasto, 145, 189, 495 ; ii. 128, 232, 304, 989.

........., ..., his estate in Naples threatened by the Venetian fleet, 171.

........., ..., wishes to attend the expedition against Florence, 177.

........., ..., arrives in Rome, 190.

........., ..., leaves for the imperial camp at the head of 2,000 Spaniards, 191, 329, 373–4, 380, 520.

........., ..., not on good terms with the prince of Orange, 525.

........., ..., puts down a mutiny of the Spanish infantry, 541.

........., ..., lays siege to Empoli, 549, 557.

........., ..., ..., to Volterra, 610.

........., ..., ..., which he takes, 680 *note*, 868.

........., ..., ..., proposed for the command of the Spaniards in Italy, 643.

........., ..., summoned from Naples to take the command of the imperial army after the death of Chalon, 679, 681.

........., ..., leaves Rome for the imperial camp before Florence (21 Aug. 1530), but, hearing that the duke of Mantua has been appointed, returns, 694.

........., ..., dissatisfied, leaves Rome for Ischia, 705.

........., ..., at Genençano with Ascanio Colonna, 705, 727.

........., ..., ill in Naples, 822.

........., ..., orders the execution of captain Montanyes, ii. 122.

........., ..., to command the Spanish infantry, and proceed at once to Hungary against the Turk, ii. 129, 136, 140, 180, 185, 208.

........., ..., again to Ischia, ii. 232.

........., ..., accuses Doria, ii. 356.

........., ..., in Rome for nine days suffering from sciatica, ii. 400.

........., ..., in command of the Imperial forces, ii. 436, 444, 455–6.

........., ..., in Hungary, ii. 577.

........., ..., report of his having been killed in a skirmish with the Turks, ii. 531.

........., ..., letters of, to the Emperor, 882.

........., D. Hernando, marquis de Pescara, ii. 88 *note*, 987, 989.

........., ..., *v.* Lopez.

Dax in Gascony, 577.

........., Francis' sons at, 639.

Dearing, John, ii. 999.

Debitis, of Calais, king's officers employed in the staple and customs, ii. 940.

Debt, the emperor's, to Henry, 506.

........., to his brother Ferdinand, 186 ; ii. 22.

........., to the Palatine, 186.

........., to various German princes, 186–7.

........., Francis', to the same, 721.

Decie, 205.

Decima, the tenth part or tithe, and *primiciæ* (first-fruits) demanded from the clergy in Spain, 525, ii. 911.

........., not to be granted to France for fear it should be spent for political purposes, not against the Turks and Lutherans, ii. 911.

Decio, Philippo, professor at Siena, considered the best legal authority in all Italy, 555, 563, 570.

........., ..., friend of Mai and Soria, and in correspondence with them, 593.

........., ..., his opinion on the divorce, unfavourable to Katharine, 683, 717, 739.

........., ..., ..., ready, however, to retract, if he is only paid for it, 739.

........., ..., gives his opinion in writing to the English ambassador, a copy of which Mai procures, ii. 7.

........., ..., again consulted by Mai, ii. 7, 56, 69.

Deering (Dearing), John, Demps, Marco, 314, *v.* Embs.

........., a monk named, ii. 886, 999, 1,000.

Dendo (?), father, a priest of Verona, 573.

Denia, marquis of, *v.* Sandoval y Rojas.

Denmark (Dacia), ii. 86, 907.

........., infested by heresy, 705, 801 ; ii. 338.

........., an English doctor-at-law (Dr. Thomas Leigh ?) going to, on a mission from Henry, ii. 705, 823.

........., kings of Denmark, *v.* Christiern II., Frederic III., and Christiern III.

........., queen of, *v.* Isabella.

........., princesses of, *v.* Dorothea and Ingelburge.

Dennistoun, his "Memoirs of the dukes of Urbino," 23 *note.*

Derby, earl of, *v.* Stanley.

Des Barres, Guillaume, *v.* Barres.

Desideradio (Desiderio ?), *v.* Simandres.

Desmond, Thomas, earl of, *v.* Fitzgerald.

Desquivel, *v.* Esquivel.

Diamond fleur-de-lis pledged in England by Maximilian, the emperor, 267–7.

........., ..., negociations respecting the, 277, 285–370, 383, *v.* Fleur-de-lis.

Diaz de Mendoza, Pedro, ii. 780.

Didam (?), ii. 885.

Diego, Don (?), 558, *v.* Sotomayor.

Diesse, captain, a Genoese, ii. 718.

Diet, 24, 278, 380.

........., summons for a, in Germany (1530), 431, 453, 641, 661; (1531), ii. 296.

........., convocation of that of Augsburgh, ii. 910–11.

........., French and Italians at Rome, alarmed at what may be the result of the, ii. 910

........., breaking up of the, 783.

.... of the Lutherans, 863.

........., service in money voted by the, (Apr. 1530), 494.

Diet, one of the Hungarians about to be held (Dec. 1531), ii. 339.

Diez de Gamez, Gutierre, his chronicle, 454, *note*.

.... de Puebla, Ruy and Rodrigo, 881–2.

Dily, D'Ily, *v.* Ely.

Dingle, in Ireland, 51–2.

Dinners and entertainments by Henry to the French ambassadors (Aug. 1530), 672.

.... by Anne Boleyn to the king, ii. 254, 525.

D'Inteville, François, bishop of Auxerre, sent by Francis to Rome to negociate the marriage of his son, the duke of Orleans, to Clement's niece (Caterina de Medici), ii. 185, 988–9.

........., ..., arrival at Rome (Aug. 1530), 688; ii. 185, 231, 233, 238, 913.

........., Guillaume, sieur de Chennets, in France, ii. 253.

........., Jean, bailli de Troies, French ambassador in England, arrives in London to replace Montpezat (Feb. 1533), ii. 600, 757.

........., ..., presents at court an engineering architect (a Frenchman) sent expressly by Francis for the construction of harbours along the English coast, ii. 609.

........., ..., conversation with Chapuys, ii. 872–3.

Dispensation, brief of, by Julius II.

........., minute of, not found at Rome, 109.

........., the original supposed to be in the possession of Charles, who refuses to give it up, 232, 253, 275, 292, 353, 361.

........., ..., but sends an authentic copy by the desire of Henry, 702.

........., supposed to be a forgery, 272, 275.

........., said to have been granted *ex causa pacis*, ii. 30.

Divorce, the suit in the Legatine Court suspended, 156, 164, 181, 185, 207.

........., (1529) its advocation to Rome urgently demanded by the imperial ambassadors, ii. 123.

........., obtained, 148, 153–5, 161, 175, 201.

........., six copies of the brief of advocation and inhibition to be sent to London by different routes, 159, 161, 214.

........., ..., one of which reaches Trent, 171, 175, 181.

........., ..., and is thence forwarded to Katharine, 270.

........., the proceedings at Rome suspended for one month, 182, 184.

........., the inhibition to be notified to the legates (Wolsey and Campeggio), 215.

........., ..., though not to Henry himself, since he does not allow it, 214.

........., the inhibition brief as intimated to the two cardinals, *ibid.*

Divorce suit—*cont.*

........., memorandum in 14 articles, presented by the English ambassadors, respecting the, 154.

........., the suit prorogued until the 1st of October 1529, 181–2, 196.

........., ... till Easter, 202.

........., a fourth sent by express to Mai, ii. 278.

........., a copy of the original proceedings in England urgently applied for by Mai ii. 245, 249–50.

........., ..., as without it no progress can be made at Rome in the matrimonial suit, ii. 267, 278.

........., ..., order sent to Chapuys to procure it, ii. 267.

........., ..., three copies sent to Rome, and yet not one reaches its destination, ii. 273.

........., Henry insists upon its being tried elsewhere than at Rome, which place he considers suspect owing to the emperor's influence there, 224.

........., Mai recommended to insist upon the advocation to Rome and the rota, 275.

........., a delay of one month granted by Clement in the proceedings, ii. 328, 335.

........., ..., with a most solemn promise that no more will be granted, ii. 329.

........., papers and documents against the, by Fisher and Ortiz, to be printed, ii, 335.

........., the case to be brought before the English parliament, 367.

........., discussed between Henry and Katharine at dinner (Dec. 1529), Anne Boleyn overhearing the conversation, 352.

........., ..., between king Henry and Chapuys, 415–8.

........., ..., between the latter and Norfolk, 626–7.

........., discussions and remonstrances at Rome and in London, 253–5, 302, 382, 415–6, 417–8, 719.

........., papers and documents concerning the suit sent from Spain to Rome, 385, 506, 511.

........., a suspension in the proceedings of the, from June to September 1530, proposed, 578–9, 589.

........., ..., which Mai resists, asking, on the contrary, that the suit continue during the vacations, 589.

........., Spanish and Latin papers against the, 454, 455.

........., report concerning the, drawn at Rome and forwarded to Naples, 609.

........., all proceedings to be suspended during the long vacation from July to October, 647.

........., 100 Parisian doctors said to have given opinion in favour of the, 684.

........., Henry still insisting upon the suit being decided out of Rome by impartial judges, 625, 700.

Divorce suit—*cont.*
........., ..., two to be appointed by himself, and two by the emperor, 719.
........., powers of attorney to Chapuys to act as Katharine's proctor, 720.
........., the suit not to be proceeded with if the king promises not to marry again, 719.
........., various expedients proposed, 723.
........., submitted to the privy council in England and rejected, 724–5.
........., the cause to be prorogued till the meeting of the general council, 740.
........., compromise suggested by Casale in the, *ibid.*
........., ..., which Mai refuses to accept, 741.
........., Clement willing in July 1531 to commit it out of Rome, 11. 909.
........., a further suspension of the proceedings in the suit solicited by the English ambassadors at Rome (Sept. 1530), 741.
........., ..., which the Pope refuses to grant unless ambassador Mai consents to it, *ibid.*
........., suit suspended for one fortnight more (Sept. 1530), 748.
........., a further suspension of the proceedings granted with the emperor's consent (Nov. 1530), 824.
........., ..., Clement promising most solemnly not to grant any more, *ibid.*
........., a further suspension of the proceedings proposed by Clement, ii. 59.
........., compromise proposed, ii. 107, 832, 859.
........., ..., by the archbishop of Trent and others, ii. 107.
........., ..., with the suspension of the trial for three years, *ibid.*
........., ..., not accepted by Katharine, ii. 864.
........., ..., rejected by Henry, ii. 871.
........., book in favour of the, addressed from England to King Francis, ii. 194.
........., great efforts by Grammont and Albany to have the trial of the, brought again to England, ii. 200.
........., book in favour of the, published in London, ii. 200.
........., 12 conclusions connected with the, debated, ii. 430.
........., the term of one month's suspension about to expire (9 Feb. 1533), and yet no signs of Henry obeying the papal injunctions, ii. 600.
........., a brief of excommunication against Anne requested in case she refuses to leave court immediately, *ibid.*
........., conversation with the cardinal of Jaen (Merino) on the, (May 1533), ii. 661, 684–6.
........., ..., with count Cifuentes, Davalos, and Ortiz, ii. 663, 665, 708, 710.
Divorce suit—*cont.*
........., the suit at Rome conducted as if it were that of the poorest woman in the world, ii. 725.
........., such are the importunities of the French ambassadors that fears are entertained of Clement again suspending all legal proceedings, ii. 728, 731.
........., sentence obtained (July 1533), ii. 745.
........., lawyers' fees and costs at Rome, ii. 823.
........., prorogation for one month, ii. 832.
........., ..., rumours of its execution having been delayed for two months, ii. 841.
Dobla, *v.* Dover.
Dole, in the Franche-Conté, 576.
Dominicans, a general chapter of the, to be held in Rome, 581.
........., a Spanish friar of that order goes thither from England to discuss the matrimonial cause, *ibid.*
........., ..., considered unequal to the task, as his presence in the chapter might do more harm than good, *ibid.*
........., prior of the, at Venice, opines in favour of Henry's divorce, 696.
........., ..., of Augsburg, hopes of their recall entertained at Rome, ii. 306.
Dordogne, La, river of France, 652.
Doria, Andrea, prince of Melphi, 20, 21, 26, 27, 35–6, 77, 162, 183, 207, 315, 569, 635, 706, 851; ii. 32, 46, 963.
........., ..., sails for Spain, 74–5, 77, 377, 406.
........., ..., lands at Barcelona (18 June 1529), 100.
........., ..., witnesses the treaty with Clement (27 June 1529), 116.
........., ..., his fidelity suspected, 248, 706.
........., ..., again in Spain with his galleys, 377, 406.
........., ..., galleon captured by, 458.
........., ..., his authority at Genoa undermined by the French, 513.
........., ..., about to sail for Catalonia with his own galleys, the imperial, and the French, 522, 528.
........., ..., Barbarossa the Jew, and another corsair, unite their forces to attack (June 1530), 615.
........., ..., to remain in Spain till October 1530, for the protection of the Eastern coast, 733.
........., ..., back in Genoa with his galleys (Oct. 1530), 751.
........., ..., his enemies in that city in secret understanding with Francis, 817.
........., ..., his rule at Genoa represented as unjust and tyrannical, 831, 842.
........., ..., his galleys, ii. 69, 84.
........., ..., captures at Porto Farina two Turkish galleys and one fustee carrying stores and ammunition for Barbarossa (1531), ii. 192.

Doria, Andrea—*cont.*

........., ..., denounced by Vasto, ii. 356.

........., ..., at Zante (1532), ii. 519, 521.

........., ..., to remain in command, ii. 549.

........., ..., wrongly accused of complicity with Clement and Francis, and of wishing to quit the imperial service (1533), ii. 786.

........., ..., to sail for the relief of Coron, ii. 741, 746, 807, 889.

........., ..., at La Spezzia with Clement, ii. 850, 869.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 1096.

........., Antonio, leaves the service of France (May 1531), ii. 166.

........., ..., and offers his galleys to Clement, 206, 222, 909 ; ii. 908.

........., ..., and to the emperor, who accepts, ii. 718.

........., Erasmo, second in command of the Genoese galleys (1531), ii. 92.

........., ..., abbot of Nero or Montenero (?), 162, 183 ; ii. 828.

........., ..., presented to the see of Elna, in Roussillon, 208.

........., ..., arrives at Rome from France, ii. 362, 991.

........., Girolamo, cardinal, 61, 119, 121, 321.

........., ..., appointed bishop of Huesca, ii. 999.

........., marquis of, *v.* Doria.

Dormer, Diego Joseph, historian; quoted, ii. 979, 981.

Dorothea, daughter of Christiern II., king of Denmark ; married to the Palatine, ii. 969.

Dorset, marquis of, *v.* Grey.

Douglas, Archibald, earl of Angus, ii. 577, 619, 752.

........., ..., brother of, ii. 752.

Douay, town of France (dep. Nord), proposed as a place of meeting between the emperor and Francis, ii. 246.

Doureissel (Doorezeel ?), in Flanders, 687.

Dover, Gioachino at, 737 ; ii. 253, 524, 556.

........., port of, closed by Henry's commands in Sept. 1530, 707, 709, 749.

........., ..., various reasons assigned for that measure, 707, 709, 721.

........., the French ambassador's (Jean Jocquin) mysterious journey to and stay in, ii. 788.

........., defences of, repaired, ii. 877.

Downs, the, ii. 776.

Doye river (?), 259.

Drave, river, separating Croatia and Hungary, 695 ; ii. 519.

Dreux, count of, *v.* Albret (Charles).

Duarte, Francisco, ii. 718.

Dubais, *v.* Budweiss.

Dublin, in Ireland, 54.

Duchesina, title given to the Pope's niece Caterina de' Medici, ii. 742, 765, 827, 848.

........., subscribes an act of renunciation to the duchy of Urbino, ii. 827.

........., should she not marry Henri de Valois, the act to be null and void, *ibid.*

........., *v.* Medici (Caterina de').

Dudas, or doubtful points in the marriage of Katharine to Henry, consulted and answered, 537, 816, 1064.

Du Gasta (Del Gasto), *v.* Vasto.

Dunkeld, *v.* Dundalk.

Dulcinio (Dulcigno) in Albania, the Turks arrive at, ii. 458.

Dundalk, in Ireland, 206 ; ii. 962.

Dunkerque (Dunkerk), in Flanders, ii. 9, 379, 766, 768, 932.

........., the advocation brief posted up at the gates of, 236–8, 308.

Dunois, count, *v.* Orleans (Claude).

Dunstable, St. Peter's priory at, ii. 647.

........., ..., Katharine summoned to appear at, *ibid.*

........., ..., sentence of divorce pronounced by Cranmer at, ii. 669.

Duque de Estrada, Hernan, 641, 703 ; ii. 985.

........., "Duque" not a title but a proper name, 752 *note.*

Dynan (Dinant), in Belgium, ii. 941.

Dyverny, *v.* Verney, 312.

E.

Easterlings, merchants in London, 453.

........., contaminated by Lutheranism, 801.

........., subjected to the payment of a tax to defray the expenses of Anne Boleyn's coronation, ii. 682–3.

........., governor, elder, or consul of the, ii. 11, 740, 746, 878.

........., ..., Anne Boleyn greatly offended at his placing the Austrian Imperial Eagle over and above the arms of England on the day of her coronation, *ibid.*

........., fleet of the, in the Thames, ii. 755.

Ebol, *v.* Evol.

Eboracense, 835 ; *v. also* York, archbishop of.

Edinburg, ii. 453.

Edward IV., king of England, alluded to, ii. 883.

Egidio (Ægidius), cardinal, 556, 564, 613, 623, 688, 849, 861, ii. 71, 75–6, 238–9.

Egmond, Egmont, Charles d', duke of Gheldres, (1492–537), 687 ; ii. 330, 703.

........., Floris d', count of Buren, 37, 39.

Eguiluz, Licentiate, the emperor's chaplain, ii. 685.

Egypt, Solyman fits out a powerful fleet in, against the Portuguese in India, ii. 333, 338.

Eisenburg, county of, in Hungary, ii. 993.

Elbi (?), *v.* Hervey.

Eleanor, Eleonora, Charles's sister, widow of Dom Manuel, king of Portugal (d. Feb. 1558), 631, 636; ii. 909.

........., ..., to be married to Francis I., 71–2, 243–4, 426, 455, 487, 500, 631, 636.

........., ..., arrives at Vittoria, 375.

........., ..., crosses the frontier, 619.

........., ..., how received in France, 668, 708, 744.

........., ..., the act of her renunciation to the crown of Spain not yet drawn up and signed, 676.

........., ..., her virtues and goodness much commended by cardinal Grammont at Rome, 707.

........., ..., miscarriage of, at Amboise, ii. 518.

........., ..., requested by Katharine to write to Henry in her favour, 745.

........., ..., living with Francis near Amicus (Nov. 1532), ii. 548.

........., ..., daughter of, *v.* Mary of Portugal.

........., ..., should be allowed to write secretly in favour of Katharine, ii. 655, 721.

Eliot, *v.* Elyot.

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry and Anne Boleyn, birth of (Sept. 1533), and christening at Greenwich, ii. 789.

........., ..., first to be called Mary, 795.

........., ..., to be sworn princess of Wales, ii. 819, 871, 873.

........., ..., household appointed for, ii. 877.

........., ..., sent to the county of Norfolk to be nursed, ii. 877.

........., ..., Henry's orders about her treatment, ii. 881.

........., ..., taken to a house 17 miles from London, with great pomp and solemnity, ii. 881.

Elna, in Roussillon, bishopric of, 61, 82, 89.

........., ..., Erasmus Doria, a nephew of Andrea, presented to the, 192.

Elston (Elstowe ?), guardian of the minor observants at Greenwich, preaches against the divorce, ii. 428.

Elstowe, ii. 204; *v.* Elston.

Eltham, in Kent, king Henry at (24 Nov. 1532), ii. 557.

Ely, bishop of, *v.* West.

........., archdeacon of, ii. 258, 539; *v.* Hawkins.

Elyot, Thomas, on an embassy to the emperor (Sept. 1531), ii. 239.

Elyot, Thomas, returns (3 June 1532), ii. 453.

........., ..., calls on Chapuys, and informs him of a conversation he had with Henry the day before, *ibid.*

Emanuel, king of Portugal (1495-1521), ii. 720.

Embassy, Austrian, to precede the English at the Emperor's coronation in Bologna, 473.

........., Portuguese, at Rome, attacked by Grammont's servants (Sept. 1530), 871.

........., English, to the emperor at Bologna in 1530, how composed; (the earl of Wiltshire, Drs. Lee, Stockley) and others, 432.

........., ..., object of, 424.

........., ..., favourably received by the emperor, 517,

........., ..., bad result of the, 507.

........., ..., rumour spread of its having been sent at the emperor's own request, i. 477.

........., ..., Henry charges Chapuys with having been the chief promoter of it, ii. 508.

........., ..., ..., but Norfolk assures him afterwards that it was entirely Clement's doing, *ibid.*

........., English, to France, Carew (Sir Nicholas) sent by Henry on an, to Charles, in 1531, 257, 428.

........., imperial, in London, damage caused by fire in the hotel of the, ii. 819.

Emberes, *v.* Antwerp.

Embrun (Hautes Alpes, France), bishop of, *v.* Tournon.

Empoli, in Tuscany, 337 *note.*

........., to be besieged, 524, 549–50.

........., taken by the imperialists, 541, 570–1, 577, 595, 868.

Embs (Ems, in Nassau), Didier d', brother-in-law of the marquis de Mus, ii. 313 *note.*

........., Marco d', *v.* Sittig.

Enart, Euart, *v.* Hannart.

Enckewoërt, Wilhelm, cardinal of Tortosa, 2, 74, 741.

Enfield, royal manor of, in Middlesex, queen Katharine at (Sept. 1532), ii. 512.

........., ..., letter dated from, 994.

Enghien, count of, *v.* Bourbon.

Engineers, several sent to repair the castles on the Scottish frontier, ii. 337.

........., one sent to Henry by Francis to help in the construction of harbours and ports on the coast of England, ii. 609.

England, the ports of, and that of Dover particularly, closed in Sept. 1530, 707, 721.

........., ..., various reasons assigned for that measure, 711, 720–21.

........., an undertaking against, advised by Chapuys in April 1533, ii. 630.

England, an undertaking against, the easiest thing in the world, and the only remedy if Anne Boleyn's machinations are to be defeated, *ibid.*

………, ……, or the stopping of the trade of Flanders and Spain with, ii. 854, 864.

………, ……, as king Henry has no cavalry, not well trained infantry, nor experienced captains, except the duke of Norfolk and two or three more, ii. 631.

………, ……, and it is doubtful whether he will get assistance from France, ii. 631.

………, all fortresses and castles on the borders to be strengthened against an invasion of the Scots (Jan. 1532), ii. 377.

………, marshal of, *v.* Suffolk and Brandon.

………, the charge of, to be given to Thomas Boleyn, 326.

………, admiral of, *v.* Fitzroy.

………, the two chief justices of, at a meeting of the privy council (7 May 1533), ii. 669.

………, advices from, sent by Chapuys, 1532, 1186.

English alarmed at the news of the emperor having gone to Flanders, ii. 3.

………, ……, and at the idea of a foreign invasion, ii. 630.

Engrave (Landgrave), *v.* Hesse.

Enriquez, D. Alonso, admiral of Castille, ii. 112, 452.

………, ……, nephew of, sent to Rome, *ibid.*

………, ……, letter to the emperor, 680.

……… D. Fadrique, admiral of Castille, ii. 919–20.

………, Felipa, 101.

………, Rodrigo, nephew of the admiral of Castille, arrival of, in Genoa, ii. 491.

………, ……, his mission to Monaco, ii. 576.

……… de Ribera D. Fadrique, marquis de Tarifa, 885.

Envers, *v.* Antwerp.

Equerry, grand, or master of the horse to Henry, *v.* Carew.

………, ……, to Charles, *v.* Montfort.

Erasmus of Rotterdam, one of his friends (Simon Grinæus) comes to London, ii. 177.

Eraso, Francisco de, one of the emperor's secretaries, 334 *note*; ii. 432, 912.

Erskine [de Haltoun] Thomas, secretary to king James of Scotland, sent on a mission to Rome (1531), ii. 83–8, 101, 115, 128, 907.

………, ……, returns to Scotland, ii. 912.

Ertherningen, Jean, ii. 903.

Escalenga, imperial captain, said to have offered Clement, when a prisoner in Sant Angelo, to take him out in disguise for a sum of 10,000 ducats, ii. 129; *v.* Scalengues.

Escalona, duke of, *v.* Lopez Pacheco.

Escanyo (Ascanio), *v.* Colonna.

Escaygne (?), sent with money to Chalon's camp before Florence, 373.

Escopetas, fowling-pieces presented to the emperor by his brother, Ferdinand, 431.

Escoriaza, Dr. ——, the emperor's physician, ii. 42, 197, 449, 780.

………, ……, letters to the empress on the emperor's illness, 618, 953.

Esher, in Surrey, cardinal Wolsey at, 195, 234, 370; ii. 961.

Espellies, *v.* Spelle.

Espès, D. Raymond d', *Int.* xxii.

Espezia (Spezza), la, letter dated at, 1155.

Espinola, *v.* Spinola.

Esquiraço, light-vessel used on the coast of Greece, ii. 518.

Esquire, grand, to Henry VIII. *See* Carew, Wotton.

………, to Charles, *v.* Montfort.

Esquivel, Alonso de, chief waiter to Katharine of Aragon, 887.

………, ……, of Seville, 445.

Essex, earl of, *v.* Bourchier.

Esslinghen, town in Würtenberg, 100; ii. 202–3.

………, ……, diet of, ii. 957.

Este, Alfonso d', duke of Ferrara, 166, 245.

………, ……, goes to Venice in disguise to attend a meeting of the confederates, 22, 49.

………, ……, ready to join the league, and raising troops, 65.

………, ……, secretary of, in Rome, making overtures to Miçer Mai, 82, 208, 706.

………, ……, requested to restore Carpi to count Alberto Pio, 132.

………, ……, said to be raising troops for fear of an attack upon Modena and Reggio, which he unduly retains, 179.

………, ……, Clement's claims on those two towns and others, 185, 287, 561.

………, ……, has an interview with Charles at the ferry between Ferrara and Bologna, 290, 320.

………, ……, Louise de Savoie intercedes for, 313.

………, ……, refuses to give up Modena and Reggio to the pope, 404.

………, ……, expected at Bologna for the emperor's coronation, 471.

………, ……, acts as proxy for the duke of Mantua, 496.

………, ……, makes overtures to Mai at Ferrara, and professes fidelity to the emperor (May 1530), 514, 536, 539.

………, ……, proposes that his differences with Clement be settled at Rome, 561.

………, ……, sends a lawyer to Rome to defend his suit there, 539.

………, ……, insists, however, upon keeping Modena and Reggio, but proposes that the case be submitted to the emperor's arbitration, 561.

Este, Alfonso d'—*cont.*

........., ..., his arrival and stay at Venice (25 May 1530), 554, 561, 573.

........., ..., calls upon Niño and tells him that his only object in coming to Venice is to solace himself and settle his debt to the signory, 573.

........., ..., asked to dismiss the Florentine ambassador from his court, 603.

........., ..., reported levies of men in his estate and in Venice, 592.

......, ..., suspected of secretly favouring the Florentines, 595.

........., ..., and of having furnished them with money and provisions, 867.

........., ..., his negociations with Clement suddenly suspended, and the suspicions of the imperial ministers aroused in consequence, 636, 644.

........., ..., forwards to Francis a copy of a pamphlet by the imperial lawyers, 701.

........., ..., if attacked by Clement, Francis must defend him, 731.

........., ..., again in Venice (Oct. 1530), to renew his alliance with the signory for fear of Clement, 754.

........., ..., his conversation with Niño, and protestations of regard for the emperor, 754–5.

........., ..., negociates with the Venetians, and with the pope at the same time, 786.

........., ..., prevents the English ambassadors from procuring the opinions of doctors in his estate, 836.

........., ..., again accused of having furnished the Florentines with money and provisions, 867.

........., ..., the emperor's award respecting Modena and Reggio, ii. 29, 151, 190.

........., ..., on no account will Clement consent to Modena and Reggio remaining in the hands of, ii. 56, 76.

........., ..., joins the Italian defensive league against Francis, ii. 620.

........., ..., agent of, in Rome, *v.* Albolotto and Ghilini.

........., ..., in France, *v.* Manfredo.

........., ..., in England, 197, 303.

...., still in Venice (Sept. 1532), ii. 521.

........., ..., accused by Clement of having forged two or three ciphered letters from him to his nuncio in France, and having forwarded them to the emperor (Sept. 1531), ii. 241.

........., ..., ..., in which he professes to be the friend of Henry and Francis, and begs them to do their utmost to prevent the meeting of the council, ii. 242.

Este, Ercole d', son of Alfonso, married in 1527 to Renée de France, duchess of Chartres, 404, 653, 782.

........., ..., with the Venetians, 16, 49.

Este, Ercole d', son of Alfonso—*cont.*

........., ..., leaves the service of Florence, 113, 193, 201; ii. 962.

........., ..., duke of Chartres in France, 639; ii. 51.

........., ..., recommended by Mai, 537, 565, 567.

Estevan (Estevão), a Portuguese, *v.* Almeyda.

Estienne, Dr., *v.* Gardyner (Stephen).

Evangelista, papal secretary, 39, 161.

Evol, viscount of, *v.* Castro.

Evora, in Portugal, letter dated at, 647.

Exeter, marquis of, *v.* Courtney.

........., marchioness of, *v.* Blount.

Expectativa, meaning of, ii. 903.

Ezek, John W. de, bishop of Funfkirkhen, 50.

F.

Faber, John, bishop of Vienna, in Austria, ii. 505.

Fabra, Isabel, *Int.* xxii.

Fadrique, *v.* Frederic.

Faenza, in the leg. of Ravenna, ii. 561.

........., cardinal, bishop of, *v.* Pio da Carpi.

Falconetto, *v.* Monfalconet.

Falier, Faliero, Ludovico, Venetian ambassador in England (1529–32), 197, 467, 513, 626, 653, 663, 819, 820, 863; ii. 44, 114, 709–10, 973, 976.

........., ..., his secretary, *v.* Moriano.

........., ..., negociates, 381–3, 617, 628.

........., ..., goes to Greenwich upon very pressing business of the signory, 709–10.

........., ..., despatches a courier, who is not allowed to embark at Dover, *ibid.*

........., ..., quits, and is succeeded by Capello (Sept. 1531), ii. 513, 993.

Fallemue (Falmouth), ii. 176.

Farce, one of Wolsey going down to Hell, acted at the house of the earl of Wiltshire for the entertainment of the French ambassador, ii. 40.

........., ..., who blames the earl and the duke of Norfolk for having it printed, ii. 41.

Farfa, ex-abbot of, *v.* Orsino (Napoleone).

Farnese, cardinal Alessandro, archbishop elect of Parma, dean of the sacred college, 13, 143, 152, 168, 611.

........., ..., appointed with Santa Croce and Medici to receive the emperor at Genoa, 143, 152.

........., ..., Praet's opinion of, 143.

........., ..., speaks in favour of a league of the Christian powers against the Turk, ii. 343.

........., accompanies Clement to Bologna (Oct. 1532), ii. 542.

Farnese, cardinal Alessandro, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., his nephews (Pier Luigi and Ranuccio), ii. 542.

Farnese, Pier Luigi, condottiere in the imperial service, 13.

........., ..., a company of Italian infantry under him sacks some villages, 152.

Faucigny, baron de, *v.* Savoie (Philippe de).

Faulx, *v.* Fox.

Fausto, Greek professor in Venice, 49.

Favignana, Faviñana, *v.* Gavinana.

Faviseno, Giachetto, 558 *note.*

Federico, Frederico, Frederigo, Micer, secretary to Girolamo Sclède, the papal nuncio to Spain, 200; *v.* Rosario.

Fees (Fez), king of, ii. 706, 798.

Felice Madona, *v.* Orsino, 750.

Feliu de la Peña, *Int.* x.

Ferdinand, the Catholic, king of Spain, alluded to, 703, 881.

.... and Isabella of Spain, ii. 738.

.... (Fernando), infante of Spain, third son of Charles V. and of the empress Isabella, 6th Nov. 1529.

........., ..., death of, 396, 668, 669.

........., archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia and Hungary, brother of Charles V., 21, 24–5, 89, 114, 145, 165, 260, 495, 511, 657; ii. 6, 13, 65, 122–3, 309.

........., ..., his election as king of the Romans to be promoted, 404.

........., ..., much praised by Norfolk, 626.

........., ..., money lent to, by his brother the emperor, 668.

........., ..., to be crowned king of the Romans, 714.

........., ..., coronation of, at Aix-la-Chapelle, ii. 35.

........., ..., false report of his having been taken prisoner by the Lutheran princes on his return from the diet, ii. 7, 69, 72.

........., ..., likely to prevent any fresh invasion of Germany by the Turk, ii. 289.

........., ..., his interference in the affairs of Italy dislihed by the emperor, ii. 779.

........., ..., his differences with the vayvod of Transylvania, Zapolsky, ii. 807.

........., ..., letters to his brother the emperor (1530), 277.

........., ..., ..., to count Leonardo Nogarolo (1529), 138.

........., ..., ..., to Martin de Salinas (1529), 141, 203.

........., ..., ..., to Sôlyman, emperor of the Turks (1529), 80.

........., ..., duke of Calabria, *v.* Aragon.

Fermano, Juan, to be recalled from exile, 491.

Fernandez, Gonzalo, the emperor's chaplain, sent by him to Ireland, 51–5, 184; ii. 956.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 24.

Fernandez, Gonzalo, petition, 26.

.... de Cordoba, *v.* Gonzalo, duke of Sessa, 185 *note.*

........., D. Luis, ambassador at Rome, alluded to, 160.

.... de Quiñones, Bernardino, count of Luna, 648 *note.*

........., ..., son of, captured by pirates, ii. 9, 78.

........., Fr. Francisco, general of the Franciscans, and cardinal, *v.* Quiñones.

.... de Velasco, D. Iñigo, high constable of Castille, second duke of Frias (d. 1528), ii. 960, 976, 997.

........., D. Iñigo II., marquis de Berlanga (d. 1585), 184; ii. 960, 976.

........., D. Pedro, third duke of Frias (1528–59), appointed for the receipt of ransom and delivery of hostages at the frontier of Spain, 437, 458, 554, 560; ii. 960, 976.

........., ..., instructions to, 253.

........., ..., differences with Anne de Montmorency, 614.

Fernando, son of the emperor (6th Nov. 1529), 387, 396 *note.*

........., ..., death of, 669.

........., the infante, eldest son of archduke Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, birth of, 128.

Ferramosca, Cesare, a Neapolitan, the emperor's equerry, alluded to, 541, 568.

........., count Miniano or Mignano, 541, 568.

Ferrandes, Gonçalo, *v.* Fernandez.

Ferrara, duchy of, Clement's claims upon the, 185, 536, 539, 561, 580, 700; ii. 190, 417.

........., ..., tract on the business of, forwarded by Mai to the emperor, 782.

........., ..., negociations at Rome by duke Alfonso's agents, 786.

........., ..., the affair submitted to the emperor's arbitration, 561.

........., ..., Clement not at all disposed to yield in the business of, ii. 69, 76.

........., ..., rather inclined to give up Modena than renounce to his rights on, ii. 69.

........., ..., Charles's decision in May 1531, ii. 151, 190, 290.

........., ..., at which Clement complains most bitterly, declaring that it is both unjust and offensive, and that matters might have been left as they were, ii. 151–2.

........., ..., the emperor's arbitral sentence, though generally considered just and impartial, held by Henry as favourable to his views, ii. 153.

........., ..., plan for taking possession of, spoken of at Rome, ii. 249.

........., ..., ambassador of, in London, 197.

........., ..., in Paris (Il Manfredo?), his letters intercepted by Scalenga, 681.

Ferrara, duchy of—*cont.*

........., ..., duke of, *v.* Este.

........., ..., city, 287, 320, 536, 539, 561, 570, 577, 580, 592; ii. 455.

........., ..., the duke of Mantua at (5th Oct. 1530), 754.

........., ..., festivals at, for the liberation of Francis's sons, 653.

........., city, letters dated at the ferry between, and Bologna, 207.

........., the English ambassadors trying to obtain votes at, in favour of the divorce, 780, 836.

Ferrer, Bartholomé, treasurer in Spain, 187.

........., ..., death of, 733.

Ferrer Beltran, a Catalonian merchant in Venice, 491.

Ferreras, Felipe de, 152.

Ferriol, Mossen Anton, *Int.* xxii.

Ferriz, son of treasurer Gurrea, asking for employment at the court of Ferdinand, 68.

Ferrucci, Francesco, commissary general of the Florentines; takes Volterra, 541.

........., ..., slain (1 Aug. 1530) by Fabricio Marramaldo, 679.

Ferrucho, Francesco, *v.* Ferrucci.

Feuwillain, *v.* Fitzwilliam.

Fichino (Figlino?), in Tuscany; Ferrante Gonzago with his forces at, 717.

Fiçuatre, *v.* Fitzwalter ?

Figlino (?) in Tuscany, *v.* Fichino.

Figueroa, *v.* Suarez de Figueroa.

........., regent and president of the Sumaria at Naples, ii. 504, 634, 658.

Final, marquis de, in command of the Genoese galleys against Moorish pirates (1531), ii. 92.

Filonardo, Ennio, bishop of Veroli, sent by Clement on a mission to the Catholic cantons of Switzerland (1531–2), ii. 65, 312–13, 304, 325, 396, 434, 436, 442, 467, 503, 733, 762, 803, 852, 855, 886.

Finances, council of the, in Spain, 183, *note.*

Finario, de, a Jacobite, 761.

Firenzuola, in Tuscany, taken by the imperialists, 249.

Fisher, John, bishop of Rochester (Vigorniensis), of the queen's council, 197, 335; ii. 71, 175.

........., ..., preaches against the divorce, (25 June 1529) 159, (1532) ii. 465.

........., ..., writes against it, 386.

........., ..., his book to be printed in Flanders, and circulated in Spain, 818.

........., ..., preparing to defeat the arguments of Gabriello, the Jew, 818.

........., ..., his treatise on the divorce, 832–3.

........., ..., forwarded to Clement by Katharine's desire, 847.

Fisher, John, bishop of Rochester—*cont.*

........., ..., summoned before the archbishop of Canterbury, 852–3.

........., ..., warned by Chapuys not to attempt to argue the case, 853.

........., ..., brother of, ii. 79.

........., ..., his work, *ibid.*

........., ..., leaves for his diocese (2 March 1531), 79–80.

........., ..., tells Chapuys that the King has tried to corrupt him, ii. 39, 40.

........., ..., preaches again against Henry's divorce (25 June 1532), ii. 465.

........., ..., conversation of, with Chapuys, ii. 601.

........., ..., sent to the Tower (April 1353), ii. 629.

........., ..., advises prompt action at Rome, ii. 821.

........., ..., implicated in the Nun's trial, and attainted, ii. 857.

........., ..., in frequent communication with Chapuys, ii. 357, 813.

........., ..., his works, ii. 134, 296, 912–3.

Fitzgerald, Gerald, earl of Kildare, to be sent with a body of men to Ireland, 536; ii. 822.

........., Lord Thomas, tenth earl of Kildare, prisoner in the Tower, 536.

........., ..., released, 471.

........., ..., lieutenant-governor of Ireland, his fidelity suspected, ii. 822.

........., Thomas, earl of Desmond, 51, 54, 134.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 143.

........., ..., answer, 84.

Fitzroy, Henry, duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII., high lord admiral of England, 215, 238, 360; ii. 96.

........., ..., to marry a daughter of the duke of Norfolk, 468, 762; ii. 787, 868, 996.

........., ..., about to go to France with the son of the duke of Norfolk, ii. 555.

........., ..., to go to Wales at the head of a force, ii. 886.

Fitzwalter, *v.* Ratclyffe.

Fitzwilliam, Sir William, captain of Guisnes (1524), treasurer of the household (1526–37), 475, ii. 972, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster (1530–42), 304; ii. 966.

........., ..., on a mission to France, 104–5, 107–9.

........., ..., appointed to succeed Sir Thomas More, 304.

........., ..., sent to Oxford by the king, 475, 488.

........., ..., of the king's privy council, ii. 12, 22, 156, 669, 699.

........., ..., opposes the King's second marriage, ii. 177, 699.

Flanders and the Netherlands, 18, 161, 400, 633, 653, 676 ; ii, 197, 227.

........., to be visited by Charles, 811.

........., an interview with the emperor in, proposed by Francis (1530), 817.

........., governess of, *v.* Margaret of Austria.

........., ..., her death (1 Dec. 1530), and appointment of Mary of Hungary in 1531 to govern, ii. 4–6.

........., the coast of, to be fortified, ii. 4, 5.

........., certain differences said to exist between Charles and Francis respecting the delimitation of lands and property in, ii. 13.

........., Henry's inquiries about, ii. 610.

........., rumours of war to be purposely circulated in, to produce an alarm among the English merchants, ii. 811, 828.

Flandre, Louis de, sieur de Praët, *Int.* vii.; 76, 135, 138, 148–9.

........., ..., frequently called *Prato*, and mistaken for Antoine du Prat, 120–21.

........., ..., appointed extraordinary ambassador to Clement, 121, 149.

........., ..., lands at Genoa, 153.

........., ..., has audience of the pope at Rome, 163, 279.

........., ..., leaves for France, 282, 285.

........., ..., passes through Bologna, 320.

........., ..., signs as witness the ratification of the treaty of Barcelona, 375.

........., ..., ..., as well as the agreement with the duke Sforza (Dec. 1529), 375.

........., ..., at the court of France as imperial ambassador (1530–31), 105, 107, 307, 458, 469–70, 487, 569, 630, 692, 744.

........., ..., answer given by Francis to, respecting the meeting of a general council, ii. 120, 128.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 85, 105, 106, 115, 116, 119, 122, 133, 134, 140, 142, 150, 158, 163, 165, 179, 180.

........., ..., ..., to the president of Burgundy, 280.

........., ..., ... to, from the emperor, 39.

Flemings, the earl of Desmond in Ireland asks for a succour of 500, 53.

........., merchants in London, one particularly recommended to Chapuys by Katharine, ii. 474.

........., *v.* Merchants.

Fleur de lis, jewel so called from its shape, pawned by Maximilian, the emperor, 276–7, 285, 383, 388, 411, 419, 425–6, 428, 430.

........., negociations in England for its recovery, 370, 435, 458, 460–1, 467, 469, 530–1.

........., entrusted to Sir Francis Brian, 460–1, 470.

Fleury, groom-in-waiting to king Francis, sent on a mission to Scotland (June, 1532).

Flodden, battle of, James IV. of Scotland slain at, *Int.* xviii.

Florence, revolution in, 16, 21.

........., favouring the league against Charles and the Pope, 15, 19.

........., expedition against, planned, 163, 178.

........., the prince of Orange in command of the Imperial troops against, 163, 191, 193.

........., sends an embassy to Charles, 167, 184.

........., letters intercepted and read at, 77, 181.

........., hopes of its submission entertained, 191, 193.

........., invested, 266, 282, 379, 402, 569, 577.

........., Clement tells the imperial ambassadors (Praët and Mai) that the idea of attacking, originated with the emperor, 289.

........., the contemptuous terms in which Clement speaks of "its liberties," a further proof of his desire to re-establish therein the rule of the Medici, 291.

........., reduced to extremities, 549.

........., offers to capitulate, 642–3.

........., consul of, in France disputes with Chancellor Prat, 561.

........., the pope and the imperial ambassadors consulted about the terms of the capitulation, 694.

........., Muxetula's opinion, 694.

........., would not make so stout a defence were it not for the encouragement and money received from Francis and Henry, 567.

........., levies of men in Ferrara and Venice for the relief of, 592, 525.

........., consul of, in London, receives despatches from France, 617.

........., ..., letters of, intercepted, 674, 681.

........., on the point of surrender, 668, 685.

........., capitulates (12 Aug. 1530), 694, 700 ; ii. 208.

........., affray between Spaniards and Italians at the camp before, 705.

........., a miracle that the city did not rise in consequence, 705.

........., Malatesta and Colonna not to remain inside of, or else the city to be occupied by 2,000 Spaniards and Germans, 705.

........., the German garrison of, to be removed, 784–5.

........., the future government of, discussed, 8–9, 851, 870.

........., to join the defensive league, ii, 29.

........., Clement thanks the emperor for the final settlement of the question, ii. 37, 56.

Florence—*cont.*

........., his (Clement's) ideas concerning the new constitution to be given to, ii. 54.

........., a paper on the future constitution of, and the form of its government, sent by Clement to the emperor (1531), ii. 54.

........., Alessandro de' Medici reception in, ii. 147.

........., deed of investiture in favour of Margaret and Alessandro de' Medici, 417.

........., proclamation (6 July 1531), 762.

........., letters dated at, 233, 441–42, 713, 762.

Florentines, 33, 114, 201, 282, 318, 329.

........., intercept imperial despatches, 77, 80, 165, 181.

........., despatch a secret agent to Rome to watch Orange's movements, 176.

........., their plans of defence if attacked, 211.

........., summoned to contribute towards the Turkish war, 304.

........., the kings of France and England promise money to the, 405, 561.

........., to be compelled to do their duty towards the pope, 462.

........., attacked by the imperialists, 569, 577.

........., much praised by Henry for their constancy and courage during the siege, 509.

........., Henry and Francis promise to help them, 561.

........., defeated in a sortie, 610.

........., their consul in London (Francesco Bardi), 375–6, 522.

........., in Lyons, *v.* Carducci.

........., fuorusciti or emigrants in France, 561.

........., Francis agrees to pay his debt to the, 561.

........., ..., and threatens to furnish them with money and provisions unless Clement accedes to Henry's wishes concerning the divorce, 587.

........., ask Henry for a loan, 632.

........., ..., and are refused, in consequence of which he is no favourite with them, 632.

........., offer to capitulate, 642–3.

........., negociations broken, 646.

........., place great trust in Malatesta Baglione, who betrays them in the end, 680.

........., their consul in London opens a subscription in their favour, 375–6.

........., willing to let the Spaniards sack their city rather than surrender to the pope, 682.

........., renew the negociations, 685.

........., reduced to great extremities, 685.

........., willing to let the Spaniards into their city rather than surrender to the pope, 686.

Florentines—*cont.*

........., Henry sends them money and encourages them to the defence, 691.

........., ..., writes in their favour, 719.

........., join the emperor and Clement in the defensive league, 727.

........., had they not come to terms with the emperor, king Henry would certainly have undertaken the defence of their city, 740.

........., the minds of the, still very unsettled, owing to the intrigues of cardinal Ippolito, ii. 54.

Florez, Pe. Enrique, his "Reynas Catolicas de España," quoted, 387, 396, 499; ii. 743, 745, 790, 816.

Florie, Florio, *v.* Fleury.

Flour and wheat; to be procured in England for the Algiers expedition and victualling of the imperial galleys, ii. 83, 266.

........., application for, made by Chapuys, not granted, ii. 98.

Foglieta, Agostino, Roman lawyer, pension on the see of Mazzara to, 12.

Foix, Germaine de, widow of Ferdinand the Catholic, 152; ii. 334.

Foix, Odet de, sieur de Lautrec, alluded, 10, 122, 384.

.... -Candale, Margaret, marchioness of Saluzzo, ii. 9.

Foligno, in Tuscany, the prince of Orange at, 172, 191–2, 284.

........., letters dated at, 187.

Folleta *v.* Foglieta.

Foncio, Bartholomeo, ii. 315.

Fondi, ii. 966.

Fonseca, D. Alonso de, archbishop of Santiago (1508–24), of Toledo (1524–34), of the emperor's privy council, *Int.* xxv., 102 *note*, 183, 352 *note*, 826; ii. 76, 93, 125, 145, 216, 266, 756 *note*.

........., letters to the emperor, 710, 728.

........., D. Antonio de, 568, 591.

........., Galeazzo, imperial agent in the East, 543.

........., Geronimo de, passes himself off at Rome as Ferdinand's agent, 61.

........., ..., assumes that he has been appointed to succeed Andrea Burgo there, ii. 120, 504.

........., ..., notice of, *Int.* xi.

Ford, Richard, bishop of Winchester, alluded to, 885.

Forest, Fath., warder of a convent of Observants at Greenwich, Katharine's confessor; preaches a sermon, and decries the marriage in contemplation, ii. 427–8.

Forli (Romagna), 290; ii. 561.

Formentera, island of, one of the Balearic, 321; ii. 468.

Formicedo (Fornicedo ?), servant of Alonso de Esquivel in London, 885, 887.

Fornari, banker of Naples, his debts to the Capuan, 185, 568.

Fornizedo, *v.* Formizedo.

Fortes, Catalina, a nun of Toledo, once lady-in-waiting to queen Katharine, to be interrogated, 885–6.

........., ..., treasurer, also called Morales, 886.

Fortuna, bishop of, *v.* Faenza, 490.

Fowling-pieces presented by Ferdinand to his brother Charles, 431.

Fox, Dr. Edward, sent by Henry to Cambridge to obtain the seal of the university in favour of the divorce, 467.

........., ..., forming part of the meeting held at Warham's house in Dec. 1530, 852.

........., ..., returns from France (20 Dec.), 858.

........., ..., a gallant, able, and indefatigable champion of Henry's cause, ii. 152.

........., ..., again to France (4 May 1531), ii. 152–3.

........., ..., his mission, having for principal object the divorce suit, ii. 152.

........., ..., to go afterwards to Rome for the same purpose, ii. 155.

........., ..., at Paris in July 1531, trying to obtain the votes of the university, ii. 212, 226.

........., ..., again sent to France in Sept., 248.

........., ..., in London with the French ambassador, ii. 463–4.

........., ..., at the privy council, ii. 669, 672.

Fragastor, Avantin, of Verona, 258.

Fragoso, Fregoso, Cesare, 559, 521 ; ii. 849, 869.

........., ..., Frederico, archbishop of Salerno, his law-suit with Bartholomeo Gattinara, ii. 186.

Fray and *Frey*, both from *frater;* distinction introduced in Spain between the words, 122 *note.*

France, news from, 162, 764 ; ii. 22, 29, 329, 103, 486–7.

........., in weak condition after the battle of Pavia, without men or money, 615.

........., the sons of, (François, the dauphin, and Henry duke of Orleans), hostages in Spain for their father, 184, 243–4, 405, 409, 411, 487, 615.

........., ..., their delivery at the frontier retarded from various causes, 458, 523, 553.

........., ..., dispute about the ransom money, 517.

........., ..., effected at last, 653.

........., cardinal of, *v.* Grammont, Tarbes.

........., general estates or parliament of, 488.

........., affairs of, discussed between Chapuys and Norfolk, ii. 13.

........., all churches or bishoprics in, to be in future provided "a nominatione," ii. 180, 184.

France—*cont.*

........., the grant thereof to be understood only during Francis' reign, but renewable afterwards, *ibid.*

........., afflicted by the plague, and full of Lutherans (Dec. 1530), 839.

........., two gentlemen from, arrive in London (May 1533) ; one of them knighted by Henry, ii. 682.

........., Jeanne de, wife of Louis XI., repudiated, ii. 425.

........., Madeleine de, daughter of Francis I., *v.* Madeleine.

........., Renée de, *v.* Renée.

Francesco, l'Escudiere, count Pontremoli, groom of Francis' chamber, 180, 185.

........., ..., on a mission to the Florentines, 635, 643, 652, 675.

........., ..., ..., to Rome, as ambassador for Francis' private affairs, 50 ; *v.* François.

Francesillo, his burlesque chronicle of Charles, ii. 997 ; *v.* Quñiga.

Francfort-on-Mein, 430.

........., diet of the Lutheran princes to be held at, in 1531, ii. 202.

........., attended by the duke of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse, ii. 202.

Francho, Hieronymo, his advices from Cambray, 102.

Francis I., king of France (1515–47), 16, 20, 41, 47 ; ii. 733, 812, 837, 847.

........., ..., arrives at Compiègne with his mother Louise, previous to the conferences for the peace of Cambray, 106.

........., ... , said to be fitting out his galleys according to the stipulation of Cambray, 205.

........., ..., interview with the emperor proposed by, 258.

........., ..., promises his help against the Turk if released from the payment of half the ransom, 291.

........., ..., negociates with the Swiss, 334.

........., ..., ..., sends them money, 824.

........., ..., desirous to keep the terms of the peace of Cambray, 457.

........., ..., the delivery of his sons to be effected at or near Fuenterabia, on the Spanish frontier, 458.

........., ..., 100,000 cr. to be paid to Margaret of Austria by, 459.

........., ..., sons of king, hostages for their father's ransom, 184, 283, 553–4, 594, 613, 615 ; ii. 964.

........., ..., Henry contributes 100,000 cr. towards it, 477.

........., ..., a groom of the chamber to, with letters to the signory of Venice and to the French ambassador there, 653.

Francis I.—*cont.*

………, ……, sends a messenger to Charles to announce the consummation of his marriage [with queen Eleanor], to intercede for the Neapolitan "fuorusciti," and ask for the restitution of his galleys, 685.

………, ……, dismisses the Italian refugees from his court, 698, 701.

………, ……, hates the pope, and if he can only agree with the emperor will work for his deposition, 732.

………, ……, anxious to get the duchy of Milan, which he claims as his own, 757, 777, 836, 843.

………, ……, has secret intelligences in Genoa, 777.

………, ……, disinclined to pay his quota towards the expenses of the Turkish war, 793–4.

………, ……, ……, on the excuse that he owes the Emperor and the king of England large sums of money, 794.

………, ……, offers to attack the Turk in the Holy Land, ii. 14, 31, 35.

………, ……, asks Clement for the right of patronage over the churches in France, ii. 19.

………, ……, his relations with the Swiss, ii. 129, 130, 631.

………, ……, suspected of having made alliance with the Turk, ii. 137.

………, ……, tries to prevent Charles' return from Germany, ii. 330.

………, ……, in Britany, ii. 454–5.

………, ……, would not scruple making alliance with the Turk, if he could only get possession of Milan through it, ii. 459.

………, ……, proposals sent by, to the Venetians respecting Milan, ii. 459.

………, ……, offers to send his fleet to defend Italy against the Turk, ii. 458.

………, ……, whilst he is secretly negociating with the Turk and with the Lutherans, ii. 484.

………, ……, ill with fever, ii. 742.

………, ……, writes a letter to the pope on behalf of Henry, but not so explicit as the latter might have wished, 749.

………, ……, endeavours to get possession any how of the duchy of Milan, which he says belongs to him and to his sons, ii. 757.

………, ……, letter to Clement, 505.

………, ……, ……, to the duke of Albany, 507.

Franciscans, an Italian, one of the principal writers in favour of Henry's divorce, 858; ii. 337.

………, general of the, at Rome, 799; ii. 800.

……… of Augsburg, ii. 306.

………, in France, said to be unwell, ii. 805.

Franciscans—*cont.*

………, two English, cast in prison, ii. 428, 441, 451.

………, at the court of Henry, ii. 337.

Francisque, French courier, 675.

François, l'Escuyer, also called Francesco, count Pontremoli, sent by Francis to Florence and Venice on a mission, 180, 185, 635, 643, 653.

………, ……, to Rome, to obtain terms for the Florentines, 664, 675, 706, 750.

………, ……, again in Rome for an unknown mission (June 1531), ii. 185.

Frangapani, Frangipani, an Italian established in Croatia, goes backwards and forwards to Turkey in the vayvode's interest, 335, 827–8.

Frascata (Frascati), the lady of, widow of Marco Antonio Colonna, 560.

………, ……, her daughter married to François de Rupt, sieur de Waury, 165, 560.

Frederic I., emperor of Germany, surnamed Barbarossa, alluded, 320.

………, duke of Holstein, king of Denmark and Norway (1523–33), 795; ii. 676.

………, ……, death of (1533), ii. 818.

………, count palatine of the Rhine, 317, 56 *note*, 796.

………, ……, attending the emperor's coronation at Bologna, 484.

………, ……, the emperor's debt to, 186, 188, 316, 336, 478, 509, 568, 575; ii. 56 *note*.

………, ……, attends the diet of Nüremberg, ii. 474–5.

………, ……, agent of, arrives in London (Nov. 1533) for the ostensible purpose of procuring horses and hunting dogs for his master, ii. 841–2, 855.

………, ……, suspected by Chapuys, who sets spies on him, ii. 842.

………, ……, his proposed marriage to queen Mary of Hungary, ii. 5.

………, ……, ……, to Margaret of Monferrato, *ibid.*

………, ……, ……, to Dorothea of Denmark, daughter of king Christiern II., ii. 9.

………, (Fadrique IV.), king of Naples, ii. 973.

Fregoso *v.* Fragoso.

Friars, one, son of a Milanese gentleman, takes to Mai a message from Francesco Sforza, 150.

………, several Venetian and Paduan, give opinion in favour of Henry's divorce, 663, 695.

………, Sienese, preaches Lutheran doctrines, 67.

………, Dominican and Franciscan, at Ausburg, recalled, ii. 306.

………, one at Venice shows to the bishop of Vaison (Sclède) a written opinion in favour of Henry's divorce, 563.

………, a Spanish, cotemporary of St. Dominic, (XII. cent.); passage in his work considered favourable to Henry's divorce, 589.

Friars—*cont.*
........., one from England sent to Rome on Katharine's behalf, 581.
........., two English, visit queen Katharine at Bugden, ii. 292.
........., various English, accused of complicity with the Nun of Kent, ii. 857.
Frias, duke of, *v.* Fernandez de Velasco.
Friburg, 309.
Frigol, *v.* Friul.
Friul, Friuli, 489; ii. 467, 521.
Frith, the scholar, burnt as heretic (12 July 1533), ii. 996.
Frusolone (Frosinone), in the Roman states, 648.
Fualtre, lord, *v.* Fitzwalter.
Fucares, *v.* Fuggers.
Fuente Rabia (Fontarrabia), in Biscay, chosen for the delivery of the hostages, 247, 313, 457–8, 488, 743, 746–7, 771, 776, 783–4.
........., ..., letters dated at, 280.
Fuentes, Bachelor, paper of, on the divorce.
Fundi, Naples, 558.
Fünfkirchen (Pecs), in Hungary, 50.
.... taken and destroyed by the Turks (1529), 169.
........., bishop of, *v.* Ezék.
Fuggers, the, bankers at Ausburg, 492, 742–3, 746–7, 776, 783–4; ii. 351, 780.
Fuorusciti, Neapolitan and Sicilian, in Rome, 44, 48, 88, 573.
........., ..., some of them spies of Mai and in his pay, 88.
........., ..., Italian, in France; sent away from court and ordered to quit France, 602, 637, 698, 701, 824.
........., ..., money given by Francis to the, 701, 727, 867, 873.
........., ..., in Bologna, 577.
........., Neapolitan, in Venice, 134, 546, 589.
........., ..., continually spreading most alarming rumours, 526, 573.
........., Sienese, 22.
........., Milanese, and others in France, 673, 701.
........., ..., from Padua and Piacenza, 490.
Fusta, fustee, light-vessel, 17.

G.

Gabriello, Marco, a converted Jew, living at Rome, consulted by the English ambassadors respecting Henry's divorce, 335.
........., ..., invited to come to England, 761.
Gabriello, Marco—*cont.*
........., ..., the Imperial ambassadors take measures for his arrest, 825, 842, 844.
........., ..., in London, 45.
Gachard, keeper of the archives in Belgium *Int.* xiv., 88 *note*; ii. 42.
........., ..., his "Analectes Belgiques" and other historical works quoted, ii. 967.
Gaddi, Thaddeo, cardinal archbishop of Cosenza, 61, 119; ii. 121.
........., ..., going to Bologna in Clement's suite, ii. 556.
........., ..., rich abbey in France given to (1533), ii. 887.
Gaeta, town of Naples, held by Renzo da Ceri for the French, 40.
........., ..., to be fortified, ii. 904.
Galfrigidius, Geof., secretary to the earl of Desmond, 54.
Gaetano, cardinal of San Sixto, 556, 565, 613, 660; ii. 195, 909, 915.
Gaiazzo, Gayazzo, count Ludovico, 258, 260; ii. 232, 965–6.
Gaietano, *v.* Gaetano.
Galapagar, village between Madrid and the Escurial, ii. 216.
Galarza, Beltran de, 841.
Galindez de Carvajal, Lorenzo, ii. 83.
........., ..., his paper on the legitimacy of Henry's marriage to Katharine, 649.
Gallache, count, *v.* Visconti (Galeazzo).
Gallease (Galleazo) *v.* Visconti.
Galway castle, in Ireland, 54.
Galleys, French, 14 to be delivered at Genoa according to stipulation, 205, 458.
........., ..., anchor at Villa Franca di Niça, 478.
........., ..., Francis asks the emperor for his, 685.
........., ..., armament of, at Marseilles (1531–2), ii. 29, 419, 455.
........., ..., and in Britanny, ii. 421.
........., ..., supposed to be against Genoa, ii. 32.
........., ..., not to be put under Doria, as Francis mistrusts him, ii. 482.
........., ..., and offers to send all his, to Italy for the defence of the Roman coast, ii. 458, 483.
........., ..., 30, to be ready in March 1533, ii. 834, 849.
........., Genoese, with those of Rhodes and Monaco, to sail against the Turk, 795.
........., ..., 12 new, set on fire and consumed within the arsenal of Genoa, 478.
........., ..., French party in the city suspected, 478.
........., ..., encounter of two, with Cachadiablo, the Jew, 635.
........., imperial, a fleet of 29, to touch at Palamos, in Catalonia, 528.

Galleys, imperial—*cont.*

........., ..., said to be preparing for the passage of the empress (Isabella) to Flanders, 627.

........., ..., to be kept in readiness in case of the emperor returning to Spain by the Mediterranean, ii. 266.

........., ..., a powerful fleet of, preparing against Algiers, ii. 308.

........., Moorish, 635 ; ii. 83.

........., papal, to Barcelona, 1.

........., ..., to Genoa for the relief of Coron, ii. 687.

.... of Rhodes to meet those of Andrea Doria and of Venice, 543.

........., Sicilian, ii. 194, 321, 546, 569, 687.

........., Turkish, 615 ; ii. 824.

........., Venetian, bastard, to go to Sicily, 543.

........., ..., 60 being armed in May 1529, 15.

........., ..., one with five sets of oars (*quinquereme*), 49.

........., ..., 50 in Dec. 1531 to join the enterprise against the Turk, ii. 334.

........., ..., one with five tiers of oars (*quinquereme*), built according to the design of Fausto, 49.

Gallipoli, in Naples, ii. 457.

Galvan (Galway ?), in Ireland, 54.

Gamarra, Mossen Joan de, lord lieutenant in Logroño, &c., *Int.* xxii.

Gambara, Pietro Andrea, bishop of Faenza, 490 ; ii. 707.

........., Gambaro, Ganbara, prothonotary Uberto, bishop of Tortona and cardinal, governor of Bologna, 565, 578, 687.

........., ..., ..., sent by Clement to the emperor, 812–3, 835, 842, 849–50 ; ii. 17, 69, 137, 159, 482.

........., ..., ..., the most vicious man in all Italy, 859.

........., ..., ..., leaves for Germany (20 Dec. 1530), 861.

........., ..., ..., returns to Rome, ii. 536.

........., ..., ..., his credentials, 541.

........., count (Julio ?), the emperor's chamberlain, and brother of Pietro Andrea, the bishop of Faença, 490.

Game at cards, very prevalent at Henry's court, 391.

........., the duke of Norfolk playing, ii. 43.

Gamez, Gutierre Diez de, *Int.* xx. *note.*

Gams, his "Series Episcoporum," &c. quoted, ii. 121, 205, 742 *notes*, 955, 980, 988.

Gandavium, Gante, *v.* Ghent.

Garay, Dr. —, master of theology, notice of, *Int.* xiiv.

........., ..., ordered to watch the proceedings of the Sorbonne in the divorce case, 448, 459, 496–7, 527, 587, 597, 621–2, 665, 737 ; ii. 56, 88, 110.

........., ..., and a Flemish doctor, oppose Stockeley's plans, 416.

Garay, Dr. —, —*cont.*

........., ..., obtains a conclusion signed by 15 doctors of the Sorbonne in favour of the queen, 496–7.

........., ..., the original of which is taken from him by the rector, 496–7.

........., ..., ..., and a copy transmitted to the emperor, 497, 500, 550–1, 600, 622.

........., ..., ..., with remarks and observations by, together with an account of the whole transaction, 670.

........., ..., writes a work against Henry's divorce, in Latin and Spanish, 773.

........., ..., ..., besides a full account of what passed at the Sorbonne of Paris, 773.

........., ..., and another against Luther, ii. 355.

........., ..., instructed to suspend all applications to the Sorbonne, *ibid.*

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 285, 315, 370, 412, 450, 463, 468.

........., ..., ..., to the empress Isabella, 286.

........., ..., ..., to high commander Covos, 353.

Garcia, secretary Juan, *Int.* xv. ; ii. 490.

........., secretary Pero, to form part of the mission sent by the emperor to Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, 210.

........., ..., letter to, 68.

Garcia y Duran (D. Francisco Xavier), *Int.* xiii. *note.*

Garda, lake of, the duke of Ferrara at the, 773.

Gardyner, Gardiner, Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester, Henry's principal secretary at Rome, 6.

........., ..., a consummate canonist and lawyer, sent to Rome for the divorce suit (1529), 153.

........., ..., to remain at Rome after the departure of Vannes and Sir Francis Bryant (May 1529), 172.

........., ..., at the court of France (June 1529), on his way back to England, 109.

........., ..., said to be the bearer of the papal decision in the divorce case, 109.

........., ..., in the privy council, 719 ; ii. 12, 22, 24, 34, 156, 222, 463.

........., ..., again to France (29 Dec. 1529), 862.

........., ..., appointed bishop of Winchester, ii. 208.

........., ..., in the deputation to Katharine, ii. 171.

........., ..., whose part he silently takes, ii. 175.

........., ..., that being the reason why Anne Boleyn strongly suspects and dislikes him, *ibid.*

........., ..., again in France, ii. 359, 365.

Gardyner, Gardiner, Dr. Stephen, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., supposed by Mai to have been suddenly converted to Katharine's good cause, though formerly a "hot-brained and scandalous fellow," ii. 393, 451.

........., ..., represented by Chapuys as opposed to Henry's views respecting the clergy, ii. 450.

........., ..., ..., and as having flatly refused to preach in favour of the divorce, ii. 450.

........., ..., opposes the bill against the clergy and papal authority, ii. 446.

........., ..., out of court for refusing to preach in favour of the divorce, ii. 450–1.

........., ..., visits the French ambassador, ii. 463.

........., ..., refuses in the first instance to subscribe Henry's letter to the pope, ii. 608.

........., ..., ordered by the king to take Fisher to the Tower, ii. 619.

........., ..., sent to attend the conferences at Nice (Sept. 1533), ii. 647, 787, 994.

........., ..., in Windsor (Aug. 1533), ii. 770.

........., ..., ..., with a bagful of deeds and consultations, promises, and as many threats, ii. 812.

........., ..., ..., perhaps too to express Henry's regret at king Francis not having fulfilled his engagements respecting the pope, and his own affairs, ii. 800.

........., ..., in the Privy Council, ii. 758, 773, 800.

........., ..., to go to Marseilles instead of the duke of Norfolk, ii. 817.

........., ..., applies for a new mandate, ii. 846.

........., ..., negociating (Nov. 1533), ii. 852, 864.

........., ..., presents to the pope a memorandum of Henry, in which he declares the sentence to be unjust and aggravatory, and that he will appeal to the future council, *ibid.*

Garter, Order of the, 616.

Gastaldo, Giovan Battista, 192.

Gastatori, Guastatori, meaning of the words, 220, 282.

Gasto, Guasto, *v.* Vasto.

Gattinara, Gattinaria, Bartholomeo, apostolic prothonotary and president (regente) of the Imperial Court at Naples, 116–7, 172; ii. 537, 907.

........., ..., his suit at Rome, ii. 121, 186.

........., ..., his opponent to be compelled to come to terms, for Clement will not allow of the suit going on, 837.

........., Mercurino, marquis de, high chancellor to the emperor, 71, 76, 116, 191, 375; ii. 504.

........., ..., said to be aiming at the pontificate, 194.

........., ..., created cardinal (26 Sept. 1529), 212, 218.

Gattinara, Mercurino, marquis de, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., illness and death at Innsbruck (4 May 1530), 308, 495, 594.

........., ..., alluded, ii. 68, 186.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 207–8.

........., ..., notes in his handwriting, 612, 620, 660.

........., ..., the emperor's letter to, 39, 130, 137.

Gavinana, Gavignana, battle of, between the Florentines and Pisans under Ferrucci, and the imperialists, *Int.* ii., xix.; 680, 812, 871–2, 979.

........., ..., the prince of Orange slain at, 700, 812; *v. also* Favignana.

Gavres, the lord of, 37.

Gavy (Gavi), the emperor at, (2 Sept. 1529), 188.

........., letter dated at, 130.

Gayaz, *v.* Gaiazzo and Galleazzo, 299.

Gayoso, ii. 236.

Gazo, the confederates at, 98.

Genençano, residence of Ascanio Colonna; the marquis del Vasto visiting, 705.

Genets, Spanish, some to be presented by Charles to Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici, 137.

Genevois, Genesvois, count of, *v.* Savoie (Philippe).

Geneva, in Switzerland, revolts against Carlos III. of Savoy, 110.

........., unsettled state of affairs in, 806.

........., ..., taken by the Swiss Lutherans, 619, 809, 823, 835.

........., Leyva offers to march against, 835.

........., count of, *v.* Savoie (Philippe).

........., bishop of, *v.* La Baume.

Genoa, 21, 74–5, 162, 165, 168; ii. 804.

........., to be fortified against an attack of confederates, 36.

........., Charles at, (12–30 Aug. 1529), 178; ii. 959.

........., departure from, 183.

........., likely to be attacked by Francis under the excuse that it was not named in the treaty of Cambray (1530), 405.

........., to be defended, 688.

........., revolution at, headed by the Spinola (Dec. 1530), 842.

........., ..., in consequence (as reported) of Doria's tyranny, 842.

........., Francis' secret intrigues at, 32, 46, 817; ii. 306.

........., ..., possession of, to be obtained anyhow, 824.

........., ..., to be attacked by the Turkish and French fleets combined, ii. 420.

........., ..., and by land with a body of Switzers, ii. 434–5.

........., ..., the galleys of Venice to help to the defence of, ii. 442.

Genoa—*cont.*
........., Caterina, the pope's niece, passing through, ii. 808.
........., news from, 109.
........., imperial ambassador at, *v.* Suarez de Figueroa.
........., letters dated at, 15, 37, 40, 109, 110, 124, 126.
Genoese, reported to be discontented with Doria's rule (May 1529), 36.
........., ..., though they owe him their liberties, 74.
........., the signory of Venice asks the, whether they wish to be under the protection of France, and, if so, offers her mediation, 99.
........., their claims to be settled before the liberation of the hostages, 459.
........., send ambassadors to Francis, ii. 32.
........., who will not receive them save as subjects of his Crown, ii. 107.
........., ..., and declines their offers (1532), ii. 464.
........., refuse to contribute money towards the expenses of the Turkish war, ii. 76.
........., nothing settled respecting the, at the conference of Marseilles, ii. 849, 889.
........., merchants in London; Jocquin tells them that Genoa will never recover her former prosperity until she is fairly under French protection, 513.
........., ..., two of them, friends of that ambassador, arrested in London and sent to the Tower, 805.
Geogreff, John, lord of Angermont, chancellor of the duchy of Clèves (1531), ii. 329, 991.
George, duke of Saxony, 186, 305, 761.
........., ..., agent of, in London, to ask for the hand of princess Mary, 433.
........., ..., in France, ii. 121.
Germans; lanskenets, not safe for the emperor to commit his person to the, unless he has Spaniards with him, 39.
........., ..., having received more pay than they were entitled to (Dec. 1529), 378.
........., ..., said to be in treaty with the confederates, 83.
........., ..., marching towards Italy, 165, 177, 208.
........., ..., those returning from Vienna mutiny at Lintz (Oct. 1529), and threaten to sack the town unless their arrears be paid, 315–16.
........., in London; a captain formerly in the imperial service (Jan. 1530), agent to Frederic, duke of Saxony, 420, 450–1.
........., after the taking of Florence to be dismissed from the imperial service, 711, 851.
........., ..., to be re-engaged for three months only, 727.

Germans—*cont.*
........., the whole of the money levied on the Florentines distributed among the, 756.
........., ..., another, by name Laurenz Sçavre, agent to the archbishop of Mainz, 420, 451, 468.
........., ..., another from the bishop of Gurk, 420.
........., ..., several more about the same time.
........., ..., one sent from London with money to obtain the opinion of Lutheran doctors of his country on the divorce case, ii. 28.
Germany, mass suppressed in various towns of, news from, 126.
........., news from, by no means reassuring, 21.
........., sale of Church lands in, authorised by Clement, 208.
........., Charles' great wish to visit, 400.
........., troubles in, 453, 455–6, 463, 474, 496.
........., affairs of, rather embroiled, 398–9.
........., ... discussed by letter between Charles and his brother Ferdinand, 400, 404–7.
........., money sent by Henry to, for the purpose of keeping up the agitation in, 48 .
........., said by Henry to be exasperated at the emperor's protracted negociations with Clement, and at his too great humility towards the Holy See, ii. 620.
........., ..., and discontented at the question of the general council not being settled, 621.
........., rumours of an invasion of, by the, Turk, 831.
........., some free cities of, make offers to Francis (May 1531), ii. 165.
.... send deputies to the second diet of Francfort, ii. 202.
........., the cradle of all errors in religion, ii. 308.
........., hearing of its disturbed state Henry sends thither two secretaries of Cromwell, an Englishman and a German, both Lutherans (July 1533), ii. 754.
........., political affairs of, discussed between king Henry and Chapuys, 509, 626, 799, 800–1; ii. 12, 14, 15.
........., ..., between the latter and the duke of Norfolk, 802.
........., Henry's interference in the affairs of, 468, 691.
........., protector for, in Rome, *v.* Campeggio.
........., princes of, write to Clement, ii. 806.
........., peasants (villains of), 874.
Gervais, Gervasius, a German student at the university of Paris, and a Lutheran, sent by Francis to Germany, ii. 261.
Gerona, bishop of, *v.* Boil.

Geronimo, Rafael, ii. 244, 249.

Ghelders, Gheldres, Gueldre, Gelderland, duchy of, in the Low Countries, 536, 576.

........., war of, ii. 12, 703.

........., duke of, *v.* Egmont.

Ghent, in Belgium, ii. 123, 146–7, 398, 692.

........., letters dated at, 674–7, 682, 692, 712, 1121.

Gherardi, a family of Pistoia, 574 *note.*

Ghilini, Ghilino, bishop of Commachio, Ferrarese ambassador in Rome (1530), 867.

Ghinucci, Girolamo, auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, bishop of Worcester, sent by Henry to the emperor, *Int.* iv.; 1, 46, 55; ii. 238, 528, 974.

........., ... expected in Rome on his return from Spain, 192, 196.

........., ..., sends his nephew to London, 196.

........., ..., comes to England, 258.

........., ..., consulted by Henry concerning his intended divorce, 272.

........., ..., declares the dispensation brief of Julius II. to be a forgery, 226, 272.

........., ..., to replace Casale in the Roman embassy, 272.

........., ..., leaves for Rome (8 Oct. 1529), *ibid.*

........., ..., at Bologna (Dec. 1529), for the swearing to the peace of Cambray, 287.

........., ..., back in Rome, 290.

........., ..., communicates with Henry from Rome, and reports on the divorce suit, 477.

........., ..., proposed for a cardinal's hat, 572, 583, 604, 612, 613, 844–7, 877; ii. 7, 64.

........., ..., his nomination strongly recommended by cardinal Tarbes and others, 719, 740, 780.

........., ..., as well as by king Henry, 832.

........., ..., but equally opposed by the imperial agents, ii. 76.

........., ..., purchases at Rome two original bulls of pope Julius, establishing the conditions under which papal elections should be made, 748.

........., ..., which he forwards to Henry as a weapon to be used against Clement at the future council, 748.

........., ..., making preparations for the banquet he intends giving on his promotion to the cardinalate, 814.

........., ..., disappointed, 814.

........., ..., nephew of, sent by Henry to Rome (1 May 1533), ii. 675.

........., ..., the revenues of his bishopric, in England, sequestered, ii. 785.

........., ..., in Rome, negociating (Aug. 1533), ii. 888.

........., ..., and likely to get a cardinal's hat, as belonging to the French party, *ibid.*

Giacope, Gian., the regent, 12.

Gianderoni, Hieronimo, bishop of Massa, negociates with the Sienese, ii. 66–7.

Giannone, Pietro, historian of Naples, quoted, ii. 500 *note.*

Giaradada, in Lombardy, 209.

Gibacus (Cibacus ?), Americus, bishop of Varadin and governor of Transylvania, slain by Luigi Gritti, 379.

Giberti, Gian Matheo, bishop of Verona and Clement's datary at Rome, 21–2.

...., not a friend of the emperor, 248, 526, 798.

........., ..., at Venice in communication with the English ambassadors, 564.

........., ..., in Verona leading a life of abstinence and devotion, ii. 192, 195.

........., ..., report of his appointment to the Swiss (Dec. 1533), ii. 803.

........., ..., almost sure to get a cardinal's hat, ii. 888.

Gibraltar, the straits of, to be guarded, ii. 879.

Gigante, imperial courier, a native of Madrid, 882.

Giles (Gilles), Mr. de, a Frenchman; sent by Francis to England to promote Henry's divorce, 582.

Gioachino, Giovan, da Passano, lord of Vaux, French ambassador in England, on a mission to Venice with Triulzo, 17.

........., ..., ..., Casale's letter to, intercepted, 142.

........., ..., ..., going from Venice to France, 269.

........., ..., ..., in London, intriguing, 511.

........., ..., ..., Henry complains to, of the refusal of the French universities to decide in his favour, 617.

........., ..., visits Southampton and other places for the sake of amusement and sport, not for business, 672, 706–8.

........., ..., ..., accompanies Jean du Bellay to Dover, 737, 749.

........., ..., ..., and remains there long on pretence of rebuilding a hermitage, 737, 788.

........., ..., ..., returns to London (1 Oct. 1530), 737, 797.

........., ..., ..., obtains the liberty of two Genoese prisoners, friends of his, and offers to be security for them, 805.

........., ..., ..., laments Wolsey's disgrace, 819–20.

........., ..., ..., goes to court with La Pommeraye, 862.

........., ..., ..., about to leave again for France and thence to Rome to forward Henry's views, ii. 15, 28.

........., ..., ..., likely to obtain one of the bishoprics formerly held by that cardinal, ii. 15.

........., ..., ..., said to have resumed in Jan. 1531 the negociations for a marriage between the pope's niece and one of the sons of France, ii. 15.

Gioachino, Giovan, da Passano, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., ..., quits, ii. 40–41.

........., ..., ..., anxiously expected back, ii. 63, 101.

........., ..., ..., returns, and is summoned to the king's presence, ii. 198.

........., ..., ..., has private audiences from Henry, ii. 198.

........., ..., ..., immediately after which he despatches a courier to Francis, *ibid.*

........., ..., confidence made to, by Anne Boleyn (1531), ii. 295–6.

........., ..., ..., leaves again for France (21 Jan. 1531), ii. 368.

........., ..., ..., has long interviews with the king and the duke of Norfolk, ii. 513.

........., ..., ..., the ostensible part of his mission said to be the affair of Crevecœur in Burgundy, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., but Chapuys suspects that it has something to do with the Paris doctors and the divorce, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., abuses Andrea Doria, and tells the Genoese merchants in London that their republic will not recover her former splendour until she is once again under the protection of France, ii. 513.

........., ..., ..., and that on the return of the French hostages some wonderful events will take place in Italy, ii. 514.

........., ..., ..., he himself hopes not to die until he be in full possession of the title of count, and an estate in Naples, which Francis has promised him, ii. 514.

........., ..., ..., obtains permission to export 4,000 oxen for France, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., appointed to succeed La Pommeraye; refuses, ii. 550.

........., ..., ..., in communication with Chapuys, ii. 682.

........., ..., ..., letter to King Francis, 279.

.... *v.* also Passano.

Giovan Pietro, Frate, a minorite of Vicenza, *v.* Pietro.

Girardi (Gherardi?), Georgio, ii. 574, 975.

........., Nicolo, ii. 975.

Girolami, Raffaelo, gonfaloniere of Florence, 686 *note.*

Girolamo, bishop of Vasone or Vaison, *v.* Sclède.

Giron, Pedro, count of Ureña, his case at Rome, ii. 396, 505, 916.

Girona, Gerona, in Catalonia, ii. 76.

........., bishop of, *v.* Boil and Ramirez de Fuenleal.

Giulia, daughter of Frederic, the last king of Naples, 731, 750, 755, 762, 785, 843.

........., ..., betrothed to Gugliemo VI., of Montferrato, 663, *note.*

Giulia, daughter of Frederic, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., married to Frederico Gonzaga by proxy (9 Apr. 1530), 494, 496.

........., ..., her marriage dissolved, ii. 33.

Giustiniano, called Il Gobbo, or "the Humpbacked," the galleys of, to keep guard on the eastern coast of Spain, 733.

........., Marino, succeeds Giovan Antonio Venier in the embassy to France (14 Dec. 1532).

........., ..., Venetian ambassador in France, succeeds his father Sebastian (Nov. 1532 to Sept. 1533), ii. 956.

........., Sebastian, Venetian ambassador in France (1528–31), 553, 730.

Glass of Truth, ii. 200, 298.

Gobbo, Il, *v.* Giustiniano.

Gold, Henry, priest, *v.* Hold.

Golden Fleece, Order of the, chapter of the, held at Aix-la-Chapelle, ii. 227–8, 236, 578.

........., ..., given to king James, ii. 616.

........., ..., members of, ii. 937.

Gomez, Luis, Spanish lawyer and auditor at Rome, highly recommended by cardinal d'Osma, ii. 284.

........., ..., about to leave for Spain, ii. 744.

Gonfalonieri, of Florence, *v.* Capponi, Carducci.

Gonzaga, Ercole or Hercole di, cardinal of Mantua, 22; ii. 713.

........., ..., returns from a visit to his sister the duchess of Urbino, 732.

........., ..., agent of, at Rome, visits Cueva, 810.

........., Ferrante or Hernando de, duke of Ariano and prince of Molfetta, 969.

........., ..., not on good terms with Vasto, 171.

........., ..., wishing to leave Naples and serve under Chalon, 177.

........., ..., allows too much liberty to his men, 189, 329.

........., ..., displeased at hearing that the command of the light horse has been given to another, 270.

........., ..., in command of the imperial light horse at Naples, 334.

........., ..., sues for the hand of Isabella Colonna, 539, 540, 567.

........., ..., at the siege of Florence under Chalon, 642, 678.

........., ..., about to marry a daughter of the duchess of Termini, 666.

........., ..., takes the command of the army after the prince's death, 679–81, 685–6, 694.

........., ..., his brother Frederico, duke of Mantuâ, having been appointed commander-in-chief of the imperial army, he himself acts as his lieutenant, 700, 702, 810.

Gonzaga, Ferrante or Hernando de —*cont.*

........., ..., at Fichino with the Spaniards and the rest of his forces, but in such poor condition as to money and provisions that his men lived for six days entirely upon grapes and figs, and threatened to mutiny (Sept. 1530), 717.

........., ..., his services much commended by Mai, 720.

........., ..., instructed not to molest the inhabitants, 784–5.

.... , ...; at Siena with Soria, 807, 862–5.

........., ..., sends Ripalda to Rome to procure money for the pay of his men, 829.

........., ..., expected in Rome, 817.

........., ..., holding Benevento as security for Clement's debt to Charles, 822.

........., ..., quartered in the Sienese with his force, but unable to maintain discipline, 823, 851, 862.

........., ..., jealous of Vasto, 835.

........., ..., at Rome, making arrangements for the quartering of the imperial army (Dec. 1530), 862–5.

........., ..., again at Siena (Feb. 1531), ii. 46–7, 56, 66–7, 69, 76, 89.

........., Frederico or Frederigo, di, marquis, afterwards duke, of Mantua, preserves neutrality, 22, 29, 66, 80.

........., ..., decides for the Emperor, 112–15.

........., ..., whom he meets at Piacenza, 168.

........., ..., treats with the emperor and takes his part against the confederates, 112–15.

........., ..., meets him at Piacenza, 168.

........., ..., appointed conjointly with Caracciolo and Leyva to treat with Venice, 204, 206.

........., ..., to march against Venice at the head of the imperial forces, 217, 220.

........., ..., instructions to, 82.

........., ..., advises the receipt of one of the six copies of the inhibitory brief, 270, 823–4.

........., ..., applies for the hand of Margaret of Austria, the emperor's natural daughter, 113; ii. 907.

........., ..., other projects of marriage entertained by, 334; ii. 133, 183.

........., ..., not present at the emperor's coronation in Bologna, owing to a question of precedence, 471.

........., ..., his splendid reception of Charles at Mantua, 481, 484–5, 509.

........., ..., to be created duke, 481.

........., ..., appointed commander-in-chief of the imperial forces in Italy, 694, 699, 700, 705.

Gonzaga, Frederico or Frederigo di, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., which he accepts, appointing his brother, Ferrante, to be his lieutenant, 727.

........., ..., ordered to disband his forces (Sept. 1530), 730.

........., ..., wishes to return to his first marriage with the daughter of Monferrato, 731.

........., ..., after whose death (in Sept. 1530) he pretends not to be bound to marry Giulia, the daughter of the king of Naples, 750.

........., ..., at liberty to resume negociations for a marriage with Mme. de Navarre, or with Clement's niece, with Parma and Piacenza as a dower, 751.

........., ..., sends a lawyer to Rome to inquire whether his marriage to Giulia de Aragon is a legitimate one or not, 785.

........., ..., prevents the English ambassadors from getting opinions on the divorce in his estate, 836.

........., ..., has Casale's correspondence and papers seized at his passage through the Mantuan, ii. 7, 10.

........., ..., his marriage to the heiress of Montferrato (Mary), recommended by Ferdinand, ii. 133.

........., ..., he is to get a good sum of money through it, *ibid.*

........., ..., disputes the possession of Montferrato, ii. 122, 994.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 12, 78.

........., Giulia, sister of Luigi (Rodamonte) and widow of Vespasiano Colonna, 282, 334.

........., ..., report of her marriage to Giovan Paolo da Ceri, 718, 732.

........., Leonora Hippolita, duchess of Urbino, sends a message to Clement offering the duke's neutrality, 176, 179.

........., ..., gives free passage through her estate to the imperial troops, 212, 717.

........., ..., visited by her brother Ercole, the cardinal of Mantua, 732.

........., Luigi, surnamed "Rodomonte," pretends to the hand of Isabella Colonna, 334, 536, 540, 567, 596, 616, 636, 702, 712, 823; ii. 969.

........., ..., married to her (Jan. 1531), ii. 33, 850.

........., ..., his claims to the duchy of Traietto, ii. 485.

........., ..., lays siege to Vicovaro, ii. 540.

........., ..., death of (Dec. 1532), ii. 857, 998.

........., ..., da Castelgifredo, ii. 968.

........., ..., death of (Dec. 1532), ii. 968.

........., ..., son of Giampietro (died 1549), ii. 968–9.

........., a lawyer at Rome, 592.

........., abbot, ii. 469.

Gonzalez, Davila, Gil., his "Theatro Ecclesiastico de España" quoted, *Int.* vii., xii.; ii. 4, *note.*

........., Manso, Pedro, bishop of Badajoz:

........., ..., ..., president of the Chancery court at Valladolid, ii. 4, 65, 84.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 585.

.... de Mendoza, D. Pedro, sent by the emperor to Spain with the account of his coronation at Bologna (1530), 472.

........., ..., ..., to Germany with a message from the empress, 714–6.

........., ..., ..., commission entrusted by Ferdinand to, ii. 780.

Gorken (Goorken), near Antwerp, 687.

Gormer, Michael, a German living at Padua, preaching Lutheran doctrines there, 573.

.... Ludwig, or Lewis de, bishop of Moriana, 119; ii. 964.

........., ..., recommended for a cardinal's hat, 146, 172.

........., ..., on an embassy to Carlo III., 241.

........., ..., promoted to the cardinalate, 172, 561.

Gorrevod, Laurenç de, count of Pont de Vaux, viscount of Salinas, governor of Bresse, and lord high steward to the emperor (died July 1529), 116.

Gouffier, ——, sieur de Boissy, 620.

Gradenigo, Luigi, 454.

Gradisca, the vicar, 491.

Grafton, in Northamptonshire, king Henry at, 189, 220–2, 253, 257, 272.

........., Chapuys' journey to, 221–2; and audience from the king, 223–31, 253.

Grain, Gran, in Hungary, 335; *v.* Gran.

Grammont, Charles de, archbishop of Bordeaux (1530–44), 458.

........., Gabriel de, bishop of Tarbes, in Gascony (1524–34), cardinal (June 1530), French ambassador in Rome, 109, 154, 193, 620, 683, 833; ii. 27, 39, 128, 184–5, 189, 194, 266.

........., ..., not sufficiently serious for his words to deserve credit, 207.

........., ..., at Bologna, with Clement, 348.

........., ..., leaves suddenly for France for the purpose, as he says, of bringing about an interview between his master, the pope, and the emperor, 382, 660–61.

........., ..., ..., at which Henry is much displeased, 395.

........., ..., back in Rome, 560, 563, 575, 584, 592, 594–5, 602–3, 613, 630, 632–3, 636, 643, 660, 674–6, 684, 701–2, 740, 786, 872–3.

........., ..., Mai's congratulations on his promotion to the cardinalate, 583.

........., ..., proposes again that a conference be held at Rome, or in some town of Flanders, between the pope, the emperor, and king Francis, 675.

Grammont, Gabriel de, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., and that the king of Hungary (Ferdinand) may also attend it, 681.

........., ..., the object of the meeting being to ask for a reduction of the terms stipulated at Cambray, 681.

........., ..., ..., which was always Francis' most earnest wish, *ibid.*

........., ..., expected at Rome with the duke of Albany, 701–2, 704, 706.

........., ..., instructed to work for the Florentines, 706.

........., ..., ..., and to prevent, if possible, the meeting of the general council, 732, 860.

........., ..., to return shortly to France for that purpose, 717.

........., ..., endeavours to bring on a quarrel between the brothers Medici (Ippolito and Alessandro), 732.

........., ..., takes leaves of Clement, 747–9.

........., ..., to pass through Ferrara, where great preparations are being made for his reception, 749.

........., ..., ..., but is detained at Rome by the English business, 764

........., ..., has a conversation with Mai about the divorce suit, and recommends the suspension of the proceedings for six months, as during that time Charles may visit England and settle his differences with Henry, 750, 833.

........., ..., his suggestions respecting the general council and the Lutherans, 758, 781.

........., ..., meets Mai and Muxetula in the papal palace, 763.

........., ..., earnestly requests them to consent to a delay, and, if so, promises that Henry will undertake nothing in the meantime, 764, 778.

........., ..., presents a letter of Francis to Clement in favour and commendation of Henry, 779.

........., ..., ..., which he takes back, as he will not leave it in the pope's hands, 779.

........., ..., forwards his master's views concerning Genoa and Milan, 824.

........., ..., much mixed with the Bracciano affair and the Orsini, 872–3.

........., ..., proposes again an interview, ii. 11, 59, 105, 129, 133, 149.

........., ..., most active in preventing the convocation of the general council, ii. 118.

........., ..., post-haste to Rome (Apr. 1531), ii. 118–19.

........., ..., accused of having promised in Clement's name more than he was actually authorised to do, ii. 119.

........., ..., returning to Rome to remind Clement of his promise, ii. 122–4, 152.

Grammont, Gabriel de, &c.—*cont.*
........., ..., soon to be replaced by another, bishop, D'Inteville, ii. 185.
........., ..., to promote, as reported, Henry's divorce, ii. 120–1.
........., ..., about to return to France, the duke of Albany replacing him, ii. 179–80.
........., ..., doing, however, all possible mischief before his departure, ii. 181.
........., ..., ..., and again recommending conferences in Italy, ii. 188.
........., ..., going back to France, ii. 192, 195, 200, 204.
........., ..., exhibits letters of the duke of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse, addressed to Francis, ii. 234, 266.
........., ..., looked upon as a sort of madman, ii. 180, 334.
........., ..., again to Rome with Tournon, ii. 548, 562, 581.
........., ..., his mission, ii. 564.
........., ..., still very weak from the results of his late illness, ii. 611.
........., ..., his negociations, ii. 612, 907–8, 910–1.
Gran, the strongest fortress in Hungary, taken by the Turks in 1529, 203.
........., recovered, 378, 385, 659, 648.
........., archbishop of, *v.*
Grana, river.
Granada, in Spain, university of, 888.
........., chancery of, 888.
Granada, in Spain, a new militia to be created at, for the repression of the Moriscoes, 849, 866.
........., ..., Moors of, 12 ; ii. 849.
Grandonati de Barbadoris, Alessandro, a Florentine, ii. 209.
Grandvelle, Granvelle, sieur de, *v.* Perrenot.
Grasse, bishop of, *v.* Grimaldo.
Gratz, in Styria, the Turk preparing to winter at, ii. 519–20.
Gravelinghes (Gravelines), 55, 308, 453 ; ii. 213, 379, 384, 932–3.
........., letters dated at, 27.
........., governor of, articles proposed to the duke of Norfolk, ii. 551.
Gravesend, ii. 253, 524.
........., Camillo Orsini at, ii. 451.
Gravina, Ferrante duca di, his estate in Naples confiscated, 122–3.
........., ..., he and the marquises of Quarata and Oria among the principal "fuorusciti," 435, 466, 482, 561, 596, 678.
........., ..., death of, 777 ; ii. 466.
........., ..., letter to secretary Garcia, 68.
........., ..., ..., to the emperor, 69.
Greece, an attack upon, and Constantinople, proposed by Francis, ii. 514.
Greenwich, the court at, 90, 311, 387–8, 429; ii. 635, 901–2, 926–7.
Greenwich, queen Katharine removed from, ii. 335.
........., Franciscan convent at, 427, 992.
........., Elizabeth's christening at, 387–8 ; ii. 789, 3, 12, 98, 296, 253, 385, 524, 932.
Grey, Henry, the young marquis of Dorset, ii. 153, 239.
........., Thomas, marquis of Dorset and privy councillor, 416, 430 ; ii. 214, 269, 629.
.... Friars, convent of the, in London, 600.
........., ..., the duke of Norfolk and Chapuys have a conference at (11 Jan. 1531), ii. 22.
........., ..., which Gardyner and Fitzwilliam attend, *ibid.*
........., ..., subjects discussed thereat, ii. 23–8.
Greyhounds, a couple of fine, presented by Francis to Henry, ii. 463.
Grieffenklau, Richard, archbishop elector of Trèves (1511–31), 630.
Grimaldi, family of the, at Genoa, 36.
Grimaldo, Micer Agostino, lord of Monaco, bishop of Grassa and Oristan, 36, 125.
........., ..., an estate in the kingdom of Naples offered to, in exchange for Monaco, 125.
........., ..., ..., as well as the bishopric of Mallorca, provided he renounces that of Oristan, 126.
........., ..., recommended for a cardinal's hat, 218 ; ii. 93, 180, 184, 289, 340, 907.
........., ..., described by the duke Carlo of Savoy as a fickle and capricious individual not to be depended upon, 241.
........., ..., said to be cruel and to have committed several murders, ii. 907.
........., Micer Andrea, 729.
........., Ansaldo, banker at Genoa, 29, 37, 525, 541, 592 ; ii. 199, 304, 334, 608, 804.
........., ..., appointed banker to the league, ii. 763, 995.
........., ———, cardinal, 67.
........., ..., letter to the emperor, 438.
Grimaldo, Francesco, ii. 199.
........., Girolamo, cardinal (?), 67.
........., Ottavio, a Milanese, 518.
........., Stefano, 36.
........., ——, formerly a general at Milan, a banker in France, ii. 465.
Grimano, Grimani, Marco, patriarch of Aquileia, news brought by, from Constantinople, ii. 324–5, 333, 338–9, 342, 349, 421, 433.
........., ..., arrival of, at Rome (Dec. 1531), ii. 341.
........., Marino, cardinal, brother of the preceding, ii. 324, 333, *note* 342.
........., ..., deputed to receive the emperor on his second visit to Bologna (1532), ii. 563.

Grimano, cardinal Domenico, Venetian ambassador in Rome, 268.

Grinœus, Simon, invited to England, ii. 177–8, 583.

Grino, *v.* Bonacursio.

Gripho, 543.

Grisons, in the pay of the league, 26 ; ii. 314.

........., to invade the duchy of Milan under the castellan of Mus, ii. 29.

........., quarrel with the marquis of Mus, whom they defeat, ii. 122, 201.

Gritti, Aloys or Luigi, son of Andrea, the doge of Venice ; negociating the marriage of Zapoli to a daughter of Solyman, 50.

........., ..., in command of a Turkish fleet against Naples and Sicily, 602.

........., ..., shut up with Zapolsky in the citadel of Buda, so that neither can possibly escape, 829.

........., ..., his capture most desirable, and to be preferred to that of the vayvod himself, owing to his being a good friend of Ibráhim Pashá, 830 ; ii. 126–7.

........., ..., if taken, ought to be drawn and quartered, 830.

........., ..., about to invade Hungary at the head of a Turkish army, ii. 348.

........., ..., in Constantinople, having great influence over Solyman, 657, 827 ; ii. 288, 325, 339, 341.

........., ..., having a rich bishopric in Hungary, and aiming at the crown, ii. 333–5.

........., ..., ..., Clissa surrenders to an agent of, ii. 207, 454, 469.

........., ..., ..., great indignation caused in Venice by the news, ii. 469.

........., ..., offers to mediate in the quarrel between the vayvod and the archduke, 860–1.

........., ..., in Venice, ii. 349.

........., ..., news of Turkey communicated by, to the patriarch of Aquileia, ii. 433–5, 437.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 552.

........., Andrea, doge of Venice, 16, 141, 151, 502–3, 520, 537, 548, 553, 614–5, 706, 771, 829 ; ii. 33, 333.

........., Giorgio, brother of Aloyse ; arrives in Venice from Turkey, ii. 113, 147.

........., ..., going to France on some secret errand, ii. 185, 192–3.

........., ..., taken prisoner in the Astesan, ii 196–7, 204, 209–10, 504, 989.

........., ..., released, ii. 219, 909.

........., ..., at Constantinople, ill in bed, ii. 288, 339, 341.

........., ..., goes to France, ii. 147, 915.

Grospain, imperial messenger, 240 ; ii. 780.

Grynaus, Simon, *v.* Grinaus.

Guadagni, Oliviero, 523.

........., Paolo, 523.

........., Philippo, 523.

Guadalajara, in Spain, ii. 269.

Guadix, in the kingdom of Granada, bishop of, *v.* Guevara.

Gualbes, a son of the widow, one of the emperor's chaplains, recommended by Miçer Mai, 826.

Gueldres (Gheldres), duchy of, 536 ; ii. 703, 737.

Guelf, party in Italy, opposed to the Gibelines, 491.

Guenich, Dr., *v.* Hennege.

Guerazzi, his "Vita di Andrea Doria" quoted, 35 *note.*

Guercio, Il, surname given to Luigi Gonzaga da Castelgiffredo, ii. 968.

Guerrero, Pedro, Master, 841.

........., ..., signs the opinion of the university of Salamanca against the divorce, 841.

Guevara, *v.* Velez de.

........., Antonio, bishop of Guadix Mondonedo (1528–37), ii. 407 *note.*

........., Doña Catalina de, ii. 407.

........., field-marshal, ii. 185.

........., in command of the Spaniards at Siena, ii. 120.

Guiche, Guische, Guysche, Claude de la, French ambassador in England (1531), succeeds Gioachino, (Jan. 1531), ii. 40–1, 83.

........., ..., dining with the king and Anne Boleyn (Feb.), ii. 63, 78.

........., ..., takes leave to return home, (Apr.), ii. 114.

Guicciardini, Francesco, historian, *Int.* xiii. *note.*

........., ..., quoted, 321, 680, 867, *note.*

Guido, count, *v.* Rangone.

Guiffrey, George, his chronicle of Francis I. quoted, ii. 313, *note.*

Guildford, king Henry at, ii. 754.

Guildford, Sir Edward, captain of the Cinque Ports (1523–29) ; deputed by Henry to receive the Flemish ambassador, 327.

........., Sir Henry, controller of the Household; not partial to Anne Boleyn, who threatens to have him dispossessed of his office, ii. 177.

........., ..., resigns in consequence of her threats (June, 1531), ii. 177, 994, 999.

........., ..., was heard to say at the interview of the privy councillors with Katharine in June 1531 that all the doctors inventors of the King's divorce ought to be tied together on a cart, and sent to Rome there to dispute their opinions, ii. 176.

Guillefort, *v.* Guildford.

Guillaume, imperial messenger, 176.

Guillelmin (?), 809 ; ii. 997.

Guipuzcoa, archdeacon of, ii. 31.

Guise, duke of, *v.* Lorraine.

Gunz (Gunzburg), in Hungary, 254, 525.

........., the Turks defeated before, ii. 519, 546, 993.

Gunpowder, hardly enough in all Italy to supply one half of the quantity asked by Ferdinand, 636.

Gurce, (Gurk), in Carintia, bishop of, (Gurcensis), *v.* Lang and Balbus.

Gurrea, Martin de, imperial messenger, 68, 79, 431.

Gustavus, Vasa, king of Sweden; sends one of his secretaries to Rome to ask for the hand of Catherina, Clement's niece (Feb. 1531), 78.

Gutierrez, Alonso, the Emperor's treasurer, 183 *note*.

.... de Padilla, *v.* Padilla.

Guyenne (Guienne), French herald in London, 848.

Guzman, Gonçalo de, ii. 778.

........., Martin de, law-suit of, 770–1, 919.

........., Mencia de, countess of Ureña, ii. 396.

........., Perez de (Don Juan Alonso) duke of Medina-Sidonia, ii. 125.

H.

Habrayn-bassa, *v.* Ibráhim.

Hacanea Blanca, (hackney or white steed), to be presented yearly to the pope as prestation for the fee of Naples, 67, 186.

Hacquett (Hackett), Sir John, English ambassador to the Low Countries, 427.

........., ..., to represent Henry at Margaret's funeral, ii. 12.

........., ..., reports from Brussels (June 1531), ii. 198.

Hainault, Haynaut, prov. of Belgium, 104.

Hamburghers, suspicions entertained in London about the Danes attacking English vessels at sea, ii. 705.

Hamburgh, ii. 448, 451, 627.

........., a doctor (Leigh), sent by Henry on a mission to, returns, ii. 627.

Hampton Court, 642 ; ii. 961.

........., meeting of Warham, More, and others at, (11 Aug. 1530) for the purpose of examining the papal brief, 690.

........., king Henry at, (Aug. 1530), 758, (June 1531), ii. 198, 961.

Hannalt, *v.* Anhalt.

Hannart, Hannaërt, John or Jean, sieur de Liedekerke, viscount of Lombecke, chief secretary and audiencier to the council of Flanders; imperial ambassador in France, ii. 436, 548, 561–2, 829, 844, 851, 854.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 1025.

........., ..., present at the conferences of Marseilles, 829, 844, 846–7, 851.

Hardo (?) district of Naples, 826.

Haro, Diego Jaymes (?) de, 64, 77, 83, 119, 123 ; ii. 284.

Harvy, *v.* Hervey.

Hassen, Hessen, *v.* Hesse.

Harpsfield, Nicholas; his treatise on the divorce, ii. 986, 988.

Hatfield, Bishop's, in Hertfordshire; Katharine at, in a manor belonging to the bishop of Ely (6 Nov. 1532), ii. 545.

........., ..., Mary, the princess, removed to, ii. 898.

Hawkins, Nicholas, archdeacon of Ely, nephew of bishop West, condemned as Lutheran, on a mission to the emperor (27 Sept. 1532), ii. 529, 993.

Hawks, two, presented to Henry by Gioachino, in the name of the duke of Ferrara, (Jan. 1532), ii. 360.

Heine, Dr. G., translates into German Loaysa's despatches, *Int.* xv., 787 *note*.

Heltham, *v.* Eltham.

Helwighen, Loys, councillor in Brabant, ii. 471 ; ii. 992.

........., ..., his report concerning the man of Louvain, 967.

Hellen (St. Helen), the empress, wife of Constantius and mother of Constantine, the Great, said to be English-born, ii. 23.

Henin (Hennin), Jean de, sieur de Bossu, the emperor's master of the horse, 481 ; ii. 5, 103.

........., Thómas Philippe de, archbishop of Mechlin and cardinal, ii. 986.

Hennege, Dr. Thomas (?), appointed by king Henry to conduct Chapuys to Grafton, 220–2, 231.

Henriquez, Felipa, marries don Pedro de Cordoba, 101 ; *v.* Enriquez.

........., Juana, 378.

.... de Luna, Maria, 378.

Henry (Henrique, Enrique) IV., of Castille; alluded, 787, 883.

.... VII., king of England, alluded to, 702–3, 752–3, 789 ; ii. 323, 472.

.... VIII., king of England, favours the Italian league, 16.

........., writes to the signory of Venice to place a good guard on the frontiers, so as to prevent the inhibition brief from reaching England, 161.

.... will not allow the notification of the brief advocation to be made to him, 214.

Henry VIII., king of England—*cont.*

........., ..., much less appear there within 40 days as summoned, 214, 224.

........., at Grafton, in Sept. 1529, 220–1.

........., residing at a manor so small and confined that his household had to lodge elsewhere, 222.

........., solicited by Chapuys to give help against the Turk, answers that his means are very small, 298.

........., at an audience given to Chapuys and Rosymboz, inveighs bitterly against the pope, the ecclesiastics, and the Roman court in general, 350.

........., disputes with Katharine at dinner on St. Andrew's day, 351.

........., ..., his arguments on both occasions, 350–1.

........., should the pope not grant his divorce he will denounce him as a heretic, and marry whomsoever he pleases, 352.

........., his love for Anne Boleyn on the increase, and his determination to divorce his queen equally strong, 370.

........., will marry her, whether the pope sanctions his divorce or not, 409.

........., about to send an embassy to the emperor at Bologna (Jan. 1530), 421.

........., in London (Jan. 1530) for five or six days, to attend to the deliberations of the privy council, 430.

........., complains to Chapuys of slandering reports being published about him at Rome and at the emperor's court, 464, 466.

........., staying at the More in Hertfordshire (March 1530), 486.

........., works strenuously for the dissolution of his marriage, 496.

.... again in London, accompanied by Anne Boleyn (9 May 1530), 530.

.... declares that Clement would gladly give one million of money to know his secret, 583.

........., writes to Clement, and complains that he has not answered his expectations, 588.

........., will not on any account allow the divorce suit to be tried at Rome, 586.

........., so bent on the divorce that he may any day with the help of Francis create great disturbance in Italy, 591.

........., does not seem to bear the queen any ill will, 600.

........., sends her a piece of cloth to make him shirts, 600.

........., ..., the bearer of which, a gentleman of his chamber, is abused by Anne Boleyn in the Royal presence, 600.

........., sends money to Venice to be remitted to the Florentines, but in reality to be spent in bribes for the divorce case, 680.

Henry VIII., king of England—*cont.*

........., obtains through bribery the seals of several universities in France and Italy, which makes him more intent than ever on the divorce, 689.

........., much given to hunting and field sports, frequently taking Anne Boleyn with him, 672, 710, 724 ; ii. 198.

........., quarrels with the French ambassadors in Sept. 1530, 711.

........., ..., the cause being his wish to have the duke of Orleans in London as security for his father's engagements, 712.

........., to which proposal the ambassadors will not agree, 712.

........., rejects the nuncio's offers concerning the divorce suit, 719.

........., ..., will not agree to its being tried elsewhere than in England, though he asked at one time that it should be advoked to Cambray, 237.

........., asked by the papal nuncio and imperial ambassadors to help against the Turk, 718.

........., ..., his evasive answers.

........., abuses Clement in the presence of his nuncio, and tells the latter that the Church needs a thorough reformation, 722.

........., tells Borgho that he is only waiting for an answer from Rome, to have the divorce suit settled by parliament, 724.

........., not favourable to the meeting of the council, 734.

........., tells the papal nuncio (Oct. 1530) that should Clement not behave better towards him, he will take up pen and show to the world that the pope has no greater authority than Moses had, 759.

........., writes to Clement promising not to proceed to the divorce until after Jan. 1531, (Oct. 1530), 779.

........., in London (Nov. 1530), 797.

........., not favourable to the meeting of a general council for two reasons among others, 802.

........., ..., will oppose it as long as he can, 802.

........., accuses Chapuys of contributing by false reports to embitter his case at Rome, 803.

........., ..., and says to him that the imperial ambassadors, both in Italy and in France, deserve a reprimand from the emperor, 803.

........., uneasy at hearing that the emperor is approaching Flanders, gives orders for the frontiers to be placed in a state of defence, and sends artillery to Calais (Dec. 1530), 848.

........., promises his help to France, and proposes a defensive and offensive alliance against Charles, 818.

Henry VIII., king of England—*cont.*
........., bent upon carrying on his marriage (Dec. 1530), 852.
........., his letter to the pope read in consistory, ii. 8.
........., ..., considered highly irreverent and insolent, ii. 9, 267, 281.
........., ..., answered, ii. 9, 18–19, 801.
........., dining with Katharine at Greenwich (Jan. 1531), ii. 12.
........., reported to have quarrelled with Anne Boleyn, owing to her ill-using a gentleman of his household, ii. 33.
........., ..., and to have, with tears in his eyes, solicited her relations to interfere, ii 35, 37.
........., intelligence received from Rome in Jan. 1531 has such an effect upon, that according to a gentleman of his privy chamber, he passes sleepless nights, ii. 28.
........., ..., and decides on the dissolution of his marriage anyhow, ii. 34–5.
........., intends appealing to the future council before sentence is pronounced, ii. 47.
........., complains bitterly of the inhibition brief, and writes to Francis to intercede for him, ii. 49.
........., assumes the sovereignty of the Church in England, ii. 71.
........., ..., in Parliament (March 1531), ii. 79.
........., grants Borgho an audience, ii. 97–8.
........., insists upon the cause being tried at Cambray by impartial judges, ii. 177.
........., comes to London incognito (June 1531), ii. 198.
........., sends Gioachino with a mission to France, *ibid.*
........., his answer to Borgho on the three points forwarded by Clement, ii. 320.
........., gives Katharine the choice of three places to retire to, ii. 363.
........., on his way to the northern counties to hunt, returns suddenly to London (July 1532), ii. 487.
........., among the causes assigned for his return one is that Anne Boleyn was insulted by women at her passage through certain towns on the road, *ibid.*
........., declares in public his determination to marry Anne Boleyn with the greatest possible solemnity and pomp, and orders Talbot to prepare everything for the ceremony (July 1532), ii. 489.
........., ..., which is to take place before St. John's Day, ii. 633.
........., ..., at Dover (Nov. 1532), ii. 556.
........., in closer relation with his parliament than he ever was, ii. 564.
........., showing repentance at his separation from Katharine, ii. 578.
........., ..., principally owing to the expense of keeping so many establishments, ii. 579.

Henry VIII., king of England—*cont.*
........., ..., said to have secretly married Anne Boleyn in the presence of her father, mother, and two intimate female friends of her, Feb. 1533, ii. 609.
........., and with more solemnity on the 28th of May 1533, ii. 661, 663.
........., ..., immediately on the arrival of the Canterbury bulls (26 March 1533), prepares to marry, ii. 625.
........., sends message to Katharine not to return to him, for he has taken another wife (Apr. 1529), ii. 629.
........., his books in defence of papal authority adduced as arguments by Borgho, and his reply, ii. 626, 629, 638.
........., about to forbid, under pain of death, any speaking in private or preaching in favour of the queen, ii. 632.
........., ..., proclamation issued to that effect, ii. 686.
........., to be summoned at his own request by the archbishop of Canterbury's court as having two wives, and without sending for Katharine, have the dissolution of his former marriage declared (Apr. 1533), ii. 644.
........., ..., his marriage officially announced to Chapuys, ii. 732.
........., apologetical note of his conduct in the divorce presented to Charles by the English ambassador, ii. 800.
........., ..., a copy of which is forwarded by Charles to Clement for inspection, ii. 801.
........., declaratory clause appended to the brief excommunicating all his councillors and ministers as well as Anne Boleyn, ii. 837.
........., said to be more fond of Anne than ever (Nov. 1533), ii. 842.
........., no human power will prevail on him to obey the papal sentence, ii. 865.
........., frequently indulging in threatening language, and abuse of Clement, ii. 912.
.... letter to the pope, 526.
........., ..., to the emperor, 171, 188, 200, 222–3, 225, 248.
........., ... to Margaret of the Low Counties, 25.
Herasmo (Erasmus), merchant residing in London, 329.
Hernandez, Fr. Diego, Katharine's confessor and chancellor, 885.
........., Pero, 601.
Hertford Castle, Katharine at (11 Nov. 1532), ii. 454.
Hervey (Harvey), Sir Nicholas, English ambassador to the court of Charles, 532, 586.
........., ..., well acquainted with the French and Flemish languages, a man of great integrity, but a strong partisan of Anne Boleyn, 586.

Hervey (Harvey), Sir Nicholas—*cont.*

........., recalled, and replaced by Hacquet (Feb. 1531).

........., ..., his wife, a widow of Sir Richard Wingfield, 586, 593.

Herwrardt (?), Christofle, a citizen of Augsburg, 797.

Hesdin (dep. Pas de Calais), retained by Francis, 41, 312, 333.

...., restored to the emperor, 379, 405, 426.

........., Mr. de, *v.* Ostin.

Hesse, landgrave of, *v.* Philip.

Hessian, one, a servant of the landgrave, sees the emperor at Barcelona, ii. 322.

........., ..., and comes to London on a mission (Dec. 1531), *ibid.*

Hewett, Andrew, a London tailor, burnt as heretic (July 1533), ii. 996.

Heyne, Dr., his compilation of Loaysa's letters, quoted, ii. 284 *note*, 847 *note*.

Hieronimo, Jacomo, the pope's chamberlain, 640.

Hincht, Dr., *v.* Knight.

Hispello *v.* Spelle.

Hoghstrate, Hoochstraten, count of, *v.* La Laing.

Hohenasperg (Hohendsperg), castle of, in Würtenberg, ii. 157.

Hold (Gold ?), Henry, priest ; executed (Apr. 1533), ii. 866, 1000.

Holstein, duke of, *v.* Frederic.

Holland, Bess ?, maid of honour to queen Anne Boleyn ; Norfolk's relations with, ii. 814.

Hollanders, the fleet of the, puts to sea (Sept. 1533), ii. 797–7, 997.

........., ..., to be attacked by the Lubeckians, ii. 877.

Holy Land, an expedition to the, suggested by Henry as the most efficient way of making war on the Turk, ii. 14.

Horn, count, sums paid to, on the emperor's account, 186.

Horraix (?), *v.* Rœulx and Croy.

Horrelo (?), Guido, factor or agent of the Fuggers in Spain, 742.

Horse, master of the, or grand squire, to Henry, ii. 528 ; *v.* Carew.

........., ..., to Charles, *v.* Henin and Montfort.

Horses, two fine, presented to Francis by king Henry, 762.

Hostages for Francis' ransom in Spain, 594, 613, 615 ; *v.* Valois.

Hostia, *v.* Ostia.

Howard, Dorothy, wife of the earl of Derby, 477.

........., Elizabeth, wife of the earl of Wiltshire, and mother of Anne Boleyn, ii. 609.

........., Sir Thomas, third duke of Norfolk introduces Le Sauch to cardinal Wolsey, 57.

Howard, Sir Thomas, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., of Henry's privy council, 92.

........., ..., and in favour with him, 195.

........., ..., if lady Anne Boleyn chooses he will soon succeed the cardinal in the government, *ibid.*

........., ..., not at court on Chapuys' arrival, 238.

........., ..., both meet in the council room on the 6th of October 1529, and have a conversation on the divorce and other matters, 275.

........., ..., visited by Chapuys at his London residence, 292–6.

........., ..., bribery of, attempted by Chapuys, and offer to help to the marriage of his son (Henry) to princess Mary, 367–8.

........., ..., represented by Chapuys as the most powerful and influential man in England (Jan. 1530), and most desirous of doing service to the emperor, 416, 428, 430.

........., ..., proposed mission of, to Bologna in Jan. 1531, 422, 424–5.

........., ..., the earl of Wiltshire sent instead of him on the plea that he is better acquainted with French and Latin, 422.

........., ..., the cardinal's bitter enemy, and doing all he can to ruin him, 449.

........., ..., to be president of the privy council, 452.

........., ..., in such favour with the king that nothing is done without him, 460.

........., ..., very kind and attentive towards the imperial ambassadors, whom he introduces to his duchess and daughters, 460.

........., ..., boasts of having obtained Wolsey's pardon, but will do everything in his power to keep him out of court, 469.

........., ..., tells the nuncio (Borgho) that he has always stood and will in future stand, by the clergy, and obey the holy apostolic see, 719.

........., ..., his conversation with that ecclesiastic on the choice of impartial judges to try the king's divorce suit out of Rome, 724–5.

........., ..., applies for papal dispensation for a marriage between one of his sisters and the earl of Stanley, formerly married to his daughter, 762.

........., ..., (31 Oct. 1530) tells Chapuys that to remove suspicion of his wishing to marry his son (Henry) to the princess (Mary), he is about to marry him to another lady, 790.

........., ..., at the head of the deputation sent by Henry to Katharine in Jan. 1531, to induce her to consent to the suspension of the proceedings at Rome, and trial of the suit by impartial judges at Cambray, ii. 177.

Howard, Sir Thomas, &c.—*cont.*

………, ……, preparing to accompany the king to Calais (Oct. 1532), ii. 253, 523.

………, ……, supposed by Chapuys to be really aiming at a marriage between the princess and his son, the earl of Surrey, ii. 362.

………, ……, ……, though his wish to secure the emperor's favour, and fear of Anne Boleyn having male children, deter him from his projects, *ibid.*

………, ……, bold declaration made by, to Chapuys in June 1532, concerning Katharine's daughter (Mary), ii. 476.

………, ……, arrives in London from the country (22 Aug. 1532), to accompany Henry to Calais, ii. 495.

………, ……, tells the papal nuncio (Borgho) that nothing is yet decided about the interview of the two kings, and that if Henry goes to Calais it is merely to inspect the fortifications, &c., ii. 496.

………, ……, ……, which statement is fully confirmed by Dr. Sampson to Chapuys, *ibid.*

………, ……, with Suffolk, Dorset, and Oxford on a deputation to queen Katharine (in April 1533), ii. 629, 635.

………, ……, getting all things ready to go to France as ambassador, ii. 647.

………, ……, his journey to France determined upon by Clement's proposed interview with Francis at Nice, ii. 674.

………, ……, ……, and therefore postponed until the place and time of meeting be fixed, ii. 680.

………, ……, tells Chapuys that he himself was not the originator nor the promoter of the King's second marriage, ii. 699.

………, ……, ……, and that had he and the earl of Wiltshire not opposed it, it would have taken place in 1532, *ibid.*

………, ……, leaves for France (28 May 1533), ii. 700.

………, ……, daughter of, to be married to the duke of Richmond, ii. 787.

………, ……, said to have been coldly received by the Parisians, ii. 742.

………, ……, recalled from France, returns, (2 Sept. 1533), ii. 787.

………, ……, accused by Anne Boleyn of too much familiarity, ii. 794.

………, ……, to be replaced by Gardiner at the conferences of Marseilles, ii. 817.

………, ……, signifies to Mary that her father's pleasure is that she should attend court, and enter Elizabeth's service (Dec. 1533), ii. 881.

………, ……, conferences (in Sept. 1533), ii. 786, 796–8.

………, ……, ……, with the papal nuncio (Borgho), 367, 434–5, 460–61, 463, 504, 508, 513–15, 626–8, 672–3, 819, 832–3, ii. 2, 12, 14, 16, 27–8, 198–9, 200, 625–9, 631, 635, 735.

Howard, Sir Thomas, &c.—*cont.*

………, ……, ….. , with Chapuys, 293–6, 303, 326, 331, 339, 342, 347, 350, 355, 360, 409, 417, 427, 449–52, 466–7, 469, 672–3, 788–9 ; ii. 22, 258, 928–9, 930–3.

………, Henry, earl of Surrey, son of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk ; his marriage to the Princess Mary spoken of (October 1529), 279, 368, 711, 721 ; ii. 735.

………, ……, ……, which project Chapuys offers to favour that he may gain the duke over to his views, 360, 362, 366, 368.

………, ……, betrothed to the daughter of an English nobleman, though not in a condition to marry for the next three years, ii. 428.

………, ……, the lady neither rich nor of desirable alliance, the marriage being promoted by Anne Boleyn lest he should aim at the hand of princess Mary, *ibid.*

Howard (Dorothy), daughter of the duke, married to the earl of Stanley, death of, 477.

Hoyos, Anton, *v.* bishop of Gurk (1533–51),

Huesca, in Aragon, bishop of, *v.* Urrias and Campeggio.

………, bishopric of, disputed, 119, 172, 866 ; ii. 999.

Humières, sieur de, *v.* Brinon.

Hungary threatened by the Turks, 15, 100, 260.

………, crusade against the Turk in, to be instituted, 67.

………, invaded and almost entirely subdued, 282, 307, 412, 425.

………, gallant defence of some of the towns in, 379.

………, the Spaniards under Vasto to go to, 679.

………, ……, as well as the pope's levies under cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, ii. 505.

………, overrun by Zapolsky, 798.

………, affairs of, discussed between Henry and Chapuys, ii. 13.

………, Henry suggests that instead of making war against the Turk, Charles and his brother Ferdinand had better attack him in the Holy Land, ii. 14.

………, again invaded by the Turk, ii. 89, 158.

………, news letters from, 99.

………, kings of, *v.* Ferdinand ; Ladislas (1490–1516) ; Louis (1516–26).

………, usurper of, the vayvod of Transylvania, *v.* Zapolsky.

Hungarian bishops favouring the cause of the vayvod, to be proceeded against in the pope's name, 636.

……… ….. , commission for the prosecution of the, given to Campeggio, 636.

Hungarian horse, to be enlisted on Clement's account for the Turkish campaign in 1532, ii. 468, 505.

Hunting-parties in England; Henry's, 772; ii. 72, 581.

........., ..., attended by Anne Boleyn, ii. 212.

........., ..., Chapuys and Le Sauche, invited to, ii. 758.

Hurtado, Diego, 183 *note.*

........., Lope, imperial ambassador in Portugal, ii. 483.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 435, 1037.

........., ..., to, from Granvelle, 1038.

.... de Mendoza, D. Diego, count of Saldaña, 116.

Huynt-filz, *v.* Wingfield.

I.

Ibráhim Bey and Pashá, Turkish general, 481, 657, 731, 830.

........., ..., report of his defeat in Transylvania (1529), 176.

........., ..., in command of the Turkish forces, ii. 91, 324, 333, 434.

........., ..., in Venice on a mission, ii. 572.

........., ..., going to Alexandria, ii. 908.

Iceland, English ships sent to the fisheries in, ii. 704.

Idiaquez, Alonso de, imperial secretary, *Int.* xv.; 170; ii. 919 *note.*

........., ..., his marginal notes in some Roman despatches, 710.

........., ... report of, on a letter of Ferdinand to Charles, 114.

........., ..., handwriting of, ii. 66, 432, 785, 912.

........., ..., imperial letters countersigned by, 682.

Illescas, town of, New Castille; conversation between Francis and Charles on the road to, in 1526, ii. 845.

........., Gonzalo de, writes against the divorce, *Int.* xxv.

Imola, leg. Ravenna, ii. 561.

Imperiale Cesaro, 635.

Indies, patriarch of the, *v.* Merino.

Indulto Quadragesimal, or Lenten indulgence, solicited at Rome, 18, 142, 185.

........., obtained, ii. 829, 888.

Infante, meaning of the word, 464.

Infantry, Spanish, before Florence entirely destitute, without money or provisions, 318.

Infantry, Spanish—*cont.*

........., ..., in Naples, mutiny, 318.

........., ..., about to escort the emperor to Germany desert in great numbers, to be present at the sack of Florence, 478–9, 415, 485, 495, 509, 519, 524–5.

........., ..., mutiny at Bologna for want of pay, 496.

........., ..., ..., again in Naples on the same excuse, 700.

........., ..., ..., dismissed at Florence, threaten mutiny, 524–5.

........., ..., ..., a most undisciplined set, 839.

........., ..., in the Sienese, burn a town and commit all manner of excesses, 871.

........., ..., quartered in the lands of the Church, ii. 46.

........., ..., to be sent elsewhere and new quarters provided for them, ii. 119.

........., ..., going from Spain to Flanders, ii. 183, 197, 627, 785.

........., ..., ..., alarm produced in London by the news, ii. 785.

........., Italian, have not the endurance of Spaniards, and if not paid their monthly stipend regularly, are sure to go over to the enemy, 318.

........., ..., desert the very day of the emperor's departure from Bologna, 485.

........., ..., the emperor's pay, and going to Hungary, 750, 756, 758, 765.

........., German, *v.* Lanskenets.

Ingelburge of Denmark, wife of Philippe Auguste, king of France; repudiated, ii. 687, 812 *note.*

Ingratitude, Henry complains to Chapuys of the emperor's, and of his having taken up the cause of his aunt (Katharine) with more zeal than that of his own sister (Isabella), the queen of Denmark, 506.

........., ..., Chapuys' sharp answer to the accusation, 506; ii. 817–8.

Inhibition brief; a second, forbidding all ecclesiastical and civil courts in England to take cognizance of the divorce case, applied for by the imperial ambassadors, ii. 7.

........., to be intimated at Bruges or Dunkirk, 9.

........., ..., as well as in England, *ibid.*

........., six copies of the original, sent to London by different routes, 159, 161, 181, 214.

........., ..., one of which reaches Trent, 171, 175, 181.

........., ..., modification of, solicited by the English ambassadors, 181.

........., ..., and is forwarded to Katharine to make use of it in London, 270.

Inhibition brief notified individually to Wolsey and Campeggio, 215, 218.

………, ……, and personally to the former cardinal, 237.

………, executed in Flanders, 253, 258.

………, a more general and binding one applied for by the imperialists, 257, 751.

………, ……, enjoining Henry not to contract a second marriage, 791.

………, ……, and to separate from Anne Boleyn, ii. 844.

………, the French ambassador at Rome pretending that it ought not to have been executed without previous notice to his master, ii. 49, 50.

Inquisition, the, and the Granadine Moors, ii. 849.

Innsbruck, capital of Tyrol, 56, 457, 465; ii. 89.

………, reichstadt or regiment of, 519–20.

………, Ferdinand and Charles meet at, 528.

………, letters dated at, 298-9, 328–9.

Insola, Stephano della, Italian captain, ambassador to Rome from the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, to command a body of troops in help of the Swiss Catholics, 308–9, 311–13, 325, 442, 469.

………, ……, brother of (Battista ?), ii. 231, 467, 662.

Interviews proposed or effected:

………, of the pope, the emperor, and king Francis at Thuringhen in 1529, 389.

………, of the emperor, his brother Ferdinand, Francis I., and pope Clement talked of, 681.

………, in Flanders, not in Italy, as the French propose, 681.

………, of Henry and Francis at Calais and Boulogne first talked of, ii. 487, 494.

………, ……, for the purpose, as it is said, of devising means against the Turk, ii. 517, 524, 530, 533, 565, 583.

………, ……, effected, ii. 554–5.

………, between the emperor and Henry proposed by the papal nuncio (Borgho) in Sept. 1530, all proceedings in the divorce suit to be suspended in the meantime, 725.

………, another between Francis and the emperor in some town of Flanders, proposed by the former, 817; ii. 246.

………, ……, accepted by Charles on condition that no modification of the treaties of Madrid and Cambray will be discussed thereat, ii. 246, 249.

………, one of the emperor and king of France, which Henry might also attend, to discuss the matter of the divorce, proposed by Mai, 1531, ii. 9.

………, ……, on no account to be held without the emperor letting Clement know first, ii. 57.

………, a rumour afloat in April 1531 that Clement is to meet soon the emperor and Francis at Milan or at Nizza (Nice), ii. 119, 123.

Interviews—*cont.*

… ……, two proposed by cardinal Grammont in June 1531; one between Clement and Francis, another between them and the emperor, ii. 188.

………, another in Genoa or Bologna proposed by Clement to Charles in July 1531, ii. 204.

………, ……, if accepted king Francis might be persuaded to come as far as Nice, *ibid.*

………, of Francis and the Emperor in some town in Picardy, in 1531, ii. 258.

………, ……, said to have been proposed by the former and not accepted, ii. 249.

……… of Clement and Francis at Nice, ii. 686, 733, 742.

………, ……, which Henry highly disapproves of, ii. 742.

………, ……, said to have no other object than the marriage alliance, 742.

………, ……, no longer to be held at Nice owing to certain difficulties, but at Marseilles, ii. 743.

………, ……, should Norfolk be invited to, every effort to be made to prevent his going, ii. 755.

………, ……, effected (Oct. Nov. 1533), ii. 826, 835, 844, 852.

………, between Eleanor and Mary, the emperor's sisters, proposed, ii. 246.

Ireland, Fernandez' mission to, in 1529, 51–54.

………, several vessels being chartered, and 500 men raised to go to, under the command of the earl of Kildare, 536.

………, English forces in (1530), 820.

………, collectorship of, given by Clement to one of his bishops in Jan. 1531, ii. 74.

………, troops from, said to have joined the Scottish army on the borders in Sept. 1531, ii. 206.

………, lieutenant-governor of, *v.* Kildare.

Irish (wild), make incursions upon the lands of the royalists, ii. 237.

Isaba, name of a parish in Pamplona, ii. 744.

Isabella (Isabel), of Castile, the Catholic, wife of Ferdinand, king of Aragon, d. 1505; alluded, 634.

………, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, marries Alfonso, son of João II., king of Portugal, ii. 10 *note.*

………, a widow, eight months after becomes the wife of don Manuel, first cousin of Alfonso, 558, 662.

………, the emperor's sister, daughter of Philip and Joanna, and wife of Frederic, king of Denmark, d. 1528, 334, 506, 795.

………, the empress, daughter of Don Manuel, king of Portugal, 18, 627, 654.

………, rumours current in London of a powerful fleet being prepared in Spain to convey her to Flanders, 627.

Isabella, of Portugal, &c.—*cont.*

........, ..., the administration of the military orders entrusted by papal bulls to, 77, 160.

........, ..., left to govern Spain during Charles' absence, 396.

........, ..., with a council presided over by Tavera, 337.

........, requested to write a letter in favour of Katharine, 352.

........, the Castilian noblemen discontented with her government, ii. 396, 551, 597.

........, ..., receives Salinas at Madrid, ii. 713.

........, ..., dangerously ill in the spring of 1532, ii. 743, 779.

........, ..., recovers, and enters Monçon, ii. 790, 816.

........, ..., letters to the emperor, 592.

........, ..., ..., to Cobos, 244.

........, ..., ..., to Mendoza, 254.

........, ..., ..., from abbot Llor, 602, 616, 618, 624.

........, ..., ..., Dr. Ortiz, 616.

........, of Naples, *v.* Aragon.

........, widow of Luigi Gonzaga Rodomonte, 850; *v.* Colonna.

Ischia, 705; ii. 232, 989.

Isola, Stephano da, *v.* Insola, 308–9, 311–13, 325.

Istria, the inhabitants of, to be allowed the same privileges as those of Friul, 489.

........, Alfonso d'Este at, ii. 521.

Italian powers, the emperor's idea of the, and their polities, 404–5.

.... captain, (a Neapolitan?), in the suite of Camillo Orsino, ii. 445, 448.

........, ..., betrays him, and spies his movements, which he reports to Chapuys, ii. 451, 453.

........, ..., very fond of novelty, 187.

........, several, in Henry's service, ii. 705.

.... infantry, 318, 485, 511.

Italy alarmed at the reported alliance between the pope and the emperor, 16, 22.

........, Charles' journey to, in 1529, decided upon, 38, 137, 147.

........, reasons for it explained in a letter to his brother Ferdinand, 401, 404–5, 407.

.... in peace, 839.

........, the emperor's return to, in 1531, a necessity, ii. 16, 137, 147, 512.

........, ..., again visited in 1532–3, 563, 580.

........, an interview between the emperor, the king of France, and the pope proposed at a town of, 675.

........, all French intrigues directed towards getting a footing in, ii. 180.

...... ,, in danger of an invasion from the Turk, ii. 332.

Iviça, one of the Balearic islands, sea fight with the Moors at, 635.

........, Doria's galleys at, 684.

J.

Jabarino, Javarino, Javarin, town of Hungary, also called Raab, 203.

Jaen, kingdom of, in Andalusia, *Int.* xvi.

........, bishop of, *v.* Merino.

Jaime, Diego, *v.* Haro.

Jale, his "Glossaire Nautique" quoted, ii. 323 *note.*

James, V., king of Scotland, a marriage between, and the dowager queen of Hungary proposed, 98.

........, with Caterina de' Medici, 757.

........, sends a gentleman of his chamber to Henry to explain the reason of his collecting a force on the borders, 618.

........, ..., his secretary (Erskine?) to Rome (Mar. 1531), ii. 85.

........, ..., and proposes a defensive alliance with Charles, ii. 86.

........, and to marry his daughter Margaret or his sister Mary, the dowager queen of Hungary, *ibid.*

........, letters of, to Clement read in consistory, ii. 93.

........, desirous of accepting a wife from the emperor's hands, a daughter or a niece (Apr. 1531), ii. 102, 115.

........, ..., or the daughter of Christiern of Denmark, ii. 908.

........, sends (Erskine) to Rome for that purpose, ii. 115.

........, orders a general levy throughout his kingdom, and prepares for war, ii. 256.

........, 20,000 men said to have crossed the borders, as well as a number of Irishmen, *ibid.*

........, Henry wishing to favour the earl of Angus against, ii. 488, 872.

........, ordinance promulgated by, ii. 527.

........, wishing for a short truce that he may in the meantime attend to some marriage alliance abroad, ii. 787.

........, personal qualities of, as represented by the French ambassador (Beauvois?), ii. 752–3,

........, ii. 561, 582, 627, 820.

Janissaries, Turkish, ii. 333.

Janux (?), ii. 346, 992.

Jassa, Jassia, *v.* Hesse.

Jayme de Haro, Diego, imperial agent at Ostia, 64, 119; *v.* Haro.

Jayre-d-din, surname of a celebrated Turkish corsair, 321 *note.*

Jean, *v.* John.

Jeweller and silversmith to Henry, and to Anne Boleyn also, ii. 688.

Jewels pawned by emperor Maximilian, Charles's grandfather, 276–7, 301, 312, 370.

........., a lapidary sent from Flanders to inspect the, and principally the "fleur de lis," 452, 461, 465.

........., Katharine's, to be worn by Anne Boleyn at the Calais interview, ii. 254, 524.

Jews in Venice and in Bologna consulted by Stokesley on the divorce case, 61, 552, 869.

........., one in Rome, to be brought over to England, 761 ; ii. 535.

........., one among the Roman, compelled to marry his brother's widow, 739.

........., Turkish corsair, also called Cachadiablo, *q. v.*

Joachin, Joaquin, a German captain, sent to Rome for the purpose of watching the ambassador of the vayvod, 599, 603, 733.

Joanna the Crazy, mother of Charles the emperor, 409, 638, 881, 905.

oão II. king of Portugal, ii. 10.

.... III., of Portugal, son of king Emanuel (1521–57), 41, 401, 544, 869 ; ii. 957.

........., ..., persecutes Lutherans in his dominions, 728 ; ii. 657.

........., ..., to contribute with a sum of money towards the expenses of the Turkish war, ii. 675.

........., ..., letters to Charles, 647.

Jocquin, Jean, *v.* Gioachino.

John, king of Hungary, 859 *note.*

.... III., duke of Juliers and Clèves, ii. 476 *note.*

John Frederic, of the Ernestine line, duke of Saxony (1532–48), 305, 452.

........., (Juan) II., of Castille, 883.

........., king of France, 631.

Jorge, Fr. Francisco, a friar of Venice, gives opinion in favour of the divorce, 867 *note. See also* Zorzi.

Jovenazzo taken by the Venetians, 163, 178.

........., surrendered to the imperialists, 363.

Jovino Micer Giovan Francesco, agent of the marchioness of Monferrato in Spain, 678.

Jovio, Paolo, historian, bishop of Nocera, living in Clement's palace, 43.

........., ..., quoted, 321 *note*, 867 ; ii. 455 *note.*

........., ..., recommended to the emperor, 870.

Joya, estate called, in the kingdom of Naples, to be granted to Montbardon of Charles's Chamber, ii. 395.

Juan (John), son of Charles V., 387 *note.*

Jubilee, general, promulgated at Rome (16 June 1532), ii. 460.

Juliers, Julliers, duchy of, in Germany, ii. 322.

Julius II., pope, had no faculty to dispense for the marriage of Katharine to Henry, 53, 57.

Julius II., pope—*cont.*

...., ..., the dispensation brief of, declared by the English ambassadors at Rome to be a forgery, 2, 9, 11, 421 *note.*

........., ..., the Paduan university likely to declare against it, 698, 742.

........., ... alluded, 807, 881 ; ii. 637.

K.

Karne, Dr., sent to Rome as Henry's excusator, ii. 50, 53, 60.

........., his application rejected, ii. 53, 60, 87, 93, 97, 124, 260, 276, 293, 320, 326–7, 335, 352, 360, 489, 737–40.

........., Clement's excuses respecting its rejection, ii. 97.

........., protests and appeals to Rome, 133.

........., appeal of, to the consistory, not taken into consideration, ii. 703.

Katharine, queen of England, 223–5, 226–9, 291–4, 398, 433, 436–7, 440, 447, 452, 465, 478–9, 484–6, 489, 505, 511, 538, 540, 551, 563, 572, 578–9, 581, 586–7, 598–9, 601, 605, 607, 619, 629, 640, 727, 735, 785, 788, 795–6, 799, 800, 830, 833, 850, 852–3 ; ii. 16–8, 23–5, 59, 63, 70–4, 82.

........., sends her powers to Santa Croce and Mai to represent her, 181.

........., sends her physician (Victoria) to Chapuys, 220, 234, 236–7.

........., at Grafton with the king, 232, 253.

........., receives Chapuys, *ibid.*

........., frightened at the announcement that parliament is soon to meet, 235.

........., objects to the advocation brief being executed in Flanders, 252.

........., writes to Madame and to Don Iñigo [de Mendoza] about it, 252.

........., ..., to the emperor and to Mai, *ibid.*

........., her councillors are of opinion that the inhibition brief is not general enough, 257.

........., ..., and that another more binding should be procured from Rome, *ibid.*

........., ..., which advice Chapuys does not consider good, *ibid.*

........., a gentleman of her household brings her a copy of the inhibition brief, 270.

........., almost persuaded to desist, her councillors giving her to understand that she had better wait until the emperor's arrival in Italy, 274.

........., in great perplexity, places herself entirely in the emperor's hands, 274.

Katharine, queen of England—*cont.*
........., ..., insists upon the advocation of the suit to Rome, *ibid.*
........., reports conversation with Henry, 275.
........., at Greenwich with Henry, but to be removed to Richmond on account of the plague (Nov. 1529), 327.
........., sends two members of her council to Chapuys with a paper written in her defence, 327.
........., dining with Henry on St. Andrew's day (20 Nov. 1529), 351.
........., ..., complains of the manner in which she is treated, *ibid.*
........., ..., the king's answer to, *ibid.*
........., forbidden to write or send messages to her husband, 353, 369; ii. 65.
........., thinking and planning how the imperial ambassador Chapuys can go to her apartments without being noticed, 362.
........., in constant communication with Chapuys, who forwards her letters to Clement and Charles, 327, 689; ii. 3, 8, 10, 69, 352, 363, 689, 839–40.
........., said to have agreed to a separation, 499, 501.
........., Henry's indifference and neglect of, rapidly increasing in proportion to his passionate attachment to Anne Boleyn (Dec. 1529), 365.
........., loses all hope of gaining his affection, 385.
........., writes to her nephew the emperor, 386.
........., anonymous letter in Spanish addressed to, through her physician, 392.
........., sends for Chapuys and gives him a letter for the emperor, 419.
........., at Greenwich (Jan. 1530), 430.
........., removed to Windsor (Feb. 1530), 468.
........., at Richmond with her daughter, the princess, in May, 532.
........., attending Henry's hunting parties (July), 634.
........., applies urgently for the second inhibition brief, which is at last obtained, 673.
........., ..., intends intimating it to the king, but refrains out of love and reverence for him, *ibid.*
........., deeds and papers respecting her former marriage to prince Arthur urgently applied for by Mai, and forwarded to Rome from Spain, list of them, 674.
........., in bad health, and suffering from fever, 707, 710.
........., no one allowed to visit her, 710.
........., terribly frightened at the bill against papal supremacy in England, 736.
........., writes to congratulate queen Eleanor on her marriage and coronation, and at the same time asks for help and assistance, 745.

Katharine, queen of England—*cont.*
........., almost on the brink of despair, 760.
........., her yearly allowance to be reduced, 786.
........., much concerned at hearing of the suspension of the proceedings at Rome, and new delay granted by Clement (Nov. 1530), 805.
........., writes to Clement, 818.
........., (Oct. 1530), no change yet made in her yearly allowance, 820.
........., urges for the papal sentence, and the settlement of the main cause, *ibid.*
........., prompt action recommended by Fisher, 821.
........., applies to Rome for an injunction for Henry not to marry whilst the suit is pending at the rota, 850, 853.
........., writes another urgent letter to the pope on the subject (Dec. 1530), 857.
........., and to the emperor her nephew, *ibid.*
........., should her case come before parliament at its next sitting, appeals and protests to be made by Chapuys (Jan. 1531), ii. 16.
........., her proctor exiled from London that he may not appear before parliament, ii. 16.
........., her councillors to dissuade her from having the inhibition brief executed, ii. 44.
........., disagreeably surprised at hearing of the little progress of her suit at Rome, ii. 69.
........., remissory letters to examine witnesses in Spain applied for, and obtained, ii. 87, 90, 115, 117.
........., writes to the pope, and begs him to pronounce sentence, ii. 113.
........., if required, she is ready to go before parliament, and shew the justice of her case, *ibid.*
........., dining with Henry at Greenwich (Apr. 1531), ii. 114.
........., her conversation with him on the occasion, ii. 153.
........., foolish in rejecting Henry's proposition (said the duke of Norfolk), ii. 200.
........., ordered to remain at Windsor whilst Henry is hunting, ii. 212, 335.
........., applications made for her jewels for Anne to wear at Calais, ii. 254, 524.
........., ..., which she reluctantly lends, and never gets back again, *ibid.*
........., her cause at Rome to be proceeded with without further delay, ii. 266.
........., at the More in Hertfordshire (Aug. to Dec. 1531), ii. 228, 273, 277, 332, 348, 353.
........., at Bugden (22 Nov. 1531), ii. 292.
........., at a house 20 miles from London, ii. 343–5.
........., separated from her husband, ii. 344–5.

Katharine, queen of England—*cont.*
........., at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire (Apr. 1532), ii. 423.
........., living at a house of the bishop of Ely, ii. 497.
........., one of her chaplains (Abel) sent to the Tower for having written a book in her favour (Aug. 1532), ii. 487.
........., at Enfield, in Middlesex (Sept. 1532), ii. 510.
........., at Bishop's Hatfield ? (6 Nov. 1532), ii. 545.
........., much afraid of the king marrying Anne Boleyn during the Calais interview, ii. 527.
........., ..., but reassured on learning that she will not consent to the marriage unless it takes place in London, *ibid.*
........., at Hertford Castle in Nov. 1532, ii. 554.
........., rumours of a popular rising in her favour circulated at Rome (Nov. 1532), ii. 562.
........., pain of death to all those who will speak or write in her favour, ii. 632.
........., to be called in future "the old dowager princess," ii. 645.
........., no title yet given to her daughter the princess until Anne's confinement, *ibid.*
........., signs a protest which Chapuys prepares for her, ii. 647.
........., cited to appear at Dunstable before the archbishop of Canterbury's court, on the 1st of May, 1533, ii. 647.
........., by Chapuys' advice takes no notice whatever of the citation, ii. 666.
........., ..., at which the king is glad, as it will afford him an opportunity and an excuse to treat her more harshly, ii. 967.
........., her royal barge appropriated by Anne, ii. 693.
........., requested by her nephew, the emperor, not to leave England on any account, ii. 688.
........., a duplicate of Charles' instructions to his ambassadors at Rome given to, for perusal, ii. 715.
........., her yearly allowance not to be increased beyond what she was entitled to as widow of prince Arthur, ii. 721.
........., Chapuys' protest and letter to Henry discussed in the privy council, ii. 723.
........., about to remove by the king's commands to a house of the bishop of Lincoln, 20 miles from her own residence, the people of the neighbourhood congregate, and fill the air with their acclamations (July 1533), ii. 734.
........., ought to quit England if her life is to be preserved, ii. 736.
........., threatening message sent to, by Henry, ii. 737.
........., unless she complies with his wishes he will punish her as his subject, *ibid.*

Katharine, queen of England—*cont.*
........., ..., a deputation from the privy council informs, that Henry's divorce from her has been pronounced, and that she can no longer retain the title of queen, ii. 737.
........., ..., her courageous answer on the occasion, ii. 738.
........., ..., all officers and servants of her household summoned before Henry for the same purpose, ii. 739.
........., her household to be reconstituted, and 30,000 crs. a year assigned for her maintenance, ii. 777.
........., ..., at which arrangement she is highly discontented, ii. 778.
........., ..., declaring to Chapuys that she would rather die, or go out begging, than consent to it, *ibid.*
........., ..., advised to submit, and wait rather than proceed to extremities, *ibid.*
........., so surrounded by spies that she cannot write to the emperor, ii. 785.
........., some talk in Sept. 1533 of again reducing her allowance, ii. 786.
........., ..., and of parliament suppressing it altogether, *ibid.*
........., requested by Chapuys in the emperor's name to give opinion as to the execution of the sentence of excommunication against Henry (5 Oct. 1533), ii. 817.
........., answers indirectly that the Pope must needs do justice in her case, as she knows of no other remedy in her situation, ii. 820–1.
........., writes to Rome, urging for the papal sentence, ii. 820, 864.
........., ..., and recommending an extraordinary embassy from the emperor to Henry, ii. 820.
........., ..., as no preparation for war or gathering of troops against England will then be required, and Henry, she is sure, will listen to reason, *ibid.*
........., ..., an opinion, however, in which Chapuys does not share, knowing the king's obstinacy, ii. 865.
........., the mere offer of an apartment in the palace not likely to satisfy her, ii. 837, 847.
........., threatening message sent to, and to the princess, by Henry, ii. 840.
........., denies all complicity with the Nun of Kent, ii. 857.
........., requested by Chapuys to give opinion on the compromise proposed by Clement, ii. 859.
........., ..., refuses, and insists upon a final sentence in the suit, ii. 864.
........., to be removed to a house belonging to the bishop of London, ii. 877.
........., asked by a deputation of privy councillors and others to ratify Cranmer's sentence, and have that excommunication revoked, ii. 882.

Katharine, queen of England—*cont.*

........., ..., which she refuses, ii. 883.

........., to be taken by the king's order to a house surrounded by marshes, the most unsalubrious and pestilential residence in all England, ii. 892.

........., her household servants dismissed and replaced by men from the northern counties, more trained to war than to the uses of a court, *ibid.*

........., taken by sheer force to Somersham for greater security, ii. 893.

........., the duke of Suffolk's conduct on the occasion, ii. 894.

........., such are her affection and respect for Henry that she would consider herself doomed to everlasting perdition were she to recommend in her quarrels with him violent measures likely to lead to war, ii. 649.

........., when asked by Chapuys what she intends doing she persistently refuses to answer, *ibid.*

........., her council, composed of the bishops of London, Rochester, Bath, and St. Asaph, with Dr. Ridley and others, appointed by her and sanctioned by Henry, 255; ii. 272, 657.

........., ..., discuss the memorandum of doubtful points (*dudas*) sent from Spain, 690.

........., ..., not one of them, except Fisher, dares give counsel or mix himself up with her affairs, ii. 821.

........., her lawyers and proctors at Rome, 504, 682, 738; ii. 186.

........., ..., not paid for several months, ii. 733; *v.* Mai and Burgo.

........., her chamberlain, *v.* Mountjoy.

........., her chancellor, *v.* Vives.

........., secretary and clerk to her council, ii. 863.

........., her physician, *v.* Victoria.

........., grand squire, ii. 724.

........., chaplains, *v.* Abel.

........., almoner, ii. 672–3, 892; *v.* Ateca.

........., treasurer, ii. 763, 863.

........., apothecary, ii. 724.

........., groom of the stables, ii. 892.

........., ladies in waiting, *ibid.*

........., letters to the pope, 548, 682.

........., ..., to the emperor, 177, 192, 681, 772, 819, 860, 877, 994, 1027.

........., ..., to secretary Covos, 1022.

........., ..., to Dr. Ortiz, at Rome, 931.

Kechonitz (?), captain general of Croatia, apprehends two of Gritti's spies, ii. 853.

Kendal, a Breton, living near Bordeaux, once in the French service, 54.

Kerrigie (Kerrycurrihy), barony of, in the county of Cork.

Kildare, earl of, *v.* Fitz Gerald.

Kingston, Sir William, constable of the Tower.

........., Courtney Littleton, 185.

........., ..., takes charge of the cardinal's person, 833.

Kirwan (Curwin?), Dr., royal chaplain at Greenwich, ii. 428, 992.

Knight, Dr. William, on a mission to France, 106.

........., ..., one of the English commissioners of a new treaty of commerce with the Low Countries, ii. 931.

Knighthood to be conferred on certain members of Parliament (Oct. 1533), ii. 821

Knox, Rev. Father, quoted, ii. 983.

L.

La Barre, Jacques de, provost of Clermont, 622.

La Baume, Claude de, *Int.* viii.

........., Montrevol, Pierre, *v.* bishop of Geneva (1522–44), 110.

Labret, Labrit, Mons. de, *v.* Albret.

La Chaulx, Lachaux, *v.* Poupet.

La Corte, licte., Imperial agent at Rome; death of (Dec. 1530), 859.

Ladislas V., king of Hungary (1490–1516), 341; ii. 24, 597.

La Guiche *v.* Guiche.

Laibach, in Illyria, *v.* Vilaeh.

Lalaing, de, count of Hoghstrate, 37, 266.

Lalamant, Luigi Alamanni (?), 188 *note.*

Lallemand, Jean, the emperor's secretary till Dec. 1528, *Int.* xxvi.; 78, 100–1, 683, 780, 881 *note*; ii. 30, 78.

Lamberg (?), French ambassador to the Swiss, ii. 762 *note.*

Lambert, president, 110.

Lambeth, Sir Thomas More refuses to take his oath at, ii. 26.

La Minerva, church of, in Rome; procession in thanksgiving for the peace of Cambray, 149.

La Mirandola, castle of, taken by the count of La Concordia, ii. 849, 870.

........., count della, *v.* Pico.

Lançaroto (Lancelot?), 281.

Lancaster, duchy of, chancellor, *v.* Fitzwilliam and More.

........., house of, 368, 622; ii. 884 *note.*

Lanciano, in Sicily, 82; ii. 277.

Landa, *v.* Ochoa de.

........., Alonso de, clerk in the Spanish treasury, 746, 784.

Landriano, St. Pol's defeat at, alluded (June 1529), *Int.* xix.; 150 *note.*

Lang [von Wellenberg], Mathieu, bishop of Gurk, 1505–19; of Murcia (1521); archbishop of Salzburg (1514–1540), 397, 420, 568, 591.

Langeai, Langeais, Langeay, sieur de, *v.* Bellay.

Langeac, Jean, bishop of Avranches, French ambassador to Venice (1528–30), 553, 573–4.

........., ..., on a mission to the Swiss with money, (1531), ii. 201, 305, 492.

Languedoc, in France, German lanskenets destined for, 16.

Lanoi, Lanoy, Lannoy, Charles de, prince of Sulmona, viceroy of Naples, alluded, 130, 559.

........., Ercole, sieur de Mingoval, *v.* Mingoval.

........., ..., son of, ii. 470 *note*, 543.

Lanskenets in the French service, 16.

........., German, from the free towns, 14.

........., ..., to be paid up and dismissed, 519.

........., imperial, in Naples, wish to go home, 17.

........., ..., at Lintz, rise in mutiny, 315–6.

........., ..., at Bologna, receiving more pay than they are entitled to, 378.

Lanuza, Juan de, viceroy of Aragon, *Int.* xxii.; 185, 678, 881; ii. 10, 241.

Lanz, his "Correspondenz der Kayser Karl V." quoted, ii. 5, 6.

Lanzerant sent by France to Zurich, 441.

La Pola, on the coast of Istria, taken by the Turks (1530), 611.

La Pomeraie, *v.* Pommeraye.

La Pradella, one of the gates of Mantua, 481.

La Puebla, Dr., (Rodrigo?), 703.

Lara, D. Manrique de, duke of Najera, 733.

La Roche Guyon, in the Vexin (Normandy), one of the fiefs belonging to the connétable Bourbon, taken from his heirs, 824.

........., sur-Yon (Bourbon-Vendée), princess of, *v.* Bourbon Montpensier.

La Rosa, knight commander, 122.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 67.

Larrandoette, Jehan de, curate of St. Martin, 576.

La Saulx, Jean de, *v.* Le Sauch.

Lascki, Lasky, *v.* Lasco.

Lasco, Hieronimo, negociating with the Turk and vayvod in the archduke's interest, 481; ii. 103, 126–7, 464, 467, 991.

........., ..., discontented with the latter, and likely to return to Austria, ii. 127.

........., ..., in Rome, ii. 234.

........., ..., in Poland (Dec. 1531), ii. 346.

Lasso, D. Pedro, corregidor of Toledo during the wars of the Commons, *Int.* xii.

........., ..., chief equerry to king Ferdinand, 101, 770.

.... de Castilla, D. Diego, *Int.* xxxii.

........., ..., instructions of Ferdinand to, 21.

........., ..., wrongly calendered, ii. 955.

Latassa, his "Biblioteca de Escritores Aragoneses" quoted, 322 *note*.

Latin used by Chapuys in the king's privy council, owing to most of the councillors not understanding French, ii. 671.

La Tour d'Auvergne, Anne de, countess of Auvergne and Boulogne, duchess of Albany, ii. 981, 998.

........., Madeleine de, mother of Caterina de' Medici, 757 *note*, 848.

Lautree, Mons. de, *v.* Foix.

Laval, Mr. de, a gentleman from Britanny, at the French court, 108.

........., Guy XVI., sieur de, ii. 973.

La Valle, cardinal, 44, 67, 530, 585; ii. 887.

La Vallona, on the coast of Albania, ii. 333–4, *v.* Avlona.

Lavorgnano (?) *v.* Savorgnano.

Lavina, Fr. Francesco, a Franciscan friar of Padua, solicited by the English ambassadors in Venice to give opinion on the divorce, 526.

........., ..., advised by the bishop of Chieti not to mix himself up with the affair, 545–6, 548–9.

Lawyers, proctors, and advocates of Katharine at Rome, their fees unpaid, ii. 659, 717,

Laxao, *v.* La Chaulx.

League, Italian or Holy, against the emperor, ambassadors of, in Venice, 15, 19.

........., ..., Henry and Francis about to send money to the, 16.

........., ..., disconcerted, 25.

........., ..., Clement solicited to join the, 150.

........., ..., ..., which he refuses, declaring openly for the emperor, 150.

........., ..., said to have been the first cause of Henry's enmity to Charles, 368.

........., ..., alluded, 718.

........., Catholic, against the Turk; proposed, 60.

........., ..., much opposed by some cardinals, *ibid.*

........., ..., Florentines to be made to join the, 178.

........., ..., to be discussed by a congress at Bologna, 265, 271, 308, 369, 610.

.... of Francis and the Lutheran princes of Germany, 50.

........., a new one between the pope and king Francis proposed by Grammont, 194.

........., another with Venice the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, against Charles, suggested to Clement by the French ambassador, 176.

.... of the Christian princes against the Turks proposed by Clement (1530), 59, 338, 825, 870.

........., ..., conditionally accepted by Francis and Henry, 414, 610–1.

........., the duke of Albany's plan of campaign, 335, 710.

League—*cont.*

........., a new offensive one against the Turks proposed by the duke of Albany, ii. 77, 123.

........., ..., a subject of apprehension for the imperial ambassadors, *ibid.*

........., ..., who believe Francis to be in secret understanding with the Turk, *ibid.*

.. .., one of Francis Henry, the vayvod, and the Lutherans against Charles, reported (Apr. 1532), ii. 418–9.

........., a new one for the defence of Italy; joined by the duke of Ferrara and the Venetians, ii. 620, 828.

........., ..., a fact which Henry affects to disbelieve, *ibid.*

........., Suabian, in Germany, 278; ii. 90, 315, 674, 854, 987.

........., Protestant, ii. 90, 475.

Leandro, archbishop of Brindisi, *v.* Aleandrer.

Lech (Lecce), on the lake of Como (Lombardy). Gianiacopo de' Medici holding, ii. 148, 243.

Ledesma, count of, *v.* Cueva.

Lee, Dr. Edward, prebendary of York, king's almoner, ambassador to Charles in Spain, 852; *Int.* iv.; 46, 94, 174–5, 231–2, 256, 351–2, 572.

........., ..., to go to the Pope at Bologna for the exclusive object of debating the divorce case, 422.

........., ..., archbishop of York (Oct. 30, 1531), ii. 248.

...., refuses at first to sign Henry's letter to the pope, ii. 608.

........., ..., one of the deputation to Katharine, ii. 171, 174.

........., ..., his speech on the occasion, ii. 173.

Legates, papal, in England, *v.* Campeggio and Wolsey.

........., ..., (1530–1) to the emperor in Germany, *v.* Campeggio, 669, 791, 829, 838; ii. 123, 128, 203, 266, 307, 839, 908–9.

........., papal, in Venice, 1529.

........., ..., refuses his benediction after mass in Venice, owing to the excommunication of the signory by Clement, 16.

........., ..., lives most of the time out of town at a house he has in the Paduan, 615.

........., ..., absent in August 1530, 699.

Legatine commission to Wolsey and Campeggio in London, 235, 255, 275.

Leghorn, in Tuscany, 132, 190, 379; ii. 362, 816.

Le Glay, quoted, ii. 965.

Leguiçamo, commander, to Genoa, and thence to Chamberi and Cambray, 78, 84; ii. 532–3, 917.

Leicester, abbey of, death of Wolsey at the, (30 Nov. 1530), 833.

Leigh, Dr. Thomas, sent by Henry to Denmark, ii. 818, 823.

Le Kinghen, capn., ii. 522–3, 536–7, 542, 917.

Leo X., pope, 134, 181, 851.

Lequeitio, Diego de, 776.

Lerida, a province of Catalonia, 624 *note.*

Lerin, count of, *v.* Beamont.

Le Sauch, Master Jean de, Flemish ambassador in England, 29, 30, 47, 576; ii. 426.

........., ..., report of his embassy, 55–9.

........., ..., in France, 102–9.

........., ..., in England again (6 Dec. 1529), for the ratification of the treaty of Cambray, 337, 342, 346, 349–50, 354; ii. 294–5.

........., ..., leaves for Flanders, ii. 356–7.

........., ..., in England (July 1533), ii. 773, 921, 926.

........., ..., summoned with Chapuys to Windsor, ii. 773.

........., ..., letters to Margaret, 49, 50, 1121.

........., ..., instructions to,

Lescaux, *v.* Lachaulx.

Letrado, meaning of the word; generally applied to a clerk (learned in letters), lawyer, 172.

Letters, of the English ambassadors in Venice, intercepted, 664.

........., ..., of the Florentines, 237, 295.

........., ..., of the Pope to king Francis by the duke Alfonso d'Este, ii. 241–2.

........., compulsory, to be forwarded to Spain in England for witnesses to give evidence in the divorce suit, ii. 10, 30, 64.

........., refutatory, against Karne, the excusator, ii. 87.

........., remissory, obtained 12th May 1531, ii. 89.

........., ..., to be forwarded to the different kingdoms in Spain, ii. 194.

........., ..., Henry's complaint respecting the, (1531), ii. 75.

........., ..., said not to have been presented in time at the rota, ii. 725.

........., ..., to examine witnesses in Spain for the divorce suit, forwarded by Mai, ii. 115, 117.

........., executorial, to be printed and circulated at Naples, ii. 780.

........., ..., their publication in Flanders generally approved of, ii. 876.

Leon, Francisco de, 146.

Le Veneur, Jean, bishop of Lisieux (1505–47), marries Francis and Eleanor, 620.

Levorna, Livorno, *v.* Leghorn.

Leyva, Antonio de, the command of the imperial forces in the Milanese given to, 17, 21, 25–9, 38–9, 73, 98, 128, 165–6, 168, 188, 335, 431, 457.

........., ..., at Piacenza with the emperor, 208, 835.

........., ..., ordered to attack Francesco Sforza, 217, 260, 282.

........., ..., ..., and the Venetians, 216–7.

........., ..., ..., taking baths, 718, 825, 828; ii. 27–8.

........., ..., is to procure Gritti's arrest at his passage through the Milanese, ii. 113.

........., ..., and that of Marco Gabriello, the Jew, 825.

........., ..., his opinion on Montferrato, ii. 666, 994.

........., ..., ready to march against the Lutherans, 835.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 7.

........., ..., from the emperor to, 682.

Library, papal, at Rome; report of the English ambassador having found in the, some conclusive authority against his master's divorce (Dec. 1530), 836.

Licentiate (?), one in London; takes a letter from Chapuys to Katharine (Nov. 1531), ii. 291.

Liedekerke, sieur de, *v.* Hannaërt.

Liege, cardinal bishop of, *v.* Berghen.

Limad, in Tyrol, 259.

........., letter dated at, 170.

Limerick, in Connaught (Ireland), 54.

Lincoln, bishop of, *v.* Longland.

........., earl of, *v.* Brandon.

Lindaw, in Bavaria, 46.

Lintz, in Austria, king Ferdinand at, 68, 251, 265, 315, 326, 354, 425, 430.

........., German lanskenets returning from Vienna mutiny at, and threaten to sack it, 316.

........., the affairs of the Turks and Lutherans to be discussed at, in Jan. 1532, ii. 398.

........., letters dated at, 81, 99, 108, 198, 581.

Lirovera (?), an agent of the duchess of Urbino, 164.

Lisbon, university of, ii. 413.

Lisieux (dep. Calvados, in France), bishop of, *v.* Le Veneur.

Litta, his "Famiglie Italiane," 868.

Livorno, *v.* Leghorn.

Llaguno y Amirola, Eugenio de, *Int.* xx *note.*

Llandaf, bishop of, *v.* Ateca.

Llauro, *v.* Llor.

Llor, abbot of, 342, 623–4, 688, 826, 861; ii. 342.

........., ..., letters to Covos, 371, 409, 436, 553, 787, 794.

...., ..., to the archbishop of Santiago (Tavera), 795.

Loaysa [Mendoza], Fr. Garcia, bishop of Osma (1525–32), of Siguenza (1532–8), archbishop of Seville (1538–46), cardinal (1529), confessor of Charles V., *Int.* xii.

........., ..., appointed extraordinary ambassador to Clement, 479.

........., ..., arrives at Rome, 529, 536, 539.

........., ..., takes charge of the emperor's affairs in that court, 562, 581, 585, 594, 605, 659, 679, 732, 741, 750, 756, 778–9, 808, 810, 821–2, 847, 858–9, 873; ii. 21, 33, 54, 58, 115, 181–2, 258–9, 340, 347, 570, 736, 748.

........., ..., in favour of an arrangement with the Lutherans, ii. 21, 33, 54, 58.

........., ..., ... and of the postponment of the council, ii. 178–80, 187, 189–91.

........., ..., to be sent to Siena for the purpose of conciliating the inhabitants, ii. 662, 813.

........., ..., officiates at the procession of Corpus Christi (in 1531), owing to the pope having the gout, ii. 188.

........., ..., his opinion of Muxetula, ii. 180, 187, 189, 191.

........., ..., ..., and of Miçer Mai, of whom he complains, *ibid.*

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 321, 385, 538, 544, 568, 759, 815, 825–7, 852, 900, 916, 930, 933, 976, 1012.

........., ..., ... to secretary Covos, 550, 569, 637, 828, 867, 913, 932, 971, 974, 1005, 1032.

........., ..., letters to, from the emperor, 904.

........., Pedro de, his father, *Int.* xii.

Lobozki (?), ii. 346.

Loburjgo, baron, 621; *v.* Borgo and Borgho.

Lockinghien, Pierre de, *v.* Leckinghen.

Lodi, in Lombardy, 209, 772.

........., the duke of Milan at, 17.

........., Fr. Jacopo di, a Carmelite, in England and Scotland, 582.

........., ..., returns to Rome, saying that king Henry had told him a secret which would be worth a million for the pope to know, *ibid.*

........., ..., again to Scotland as nuncio (Dec. 1530 ?), 857.

Lodron, Lodrone, count Lodovico, Van Spercal (?), in the imperial service, 711, 785, 867; ii. 987.

Lofredo, Sigismondo di, a lawyer of Naples, 780; ii. 504.

Logua (Loches), in France, 685.

Lombardo, Joan Antonio, an exile from Venice, 491.

Lombardy, the confederates in, 17.

........., St. Pol and the duke of Urbino carrying on war in, 49.

........., plague in, 50.

Lombardy—*cont.*

........., feudatories of, to furnish quarters for the imperial army (1529), 192, 208–9.

........., the Venetians holding some strong places in, 403.

Lombecke, viscount of, *v.* Hannart.

Lomellino, Genoese merchant, residing in London, ii. 464.

London, 121, 128.

........., Henry's court in, 198, 802.

........., bonfires in, to celebrate the liberation of the French princes, 633–4.

........., ..., or rather the determination of the Parisian doctors in favour of the divorce, 696.

........., tower of, 305, 805 ; ii. 248, 787, 789.

........., ..., Henry to inspect the artillery in the, ii. 3.

........., ..., Wolsey to occupy the same room in the, that Buckingham had, 819.

........., ..., repairs made in the, ii. 509.

........., ..., inspected by Henry and Anne Boleyn (Dec. 1531), ii. 566.

........., ..., Cromwell has all his treasure and valuables removed to, (Apr. 1533), ii. 644.

........., ..., the earl of Kildare prisoner in the, ii. 822.

........., census taken of all foreigners residing in, ii. 262.

.... merchants (foreign) attempt to introduce changes in the customs much to the prejudice of the Spanish and Flemish, ii. 202.

........., ..., Germans in, asked by the chancellor (More) to remit a sum of money to Germany, 452 ; *v.* Merchants.

.... printers forbidden to print and publish accounts of Clement's reception at Marseilles (Nov. 1533), and due honours paid to him by Francis, ii. 856.

........., ..., things not in harmony with the statutes and constitutions of the kingdom, *ibid.*

........., bishops of, *v.* Tunstall, Stokesley.

........., Lord Mayor of, 633 ; ii. 646, 789 ; *v.* Peycoke.

........., archdeacon of, 663.

........., letters dated at, all Chapuys'.

Longland (? John), bishop of Lincoln, 1521–47), Henry's confessor; sent to Oxford with an Italian minorite to procure the opinion of its university, 467, 475 ; ii. 992.

........., ..., one of the principal promoters of the divorce, ii. 27.

........., ..., Katharine to be removed to a house belonging to, ii. 447.

........., ..., accompanies Henry to the conferences of Calais, ii. 494.

........., ..., subscribes, with other bishops, Henry's letter to Clement, ii. 608.

Longueville, duke of, *v.* Orleans.

Loperraez, Corvalan, his description of the bishopric of Osma quoted, *Int.* xii. ; ii. 4 *note.*

Lopez Benedit, *alias* Torrellas, *Int.* xxii.

.... Davalos, Ruy, constable of Castile, ii. 989.

.... de Fuentelisaz, Diego, notary at Alcalá de Henares, 720.

.... de Haro, Alonso, his "Nobiliario" quoted, 378 ; ii. 396.

.... de Mendoza, D. Iñigo, bishop of Burgos, and cardinal, *v.* Mendoza.

.... Pacheco, D. Diego, duke of Escalona, 379.

.... de Padilla, Gutierre, *Int.* vi., xxv.

........., ..., at Ferrara, 698.

........., ..., instructions to, 401.

........., ..., the emperor's letter to, 752.

Loretto, Our Lady of; pilgrimage to, undertaken by an ambassador of Sigismond, king of Poland, 101–2.

........., ..., ..., by St. Pol, 636.

........., ..., the duke of Milan (Sforza), intending to visit, 704.

........., ..., ..., also Miçer (Galeazzo) Visconti, 701.

........., ..., ..., and the duke of Albany, ii. 123.

Lorraine, Antoine duke of (1508–44), *Int.* v. ; 51, 99 ; ii. 226.

........., ..., on the death of the duke of Clèves claims his estate, ii. 562.

........., ..., ambassador of the, ii. 576.

........., duchess of, *v.* Bourbon Montpensier.

........., Claude de, count, afterwards duke of Guise, ii. 417.

........., Jean, cardinal of, ii. 620, 629.

........., Mary of, marries James V. of Scotland (1538), ii. 977.

Lothaire, king of France (820–69), alluded, ii. 750, 810–1.

Louis I., "le Debonnaire," king of France, ii. 810.

Louis XII., king of France, alluded, 313 ; ii. 133.

........., his repudiation of Jeanne de France, and subsequent marriage with Anne de Bretagne, widow of Charles VIII., adduced as an argument in favour of Henry's second marriage, ii. 24, 425, 597.

Louis II. of Hungary (1516–26), 341 ; ii. 73, 969.

Louise the Regent, mother of king Francis, *v.* Savoie.

Louvain, in Brabant, ii. 363.

........., university of, consulted on the divorce case, 352, 362.

........., ..., gives opinion against it, 745.

........., man of, (Barlow ?), ii. 471–4, 992.

Low Countries, Netherlands, the government of, in the hands of Margaret, the emperor's sister, 482, 511, 576-597; *v.* Margaret.

........., given to Mary of Hungary after her death in 1530, ii. 4, 6.

........., trade between England and the, suspended (Aug. 1533), ii. 773, 868, 921.

Loys, the courier, 396.

Lubeck on the Trave, one of the Hanz towns, 346, 418.

........., league of the Lutherans at (1532), ii. 418-9.

........., fleet of, on the English coast, ii. 776.

........., blockading a port where some Dutch hulks were at anchor, *ibid.*

........., capture two Spanish vessels going out of the Thames, a Galician and a Biscayan, *ibid.*

........., preparing to attack the hulks on their coming out of the Cinq Ports, ii. 787.

........., Chapuys' remonstrances in the privy council, ii. 792-4, 797.

........., captain of, sent with one of Cromwell's clerks (Montaborinus) on a mission of conciliation, ii. 793.

........., ..., pensioned and knighted by Henry (Dec. 1533), ii. 878.

........., property on board Spanish or Flemish vessels to be restored, ii. 859-87.

........., man sent by Henry to, returns, ii. 877.

Lubiana (Laibach), in Illyria, ii. 520.

........., two of Gritti's spies apprehended and sent to, ii. 858, 998.

Lucca, signory of, 610; ii. 76, 316.

........., baths of, ii. 136, 140.

........., the people of, said to have made a secret alliance with the Swiss and Venetians against the emperor (1529), 241.

........., Marramaldo leaves, and is replaced by Marcilla, 662, 706.

........., the "Fuorusciti" of, make an invasion, 742.

........., conspiracy detected in, 742.

........., payment of contribution towards the Turkish war retarded, 851; ii. 76.

.... and Sienna in fear of the duke Alessandro de' Medici, ii. 193, 196.

........., great riots in, (July 1533), 849; ii. 912.

Luce, Mr. de, dispensation granted [by Clement VII.] to marry his deceased wife's sister, 745.

Lucerne, canton of, in Switzerland, 467; ii. 202.

........., to be attacked by the Bernese, ii. 313.

Lucignano, in the Sienese, sacked by the imperial troops (Oct. 1530), 781.

Luco, a place in the Ferrarese, 867.

Ludovico (?), signor, *v.* Visconti.

Lugano, cant. of Tessin, Switzerland, governor of, writes asking help against the Lutherans, ii. 313.

Lugo, Alvaro de, treasurer in Spain, 715, 742, 746, 770, 774.

Luis, Dom, infante of Portugal, ii. 81.

........., ..., proposed marriage of, to princess Mary of England, ii. 81, 82.

Lullin, Mr. de, governor of Vaulx, 240, 242.

Luna, Sigismondo de, son of Don Jayme, count of Calathabellota, in Sicily, 208, 218.

......, count of, *v.* Fernandez de Quiñones.

Luneburg, Ernest, duke of, 46.

........., Francis, 46.

Luther, 715, ii. 337, 822.

........., Henry's praise of, 349-50.

........., had he limited himself to inveighing against the vices of the clergy, every one would have followed him, *ibid.*

.... at Ausburg, 613.

........., Clement's opinion that all disputation with, should be avoided, *ibid.*

........., doubtful points in his case to be studied by the members of the rota at Rome, 749.

.... and his followers decide against Henry's divorce, ii. 28.

........., two tracts written by, sent by the duke of Saxony to Ferdinand, ii. 127.

........., some sort of agreement with, at Charles' passage through Germany, recommended by Mai and Muxetula in June 1531, ii. 179, 192.

Lutheranism spreading rapidly over Germany, 24, 151, 180, 236, 527.

........., merchants in London suspected of, 761.

........., Henry's leaning towards, (1533), ii. 801.

........., remedy against, proposed by Charles, 812.

........., lest the princes favouring, should think that the armaments against the Turk are intended against them, a truce of three years is proposed, during which they may live at peace and in the exercise of their religion, 795.

........., ..., and yet complaining that certain of his subjects infected by, are allowed to reside at Antwerp undisturbed, ii. 935.

Lutherans in Germany; protest of the princes at the diet of Spires, 20; ii. 995.

........., assembly of the same at Francfort, 201.

........., their errors to be overlooked to a certain extent (says Clement in Oct. 1529), provided they do not interfere with matters of faith, 283.

........., were it not that they touch upon such matters (Mai writes to the Emperor), there are many things in which reason is on their side, 60 *note.*

........., Ferdinand advised by the emperor, his brother, to temporize with the, that they may not agree on religious matters, 482; ii. 104.

Lutherans—*cont.*
........., extradition of, from the dominions of Venice stipulated, 489.
........., their proposals to be discussed at Rome at a congregation of cardinals (July 1530), 636.
........., insist upon a general council being assembled, 641.
........., articles proposed by the, 669, 761.
.... persecuted in Portugal, 728.
........., negociations concerning the, 729.
........., the papal brief soliciting the aid of the Christian powers against the Turk modified so as to comprise also the, 784.
........., discontent produced among them by the intended modification, 785.
........., Henry intends making sharp work of the, in his kingdom, 790.
........., ..., as among their books one has been found disapproving entirely of the divorce, 790.
........., the better to convince them of their errors a meeting of the pope, emperor, and king of France proposed by the duke of Albany, 796.
........., Carlo III. of Savoy and the Lutherans, 823 ; ii. 228, 290.
........., matters of faith once settled at a general council, the, might easily be persuaded to help against the Turkish invasion, ii. 43.
........., instead of helping him and the emperor (observes Clement), most of the Christian powers are inclined to favour the Turks and the, ii. 51–2.
........., a compromise with the, strongly recommended by Mai and others, ii. 107, 122, 128, 336, 348.
........., ..., by cardinal Loaysa, 21, 33, 34, 58, 859.
........., ..., Ferdinand consulted about it (Nov. 1531), ii. 296.
........., ..., Clement not to be informed of it, ii. 336.
........., ..., ..., willing to make concessions to the, ii. 195, 220, 231, 909.
........., ..., ..., of what sort, ii. 799, 909, 982–3.
........., report of their doings in Switzerland, ii. 306–7, 310–11.
........., six French, who had been upwards of four months in prison, released by the intercession of Giovan Gioachino, the French ambassador (1531), ii. 225.
........., an agent sent by the Pope to the, writes that some good may be done, especially among the Swiss, ii. 314.
........., their destruction to be attempted by means of the Zwinglians, and through the intermediate agency of Bartholomeo Fonzio, the Augustinian, ii. 315.
.... propose holding a diet at Ulm, ii. 368.
........., overtures of the, princes to be discussed in Germany between the emperor and the papal legate (May 1532), ii. 443.
........., ..., or rather the parties themselves to appear at Rome, ii. 443.
........., ..., as two or three of their preachers are desirous of going there for the purpose, ii. 443.
.... all hate the king of the Romans and are afraid of him, ii. 335.
.... tell the Pope's agent that the choice of a place for the meeting of the council belongs by right to them, ii. 776.
........., to use force against the, is out of the question, ii. 785.
........., an agreement with the, strongly commended by bishop D'Inteville to Clement (Aug. 1531), ii. 914.
........., memorandum of the duke of Saxony and four more princes sent by the papal legate to Miçer Mai, 377.
Luys, Juan (Giova Luigi ?), 430 ; *v. also* Aragonia.
Lyons, 16, 162, 196, 247, 292, 528.
........., riots in, owing to the scarcity of bread, 16.
........., fair of, 457.
........., Francis' court at, 617.
........., Florentine consul in, 521–2.
........., letters dated at, 107, 165.

M.

Maçarquivir (Mars-al-Kebír), in Africa, ii. 916.
Maccafani, Angelo, bishop of Lanciano, in Naples, ii. 250 *note*.
Machiavellis, Paolo Giovan de, ii. 209.
Machin, a tailor, 774.
Macreti, Magreti, *v.* Maigret.
McCrie, his "History of the Reformation in Italy" quoted, ii. 315 *note*.
Madeleine de France, daughter of Francis, ii. 964.
Madre de Dios, nunnery at Toledo, 885–6.
Madrid, treaty of, in 1526, alluded, *Int.* xiii. ; 20, 90, 312–13, 488 ; ii. 246, 665, 845–6.
........., ..., Francis' secret protest not to observe in full the, 518.
........., the emperor's court at, ii. 713, 716, 755, 774, 776, 786, 823, 902.
........., convent of San Geronimo in, 431.
........., alcalde corregidor of, in 1530.
........., letters dated at, 244, 254, 345, 426–7.
Maella, a town of Aragon, lord of, *v.* Perez de Almazan.
Maellie (?), Irish lord, asks Henry for artillery and ammunition (July 1533), 741.
Maggiorica, *v.* Mallorca.
Maguncia, *v.* Maintz.

Mai, abbot (Clement ?), brother of Miguel, 585, 594.
........., ..., at Naples, 829.
........., ..., at Rome, dangerously ill, ii. 531.
........., Juan, *Int.* x. *note.*
........., Miçer Miguel, resident imperial ambassador at Rome, has spies within the papal palace, 19.
........., ..., his opinion of the pope, 20, 65.
........., ..., pushes the advocation brief, and disputes with the English ambassadors, 2–11, 161, 171.
........., ..., receives (together with cardinal Santa-Croce) powers of attorney from Katharine to represent her in the divorce suit, 148.
........., ..., his conversations with Clement about Florence, 139, 144, 163, 289, 291.
........., ..., ..., about Milan, 64, 200–4, 217.
........., ..., ..., about the divorce suit, 154, 578, 588.
........., ..., ..., about the council, 329, 333–4, 674 ; ii. 130.
........., ..., hears frequently from queen Katharine and the imperial ambassador in London (Chapuys), 564.
........., ..., leaves for Bologna, 282.
........., ..., returns to Rome, passing through Ferrara, where he holds a conference with the duke Alfonso d'Este, 561, 584.
........., ..., sends to Spain a memorandum of certain doubtful points in the divorce suit to be consulted, 568.
........., ..., does not attend the congregation held in July 1530 for the defence against the Turk, 674.
........., ..., negotiating in company with Praët (Aug., Oct. 1529), 135, 162–5, 170–2, 173–4, 176–7, 181–3, 186, 190, 192–5, 198–203, 205, 211–2, 217, 433, 436–7, 441, 452, 479, 487 ; ii. 75, 87–8, 90.
........., ..., his host at Bologna a very great lawyer, 593.
........., ..., requested by Chapuys to procure a brief to inquire into the means employed in obtaining the votes of the Sorbonne, 588.
........., ..., ..., the letter enclosing which must have been intercepted, for it never reached its destination, 670.
........., ..., his advice about the convocation and meeting of the general council, 645.
........., ..., applies for papers and documents from Spain to carry on Katharine's matrimonial suit at Rome, 753, 805, 808.
........., ..., often disagrees with Loaysa and Muxetula as to the manner of conducting the same, 780 ; ii. 479.
........., ..., ..., also about French and German politics, and the convocation of a general council, ii. 319.

Mai, Miçer Miguel, &c.—*cont.*
........., ..., and his colleagues at Rome accused by Henry of inventing and spreading numberless falsehoods against his personal conduct, 805.
........., ..., appointed Katharine's solicitor at Rome, 856.
........., ..., unwell and unable to attend to business, ii. 263.
........., ..., as Katharine's proctor at Rome watches the proceedings of the divorce suit in the rota, 114, 151, 153, 275, 319–20.
........., ..., presents a petition to Clement, 737.
........., ..., applies for a second inhibition brief more binding than the first, 738.
........., ..., sets spies upon the English ambassadors, and obtains from day to day intelligence of their doings, ii. 340.
........., ..., asks for his recall (June 1532), ii. 469.
........., ..., negociating at Rome (1529–31), 132–3, 136–7, 139, 144, 756, 805, 818, 847, 853 ; ii. 75, 87–8, 90, 306, 354.
........., ..., in correspondence with Chapuys, 581, 584, 587, 612, 616, 674, 818, 847 ; ii. 70.
........., ..., ..., with Niño, 670, 698, 831 ; ii. 324, 334.
........., ..., ..., with Dr. Garay, 693, 761.
........., ..., on bad terms with Muxetula, 694 ; ii. 436–7, 469.
........., ..., letters to the emperor, 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 23, 29, 30, 35, 36, 41–2, 96–8, 105–6, 115–6, 119, 121–2, 133–4, 140, 150, 158, 162–3, 165, 179–80, 186–7, 206, 219, 303, 305, 314, 318–9, 320, 322–3, 327, 340, 342, 346, 350, 363–4, 369, 374, 381–2, 386, 390, 402, 404, 418, 420, 428, 440, 446, 448, 452, 456, 461, 471–2, 476, 483, 493, 500, 512–3, 523, 533, 558, 567 ; (1531–3), 588, 603–4, 613–4, 623, 630, 633, 636, 653, 665, 669, 671, 688, 693, 697, 700, 732, 742, 744, 747, 749, 769, 781, 783, 789, 792, 799, 832, 841–3, 857, 861, 864, 868, 876, 884, 892, 909, 938, 945, 981, 1004, 1031.
........., ..., ..., to the empress Isabella, 600, 617, 624, 963–4.
........., ..., ..., to the high commander Covos, 74, 127, 215, 217, 301, 324, 326, 343–4 ; (1531), 595–6, 620–1, 631, 634, 639, 643–4, 657, 667, 670, 672–3, 678–9, 689–90, 695, 698–9, 705–6, 731, 733, 745–6, 748, 751, 758, 760, 770, 773–4, 784–5, 790, 797–8, 817, 823, 859, 921 (?), 925, 950, 965, 991–2, 1029, 1054.
........., ..., ..., to the archbishop of Santiago (Tavera), 601, 654, 663.
........., ..., ..., to the prince of Orange, 17.

Mai, Micer Miguel, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., letters to Granvelle, 100.

........., ..., letters to, from the emperor, 63, 70, 110, 139, 145, 148, 151, 156.

........., ..., from Cobos, 661.

Maigret, Lambert, French general, sent by Francis to the Zurichians, ii. 312 *note.*

........., Megret (?), *ibid.*

Mainz (Maintz, Mayence), archbishop elector of, *v.* Brandenburg.

........., ..., his memorial, 823; ii. 140.

........., ..., agent of, in London, interceding for Wolsey, 434, 444.

Majorca (Mallorca), island of, 537.

Malaga, port of Spain, 401, 806; ii. 99, 308.

........., archdeacon of, *v.* La Puebla.

Malatesta, ——, secretary to the duke of Mantua (Frederico Gonzaga), and his ambassador in Rome, sent on a mission to Venice, 127.

........., ..., in disgrace with the duke, and imprisoned, 636.

........., ..., cause of his arrest, 718.

........., Sigismondo, formerly lord of Rimini, 35.

........., ..., declares for the French, 63.

........., ..., takes refuge in Venice, 608; whence he is exiled in consequence of misbehaviour, 608, 609.

........., ..., his mother and sisters at Ferrara with the duke (Alfonso), *ibid.*

........., ..., letters of, to king Francis intercepted, 792.

........., ..., in the pay of France, commanding the Neapolitan "fuorusciti," ii. 120.

Malavolti, his "History of Siena" quoted, ii. 983.

Maldeyghe, the bastard of, ii. 864.

Maldonado, Gonzalo, bishop of Ciudad-Rodrigo, in Extremadura (1525–30).

........., ..., sent to Spain on a mission, 265, 337, 365, 395.

Malfa, Malfi (Melfi), in the Basilicata, Naples, 211; ii. 963.

........., duke of, *v.* Amalfi and Piccolomini.

Malines (Mechlin), in Flanders, 174, 831; ii. 123.

........., council of, ii. 2.

........., ..., president of, ii. 784.

........., letters dated at, 407.

Malla, Señora, sister of Mai, death of, ii. 277.

Mallio, Cape, Mallia in Thessalia (?), Turkish galleys signalled about, 557; ii. 519, 993.

Mallorca, one of the Balearic islands, Doria and Bazan sail from, to Barcelona, 701.

........., the coast of, ravaged by Barbarossa, 340, 342; ii. 824.

........., bishopric of, offered to lord of Monaco, 126.

........., ..., given to Campeggio, ii. 999.

Malta, island of, 49, 180, 827, 834.

........., bishopric of, to be given to Balthazar Mercklin, a German, 13.

........., said to be in danger of an invasion from the Turk (Jan. 1532), ii. 377.

........., conspiracy in, detected, ii. 468.

Manfredo, Il, Ferrarese ambassador in France, 639–40.

........., ..., letter to the duke (Alfonso d'Este), 376.

Manfredonia, in the Capitanata (Naples); bishop of (Sipontinus), *v.* Monte (Giovan Maria).

Manrique, Don Alonso, archbishop of Seville (1524–38), 378.

........., ..., cardinal's hat for, solicited by the emperor, 787, 849.

........., ..., false report of his death, 845.

........., ..., created cardinal, ii. 185, 189, 263.

........., ..., Don Alvaro, his brother, 378.

........., Garci Fernandes, count of Osorno, and duke of Galisteo (1546), *Int.* xxv.; 378 *note.*

........., Maria, 378.

........., ..., able to give information respecting Katharine's married life with Arthur, ii. 31.

........., Mariana, 378.

........., Theresa, 378.

Mans, town of France (dep. Sarthe), 745.

Manso, D. Pedro Gonsalez, bishop of Badajoz, president of the Chancery court at Valladolid, ii. 5.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 585.

Mantebona, Mentebuona, papal chamberlain, on a mission from Clement to the emperor, 289, 501.

Mantua, city, 171, 258, 281, 486, 495, 536–9; ii. 52.

........., the emperor's triumphal entry into, 481, 484–5, 509.

........., or Milan, proposed by Charles for the meeting of the general council, ii. 537, 787.

........., university of, requested, as well as Bologna and Padua, to give opinion on the divorce case, ii. 41.

........., cardinal of, *v.* Gonzaga.

........., news from, 276.

........., letters dated from, 78, 278, 282–3, 284–5.

Mantuan territory, 165.

........., the emperor going to the, for the purpose of meeting the lanskenets coming from Germany (Aug. 1529), 165.

Manuel, Don, the "Fortunate," king of Portugal (1495–1521), alluded, 544, 658, 806; ii. 10.

........., Don Juan, of the emperor's privy council (1543), *Int.* xxv.; 152, 183.

Manuel, Lorenço, son of the preceding, to keep the citadel of Como as security for the payment of Sforza's debt, 374, 749.

Mañer, Johan or Juan, agent at Rome of the archbishop of Santiago (Tavera), ii. 531.

Mañeri (?), Francesco, 570.

Marano, captain, governor of, 480, 484, 493; ii. 858–9, 869, 973, 999.

Marcus, Pierre del, *v.* Palude.

........., ..., sent on a mission to Venice, 480.

Maraveglia, Meraveglia, Merveilles, captain and esquire (*scudier*) to the king of France, 46, 64, 290.

........., ..., executed at Milan by order of the duke, ii. 654, 757, 764–5, 799, 817 *note*, 850, 854–5, 890.

Maravella, Maravilla, *v.* Maraveglia.

Marcellus Beringharius, secretary to the duke of Ferrara, and his agent at Rome, 34, *v.* Berengaro.

........., letter to the duke, 13.

Marcilla, Juan de, imperial agent at Lucca, 619, 662, 811; ii. 193, 196, 912.

Marco Raffaele, also called Marco Gabriello, a learned Venetian and converted Jew, despatched from Rome to England to counsel in the divorce case, 728, 761.

........., ..., intelligence furnished by Niño and Mai for his arrest, 825, 842.

........., ..., escapes and arrives in London (Jan. 25, 1531), ii. 45.

........., ..., his advice rejected, ii. 45, 78.

Marcozzo, Parte di, a faction of Pistoia, 574, *note*.

Margaret, archduchess of Austria, dowager duchess of Savoy and governess of the Low Countries, the emperor's aunt, 21, 29, 37, 57, 69, 128, 132–9, 146, 151, 154, 252–3, 256, 278–9, 343, 382, 397, 411, 425, 429, 453, 458, 464, 497, 500, 506, 518, 533, 576, 597, 707, 768, 789, 792; ii. 1, 4, 6, 12.

........., ..., negociates with Louise de Savoie the peace of Cambray, 97.

........., ..., opinion of, on the politics of her time, 260–64.

........., ..., death of (1st Dec. 1530), 859.

........., ..., ..., much felt by the London merchants, ii. 1.

........., ..., ..., not by Henry, who seems glad of it, ii. 2.

........., ..., her funeral at Brussels, ii. 11.

........., ..., ..., at which Henry is represented by his ambassador, John Hacquet, ii. 12.

........., ..., her pension to be transferred to Mary, the Emperor's sister, 861.

........., ..., instructions of, to Le Sauch, 8.

........., ..., letter to Wolsey, 9.

........., ..., ..., to the earl of Surrey, 43.

Margaret, archduchess of Austria, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 16, 173.

........., daughter of Mr. de Vendôme, to be married to James of Scotland, ii. 757.

........., of Austria (Margarita), the emperor's natural daughter, 2.

........., ..., promised in marriage to the marquis of Mantua, 87, 113; ii. 907.

........., ..., ..., before that to Ercole d'Este, the son of duke Alfonso, 113.

........., ..., ..., and to Alessandro de' Medici, duke of Penna, 80, 125, 137, 168, 644, 700, 796.

........., ..., arrival of, in Rome (5th May 1533), ii. 660.

........., ..., legitimation of, 62.

........., ..., marriage settlements, 51.

........., ..., in Naples, under the care of the marchioness of Villafranca, ii. 683.

........., of France, ii. 964.

........., of Monferrato v. Monferrato and Paleologo.

........., Tudor, sister of Henry VIII., and widow of James IV. of Scotland, 534–5.

Margarita (?), ii. 744 *note*.

Marignano, St. Pol at, 17.

........., ..., the confederates at, 98.

........., the Swiss defeated at, ii. 358.

........., marquis of, v. Medici.

Marmier, Hughes, president of Burgundy? 619, 620, *Int.* v.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 368.

........., ..., ..., from ambassador Praët to, 280.

Marradas, a Spaniard, resident at Rome, witnesses the protest entered at Rome against the supposed forgery of pope Julius's brief of dispensation, 3.

Marramaldo, Marramao, Fabricio, colonel of Italian infantry, 172, 364, 557, 680, 686, 706, 784, 792, 823, 871.

........., ..., ordered to disband his men, 334.

........., ..., to be sent against Pisa and Volterra, 524.

........., ..., ..., against Napoleone Orsino at Bracciano, 702.

........., ..., disbands, 817.

Marriage alliances spoken of or effected:

........., several, between the emperor's and Francis' sons and daughters proposed, 21.

........., between princess Mary of England and Alessandro de' Medici, the pope's nephew, 15.

........., between the same and the son of the duke of Norfolk spoken of, 279, 360, 368, 711, 721.

........., with the duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, ii. 772–3, 786, 830.

........., with the infante Dom Luiz of Portugal, ii. 82.

Marriage alliances spoken of or effected—*cont.*
........., Mary of England to the duke of Saxony (George), ii. 433.
........., to the vayvod of Transylvania (Zapoli), ii. 419.
........., to the dauphin of France (François), ii. 520.
........., or to his brother the duke of Orleans, *ibid.*
........., the report of one, between king James of Scotland and the princess, purposely spread in London by the opposition party, ii. 681.
........., of king Henry to Madeleine, daughter of Francis, proposed, ii. 495, 520.
........., ..., of the same to Anne Boleyn, celebrated with due solemnity in Jan. 1533, ii. 674.
........., of Mary, daughter of the duke of Norfolk, and the duke of Richmond, 762.
........., ..., greatly opposed by Anne Boleyn, *ibid.*
........., of Eleanor, Charles's sister, to king Francis; delivery at the frontier effected, 639, 653.
.... of Mary of Hungary and Frederic, palatine of the Rhine, ii. 5.
........., of the same to the vayvod of Transylvania, 731.
........., Clement's niece, Caterina de' Medici, to Francesco Sforza, 204; ii. 260.
........., to the duke of Orleans (Henri), 541; ii. 185, 689.
........., ..., seemingly not meeting at first with Clement's approbation, 258–9.
........., ..., who says he prefers Sforza to the duke of Orleans for his niece, ii. 183.
........., her hand solicited by the Duke of Mantua, ii. 128.
........., the charge of negociating Caterina's marriage entrusted by Clement to Sanga, cardinal Salviati, and his father Jacopo (May 1531), ii. 165.
........., ..., decided upon, ii. 624, 913.
........., ..., effected at Marseilles, Oct. 1533, ii. 844.
........., of Margaret of Monferrato to Frederic, palatine of the Rhine, ii. 5.
........., of the same to Frederico Gonzaga; much recommended by Ferdinand, ii. 133.
........., of her sister, Maria, promised to Francesco Sforza, 678.
........., ..., sued in marriage by the prince of Orange, 678.
........., ..., her marriage with Frederico Gonzaga dissolved, 663, 678, 756.
........., between Margaret, Charles's natural daughter, and Ercole d'Este, 85, 113.
........., ..., the same and the marquis, afterwards duke, of Mantua, 113.

Marriage alliances spoken of or effected—*cont.*
........., ..., of the same and the duke Alessandro de' Medici, 109, 117.
........., ..., negociations for that marriage, 80, 117, 796.
........., ..., of one of the daughters of the king of Denmark (Christina?) to James of Scotland, ii. 907, 969.
........., ..., to the duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, ii. 204, 962.
........., Dorothea, her sister, to the Palatine, ii. 969.
........., Mary, infanta of Portugal, to one of the sons of king Francis, ii. 128, 132.
Marseilles, the French galleys return to, ii. 110.
........., chosen instead of Nice for the interview of Clement and Francis, ii. 801.
........., arrival in London of couriers from, bringing news of the interview of Clement and Francis at (1533), ii. 829, 842, 868–9.
........., the conferences of, sure not to turn out to Charles' advantage, ii. 870.
........., described by Cifuentes, ii. 844–5, 886–9.
........., ..., and by D'Inteville in London, ii. 873.
........., ambassador from Barbarossa at, ii. 849.
........., English courier from, supposed to have been bearer of unpleasant news, Nov. 1533, ii. 864.
........., Charles' misgivings about the conferences, of, ii. 903.
........., letters dated at, 1136, 1143, 1147–8.
Martellis, Braccio de, one of the Pope's chamberlains, 210.
........., ..., sent by Clement to the emperor with a cardinal's hat for Gattinara, 210.
Martin, imperial courier, 83, 150.
........., Pietro Paolo (?), 74, 84, 956.
........., the Capuan's private secretary, 78.
Martinengo, fr. Gabriel, prior of Barletta, 520.
........., ..., in Rome, ii. 136, 140.
........., ..., sacks Modon, ii. 324.
Martinez de Leyva, Sancho, 743.
Martirano, Bernardino, secretary of Morone at Naples, 145, 371.
Martorell, town of Catalonia, ii. 779.
Martyr, Pietro Paolo, *v.* Vermilio.
Marveilles, *v.* Maraveglia.
Mary, princess of Wales, 335; ii. 15, 199, 484, 637–8, 644, 833.
........., ..., her marriage to the son of the duke of Norfolk (Henry) first mooted (Oct. 1529), 279; ii. 628, 735.
........., ..., ..., approved of by the King on the suggestion of Anne Boleyn, *ibid.*
........., ..., ..., Chapuys sounds the Duke respecting it, and gives him encouragement, 325, 306, 368, 711, 721.

Mary, princess of Wales—*cont.*

........., ..., at Alton, separated from her mother, 468.

........., ..., wishes to see Chapuys, 512.

........., ..., her marriage much talked of in London and in Paris, 582.

........., ..., visited by her father at Richmond (July 1530), 633.

........., ..., Henri de Valois, duke of Orleans, to come over that he may be married to (Sept. 1530), 711.

........., ..., proposals for her marriage to the dauphin of France, 771; ii. 444.

........., ..., ..., or to Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, though he has lost the use of his hands and feet, 773.

........., ..., ..., to Dom Luis of Portugal, ii. 82.

........., ..., staying with the queen her mother (March 1531), ii. 82, 101.

........., ..., ill with indigestion (Apr. 1531), ii. 114.

........., ..., her marriage to one of Francis's sons again spoken of, ii. 164.

........., ..., visited by her father twice in a week (June 1531), ii. 199.

........., ..., described by the duke of Norfolk to Chapuys as a pearl of beauty and virtue, *ibid.*

........., ..., her marriage to Alessandro de' Medici hinted at by the French ambassador in London, ii. 305.

........., ..., solicited in marriage by king James of Scotland, ii. 476.

........., ..., ..., and by a son of the duke of Clèves, ii. 476.

........., ..., to reside at Windsor during her father's absence at Calais, ii. 527.

........., ..., were it not for the imminent danger in which she is, the most prudent course to follow would be to temporize for a while, and stop the trade with the Low Countries and Spain, ii. 631.

........., ..., forbidden to write to her mother, ii. 646.

........., ..., report of her marriage to James of Scotland purposely spread in London, ii. 681.

........., ..., removed from a house of the archbishop of Canterbury to one of the king's manors, 40 miles from London (June 1533), ii. 724.

........., ..., visited during her late illness by Katharine's physician and apothecary, the queen her mother being allowed to send her frequent messages, *ibid.*

........., ..., Chapuys' remonstrances and protests to Norfolk and Cromwell respecting her treatment, ii. 735, 739, 794–5, 833, 837, 840.

........., ..., her letter to her mother consoling her, ii. 795.

Mary, princess of Wales—*cont.*

........., ..., immediately after the birth of Elizabeth the badges usually worn by her attendants removed and replaced by her father's arms, ii. 795.

........., ..., the Privy Council deliberating on the reduction of her household, ii. 800.

........., ..., ordered to abstain in future from taking the title of princess (Oct. 1533), ii. 819.

........., ..., her household and yearly allowance considerably reduced, ii. 820–21.

........., ..., her answer to the king's commissioners, and letter to her father on the occasion, *ibid.*

........., ..., worse treated than ever she was, in order to intimidate her mother, ii. 822, 830.

........., ..., protests by Chapuys' advice, ii. 822.

........., ..., the title of princess of Wales taken away from, and her household dismissed, ii. 839, 870–1.

........., ..., removed from the fine house in which she is dwelling to a very wretched one, 877.

........., ..., compelled to live as "demoiselle d'honneur" to Elizabeth, ii. 854.

........., ..., at a house 17 miles from London, ii. 881.

........., ..., finally separated from her mother and conducted to Hatfield (1533), ii. 894, 898.

........., (Maria), daughter of Charles V. and Isabella; birth of (21 June 1528), 354, 409, 806; ii. 790, 986.

........., of Hungary, a sister of Charles V. and widow of Louis, king of Hungary, ii. 4, 446, 957.

........., ..., king James of Scotland offers to marry, 98.

........., ..., Charles supplies her with money, 478, 495.

........., ..., her intended marriage to Henri d'Albret broken off, 764.

........., ..., solicited in marriage by the vayvod, 764.

........., ..., the Palatine's offers renewed, ii. 475.

........., ..., the government of the Low Countries offered by Charles to, ii. 4.

........., ..., ..., on condition of her dismissing her steward, chamberlain, preacher, almoner, and lady in waiting, suspected of favouring the new Lutheran doctrines, ii. 6.

........., ..., governing after the death of Margaret, ii. 246, 722, 737, 797.

........., of France, Queen Blanche, duchess of Suffolk, *v.* Tudor.

.... (Maria), of Portugal, second wife of Dom Manuel, 658 *note*, 662.

........., another, daughter of Dom Manuel and Doña Leonor, 71–2, 806; ii. 110 *note.*

DON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

Mary (Maria), of Portugal—*cont.*

........., ..., talk of her marriage to the duke of Orleans, 772.

........., ..., ... or to the duke of Angoulême, his brother, on condition of Charles giving her Milan as a dower, 128, 132.

........., ..., should either marriage be refused, Francis will help with all his forces the castellan of Mus in his differences with Sforza, ii. 29.

Marzilla, *v.* Marcilla.

Mascarenhas, Dom Pedro, a Portuguese, sent to Charles on a mission, ii. 574.

Mass, suppressed by the Lutherans at Ulm and in other towns,

........., canon of, 799.

Massa, bishop of, *v.* Gianderoni.

Master, grand, of the emperor's household, *v.* Gorrevod.

........., ..., of Flanders, *v.* Croy (Adrian de).

........., ..., of France (1526–58), *v.* Montmorency (Anne de).

........., ..., of the Teutonic Order, *v.* Albert of Prussia.

........., ..., of the horse, to Henry (1521–39) ; *v.* Carew (Sir Nicholas).

........., ..., of the Rolls (1527–34), *v.* Tayler, John.

Masters, Richard, rector of Aldington, in Kent ; execution of, ii. 866, 1000.

Matera, bishop of, *v.* Palmeri.

Mathias, Dr., ii. 786, 903, 905.

Mauriana, Maurienne, San Giovane di, *v.* Moriana.

Mauritius, duke of Saxony, ii. 956.

Maxicao, field-master, ii. 634.

Maximilian I., emperor, alluded to, 41, 129, 122, 378, 509, 510, 576, 704 ; ii. 354 *note.*

Mayance, Mayence, *v.* Maintz.

Mayor of London, *v.* London, and Peycoke.

Mazzara in Naples, 561, 866.

........., vacant pension on the archbishopric applied for by the Franciscan friars of Barcelona, 12.

Mecatti, his "History of Florence" quoted, 240 *note.*

Medeghino, Il, nickname of Gian Giacopo de' Medici, marquis of Mus, *v.* Medici.

Medici, family of, at Florence, the restoration of the, agreed to between Clement and Charles, 163.

........., ..., they and the Sforza considered as the source of all evils in Italy, 246.

........., ..., the object of English importunities, 548.

........., Alessandro de', duke of Penna, Clement's nephew, *Int.* viii. ; 139, 183 687 ; ii. 747.

........., ..., to Genoa to congratulate the Emperor upon his landing, 135–7, 148.

Medico, Alessandro de',—*cont.*

........., ..., betrothed to Margaret of Austria, 1, 80, 117, 796 ; ii. 305.

........., ..., at Piancenza with the emperor, 168.

........., ..., present at the emperor's triumphal entry into Mantua, 484.

........., ..., going to Germany with a project of constitution for Florence, 706, 718, 720.

........., ..., to compliment the emperor on the reduction of Florence, 730.

........., ..., ..., and perhaps also to ask for the crown of Tuscany, 754.

........., ..., leaves for the imperial court (12 Sept. 1530), 718, 720.

........., ..., his brother (cardinal Ippolito) quarrels with him, 732.

........., ..., a project of marriage between, and princess Mary, attributed to Giovanne Gioachino (in Jan. 1531), ii. 15,

........., ..., his return to Italy a cause of alarm at Siena and Lucca, ii. 184, 192.

........., ..., enters Florence (5 July 1531), ii. 208.

........., ..., report of his reception (2 July 1531), 712–13.

........., Caterina de', Clement's niece, daughter of Lorenço, duke of Urbino, 288, 310 ; ii. 201, 962, 966.

........., ..., marriage of, to one of the sons of Francis proposed, 541.

........., ..., ..., particularly to Henry, duke of Orleans, 689.

........., ..., the offer not accepted by Clement at first, 710, 747, 757, 792.

........., ..., to D. Jorge de Austria, proposed by Mai, 704.

........., ..., her property in France, inherited from her mother, Madeleine de la Tour, 701, 757.

........., ..., her hand applied for by James, king of Scotland (1530), 757.

........., ..., ... by Malatesta Baglione for his son, 731.

........., ..., ... by Guidobaldo della Rovere, son of the duke of Urbino, *ibid.*

........., ..., ... by Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, 689, 757 ; ii. 78.

........., ..., ... by the king of Sweden, Gustavus Vasa (Dec. 1531), ii. 78.

........., ..., ... by the duke of Mantua (Frederico Gonzaga), ii. 120, 133.

........., ..., ..., not opposed by Charles, if likely to ensure peace, ii. 990.

........., ..., all idea of a French marriage being given up, the duke of Albany proposes James, king of Scotland, for her husband, 747.

........., ..., ..., though apparently against the will of Francis, 757.

........., ..., negociations for her marriage to Henri de Valois, duke of Orleans, resumed with greater vigour and Clement's willingness, ii. 18, 128, 229, 231, 233, 913.

Medici, Caterina de', &c.—*cont.*
........., ..., the marriage agreed upon, to take place at the next interview of Nice or Marseilles, 742, ii. 706.
........., ..., not opposed by Charles; provided peace is insured by it, ii. 990.
........., ..., Parma and Piacenza asked by Francis as dowry of, ii. 747.
........., ..., called "la duchesina," and why, ii. 128, 133, 633, 764, 851.
........., ..., leaves Florence under the care of Philippo Strozzi, ii. 748.
........., ..., in Genoa, ii. 808.
........., ..., her dower to be 130,000 ducats besides the reserve of her right to the duchy of Urbino, and to her mother's estate in France, ii. 848.
........., ..., married (Oct. 1533), ii. 909, 911.
........., Gian Giacopo, warder and marquis of Mus and Marignano, 50, 160, 491.
........., ..., an agent of, at the court of France, 676; ii. 180, 185–6.
........., ..., threatens Como in Lombardy, ii. 122.
........., ..., intending to exchange his castle of Mus for certain fiefs in France, ii. 200–1.
........., ..., his differences with the Grisons and with Sforza, ii. 92, 180, 185.
........., ..., brother of, ii. 18, 92, 180, 201.
........., ..., treating with Francis for the sale of Mus and invasion of Milan, ii. 29, 200.
........., ..., his quarrel with the Grisons,
........., ..., Francis endeavouring to make them friends so that he may have an excuse for interfering in Italy, 201.
........., ..., attacked by the Swiss and Grisons, defends himself with the assistance of the Imperialists, ii. 148
........., ..., the French wishing to interfere in the quarrel offer their services to the former, ii. 201.
........., ..., ..., that they may have an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Milan, ii. 201.
........., Giovanino, or Joannino de', leader of the "Bande Nere," 827.
........., Giuliano de', 75 *note*; ii. 977.
........., Guido or Guidone de', bishop of Chieti, 571 *note*, 697; ii. 73, 980.
........., ..., living at Venice in retirement, 503, 542.
........., ..., his opinion on the divorce solicited by the English ambassadors, 503, 547.
........., ..., goes to Padua for the trial of a Lutheran friar, 527, 547.
........., ..., requested by Niño to come to England and exhort Henry to desist from the divorce, 538, 542–3.
........., ..., returns to Venice, and does meritorious work, 546, 552–3, 696.

Medici, Guido or Guidone de'—*cont.*
........., ..., to be arbiter in a dispute between the signory of Venice and king Ferdinand, 751.
........., ..., solicited by Niño to write in favour of Katharine, 779.
...., letter to the Emperor, 334.
........., cardinal Ippolito de', 75, 136–7, 143, 147, 149; ii. 33, 46, 467, 541, 988.
........., ..., in Mantua for the emperor's reception, 484.
........., ..., visits Cueva, and offers his services, 810, 826.
........., ..., Clement intends giving him the legacy at Avignon, 845.
........., ..., an abbey in France to be given to, 827.
........., ..., quarrels with his brother Alessandro, 732.
........., ..., ..., whom he hates beyond measure, ii. 54.
........., ..., goes to Florence without Clement's permission, ii. 136, 139, 140.
........., ..., ..., and declares that he will no longer be an ecclesiastic but a layman to offer his services to the emperor, ii. 55, 140.
........., ..., proposed for the archbishopric of Saragossa, ii. 330.
........., ..., appointed legate to the emperor's camp, ii. 469–70.
........., ..., leaves Rome, 8 July 1532, with money, ii. 479, 505.
........., ..., in command of a body of cavalry in Germany, ii. 503.
........., ..., rumors current at Rome in Oct. 1532 of his having been wounded in an encounter with the Turks, ii. 531.
........., ..., arrested at Santo Vito in Friul by the emperor's orders, ii. 532–3, 536, 538.
........., ..., allowed to proceed on his journey, ii. 540.
........., ..., set free, starts for Venice immediately, ii. 532, 536.
........., ..., mutual satisfactions and explanations given, ii. 538, 542.
........., ..., presented by Clement for the abbacy of Montferrara, ii. 713, 806.
........., ..., offers again his services to the emperor, ii. 826–7.
........., ..., at Marseilles with Clement,
........., ..., gives Silva information concerning the engagements taken at the conferences, ii. 848.
........., ..., refuses a pension from Francis, ii. 869.
........., ..., letter to the emperor, 1013.
........., ..., Lorenzo de', duke of Urbino, 757, 772 *note*; ii. 133, 707, 851.
........., ..., Lucrezia, wife of Jacopo Salviati, 334, 536, 539.
Medina, Fr. Juan de, ii. 83.
Medinaceli, town of Castille; 895, 902 *note*.

Medina del Campo, 447, 598, 602.

........, the town of Castille where most banking is carried on, 715–16, 742, 746, 774–5 ; ii. 2.

Mediterranean Sea, the coasts of the, in danger of a Turkish invasion, 502.

...., infested by Moorish and Turkish pirates, ii. 77.

Megret, *v* Maigret.

Melanchton, Melancthon, Philip, in London, ii. 323, 583, 610, 618.

Melfi, Melphi, prince of, *v.* Doria, Caracciolo.

Melilla, on the coast of Africa, ii. 916.

Melo, Francisco de, ii. 413.

Melun, the eels, of, ii. 670.

........, letter dated at, 777.

Memmingen, in Bavaria, 46.

Men-at-arms, imperial, are for want of pay and food actually obliged, like so many robbers, to maraud and seize any provisions coming to the camp before Florence, 318.

Mencia Dona (?), *v.* Alvarez, ii. 714.

Mendes de Vasconcellos, Alvaro, Portuguese ambassador at the imperial court, privy councillor, ii. 81, 82.

Mendoza, D. Alvaro de, 887 *note.*

........, D. Antonio de, the emperor's ambassador to Austria, 395–6, 456, 472, 479.

........, ..., on a mission to the empress in Spain, 528, 714, 716.

........, ..., instructions to, 254.

........, ..., bishop of Zamora in Spain, 183, 567.

........, Diego de, 322 *note.*

........, D. Francisco de, bishop of Coria, ii. 84.

........, D. Iñigo de, bishop of Burgos, imperial ambassador in England, *Int.* xxiii. ; 12, 21, 40, 154, 252.

........, ..., recalled, 174–5.

........, ..., reports from Flanders, 89–98, 132, 154, 196, 252–3.

........, ..., created cardinal by Clement, ii. 179–80, 184, 186, 189.

........, ..., alluded to, 433, 503, 536, 541, 565, 706.

........, ..., at Rome, ii. 432–3.

........, ..., in Naples, 817 ; ii. 186, 988.

........, ..., letters to the emperor (1529), 1, 27, 44, 83.

........, cap. Luys de, killed (1530) by the field master of the imperial army before Florence, 541.

........, D. Martin de, son of the duke of Infantado, ii. 217, 267, 269.

........, Mencia of, marchioness of Zenete, 620.

........, ..., marries Henri de Nassau, ii. 855.

........, Ferdinand duke of Cálabria, ii. 855 *note.*

........, ..., *v.* Gonzalez de Mendoza.

Meneses, Bernaldino de, ii. 713.

........, ..., *v.* Gutierrez de Meneses.

Mentabona, Mentebuona, chamberlain to pope Clement, employed by him on various missions, 510, 536, 539, 610.

Mèranie, Agnes de, 812 *note.*

Meraveglia (Merveilles?), a spy of Francis, not an ambassador as alleged, ii. 817, 850, 854.

........, sent to poison the duke of Milan, ii. 850.

........, execution of, at Milan (July 1533), ii. 756, 817 *note.*

........, Francis's remonstrances respecting, ii. 812.

Mercader, Archangel, a native of Perpignan, recommended for the secretaryship of the embassy at Rome, 827.

Mercado, Alonso de, in the service of archduke Ferdinand in Spain, 308, 771, 775, 783–4.

........, ..., brother of, *ibid.*

........, capt. Juan de, appointed governor of the citadel of Milan until the payment by Francesco Sforza of the money for his re-investiture of the duchy, 374, 478.

........, ..., his death, ii. 791.

........, ..., another (?), treasurer in Spain, 457, 479.

........, Rodrigo, bishop of Avila, in Spain, 776.

Merchants, English, in London, try to have a tax imposed upon foreigners, ii. 357, 478.

........, ..., two arrested for Lutheranism, 820–21.

........, ..., reported to have withdrawn their goods from the Low Countries for fear of war, ii. 688.

........, ..., ..., at which Henry is exceedingly sorry, *ibid.*

........, ..., much alarmed at the report of English woollen cloths having been suddenly prohibited in the Low Countries, ii. 860.

........, ..., better treated in Flanders than the Flemish in London, ii. 935.

........, foreign, in London ; the French and imperial ambassadors together claim redress of supposed wrongs to, 355.

........, ..., Chapuys' particular complaints to Norfolk on the subject, 357.

........, ..., carrying on trade with Spain and Flanders, consult Chapuys respecting the shipment of goods for those countries, 852, 854 ; ii. 360.

........, ..., wishing to know from the king whether there will be war or interruption of trade, ii. 875.

........, ..., about to send a deputation to Flanders to inquire, ii. 876.

Merchants, English, &c.—*cont.*
........, ..., one Flemish, particularly recommended by Katharine to Chapuys, ii. 474.
........, Imperial (Spanish), in London, better treated than the French (Dec. 1529), 369.
........, ..., ..., but worse than in Barbary (July 1530), ii. 478.
........, ..., exempted from payment of the City tax towards the expense of Anne's coronation, ii. 682–3.
.... in London, *v.* Easterlings.
........, Flemish, 369; ii. 474.
........, French, measures against the, 369.
Mercœur, duchess of, *v.* Savoie (Jeanne de).
Mercy, Order of, a Spaniard sent to England by the, 821.
Merino, Esteban Gabriel, bishop of Leon (1517–29), of Taen (1523–35), archbishop of Bari, patriarch of the Indies, cardinal of St. John and Paul (1533).
........, ..., sent as ambassador extraordinary to the papal court, 279, 289, 609, 703.
........, ..., commission and instructions to (Oct. 1529), 183, 184.
........, ..., his first conference with Clement (16 Oct.), 286.
........, ..., follows him to Bologna, 290, 292, 311, 319–20.
........, ..., again at Rome on an extraordinary mission (May 1533), ii. 660, 683–5, 685–7, 703–4.
........, ..., his disagreement with the count of Cifuentes, ii. 726–8, 731–2, 736.
........, ..., letters to the Emperor (1529), 190, 191, 193, 198, 206, 1075, 1079–80, 1084.
........, ..., to the high commander Cobos, 1068, 1074.
........, ..., notice of, *Int.* ii., xv–ii.
Merklin, Balthasar, provost of Valtkirke or Valtkerke, to be presented to the church of Malta, 13, 79, 89, 453, 455, 473.
Merle d'Aubigné, his "Histoire de la Réforme" quoted, ii. 312 *note.*
Messina, in Sicily, 557; ii. 718.
........, the papal galleys at, ii. 741.
Messinghen (Memingen?), punishment by Ferdinand the archduke to the inhabitants of, to be left for another opportunity (March 1530), 483.
Mians, *v.* Amiens.
Michiel, a native of Gravelines, once a servant of Mr. de Gueldres (Egmont?), in London, 536.
Mieburch (?), the two sons of the, ii. 956.
Mignanelli (Minganelli?), Micer Fabio, consistorial advocate at Rome, ii. 159.
Mignano, count, a brother of Cesare Ferramosca, 568.
Mignone la, a ship of 150 tons, for Henry to cross the Channel in 1532, ii. 253, 524.
Miguel, Master, cross-bow maker, in Saragossa, ii. 779.
........, Fernando, of Salamanca, signs the opinion of the college of San Bartholomé in that university, 841.
Milan, duchy of, partition of, contemplated, 31–2, 113, 131.
........, ..., the emperor does not want it for himself, but intends it for his brother, 172–3.
........, duchy of, what to be done with the, in the event of Francesco Sforza being deprived of it, 131.
........, ..., various plans proposed, such as a partition between the Italian powers, the establishment of a republic, &c., 132.
........, ..., negociations at Rome and elsewhere concerning the, 203–4.
........, ..., ambassadors from Francesco Sforza call upon Charles at Piacenza, 208.
........, ..., ..., and make proposals which are rejected, 209.
........, ..., terms offered by Charles equally rejected by the duke, 217.
........, ..., Spanish infantry to attack immediately Cremona, Pavia, and other places still held by the duke, 219.
........, ..., considered to be the origin of the last wars, 246.
........, ..., solicited by Ferdinand the archduke, 336.
........, ..., Francis offers to pay the remainder of Sforza's fine on condition of the investiture of, being transferred to his son, the duke of Orleans, 772; ii. 74, 76, 90.
........, ..., false reports concerning the, circulated by the French, 786.
........, ..., Francis' views respecting, ii. 181–3, 185, 188.
........, ..., much coveted by Francis, ii. 181–3, 185, 188, 843.
........, ..., Francis' supposed claims to the, 824; ii. 129.
........, ..., ..., must have it, with the emperor's consent, or without, *ibid.*; ii. 434, 437–8.
........, ..., Francis' proposals to Venice respecting the, ii. 459.
........, ..., ..., his pretensions to the, and to Asti, renewed, ii. 812, 851, 870.
.... city, to be attacked by St. Pol, 16.
........, ..., Spanish infantry at, mutiny, 217, 282.
........, ..., letters dated at, 7, 157.
........, ..., the vicar and "Dodeci della Provisione" in, to the emperor, 157.
........, Milanese, in fear of the Italian league, 17.

Militia, new, created at Granada for the attempted rebellion of the Moriscoes, 866.

Minerbetti, Francisco, archbishop of Torre, in Sardinia (Turritanus), ii. 988.

Mingoval, Mr. de (Ercole ?), in London, one of the emperor's chamberlains, on a mission, 330, 352, 353, 337–8, 341–5, 347, 364, 369, 390, 413, 464.

........., ..., returns to Flanders, 355.

........., ..., Henry's answer to the proposals brought by, in 1530, 411–13.

........., sieur de, *v.* Lannoy.

Miniano, count, *v.* Ferramosca and Mignano.

Minkwitz, a Saxon family, ii. 346, 992.

Miranda, captain, 364.

........., count of, *v.* Zuñiga y Avellaneda.

Mirandola *v.* Pico.

........., lawyer at Rome, 565.

........., marquis of, 872.

........., Thomasso, Venetian ambassador to Constantinople, ii. 573 *note*.

Miras, Las, the duke of Ferrara going to, 49.

Mocenigo, Luigi, 454.

Modena, Modona, and Reggio retained by the duke of Ferrara, 166, 178, 245 ; ii. 32.

........., Clement's claims on, unabated, ii. 32, 47–8, 56.

........., possession of, to be decided by the emperor's arbitrary sentence, 249, 609, 679, 700, 728.

........., Papal commissary collecting tithes at, ii. 290.

........., riots in, ii. 186.

........., keeping of, intrusted in the meantime to Pero Zapata as governor, ii. 243, 609, 782.

.... finally surrendered to the pope (1531), ii. 243, 249.

........., bishop of, *v.* Morone.

........., governor of, *v.* Zapata.

........., letter dated at, 1178.

Modon, in Greece, the Venetian galleys at, 184.

........., attack on, recommended by the duke of Albany, ii. 234, 530.

........., taking of, by Martinengo, much felt by Solyman, ii. 324, 468.

........., Turkish galleys about to sail for, ii. 457.

Mohatz, in Hungary, 98 *note*, 169, 341.

Moldaves, the, occupy Transylvania, 165.

Moles, Francisco, Spanish captain, 365.

Molfetta, in Naples, taken by the Venetians, 163, 178.

........., held by Renzo da Ceri, 363.

........., surrendered to the imperialists, 363–4.

........., Doña Catalina de, mother of Covos, the emperor's principal secretary, ii. 744.

........., Diego de, ii. 807.

Molucco or Maluccas, islands in the eastern seas, ceded to Portugal by Spain, 401.

Monaco, Monago, in Italy, 174.

........., negociations for the cession of, to the emperor, 125–6.

........., galleys of, to serve against the Turk, 795 ; ii. 687.

........., lord archbishop of, *v.* Grimaldo.

........., letter dated at, 75.

........., the French try to take, ii. 504.

........., a captain from, knight of Santiago, with letters from the duke of Savoy and Agostino Grimaldo, comes to London in July 1531, and tries to persuade king Henry to arm six galleys against the Turk, ii. 225.

Monasterio de Rodilla, in Castille, 713.

Monbardon, Montbardon, imperial courier, 267, 281, 289, 309, 395.

Moncada, D. Ugo de, *Int.* xi. *note ;* 30, 122, 246.

Monçon *v.* Monzon.

Mondejar, marquis of (Hurtado de Mendoza), ii. 916.

Mondoñedo, bishop of, *v.* Guevara, Pacheco.

Monego, *v.* Monaco.

Money in 1530 ; Henry more in want of money than ever, having little of it, and being besides very avaricious (Aug. 1530), 691.

Money scarce in Castille, and the rate of interest very high, 716.

Monfalconet, baron de ; his mission to England in April 1532, ii. 433, 440, 445, 447, 449.

Monferrara, abbey of, ii. 829.

Monferrato *v.* Montferrato.

Monopoli, a town of Naples, held by the Venetians, 14, 318, 328.

........., ..., surrendered, 456, 576.

Monreale, in Sicily, 561.

........., bishopric of, vacant, 866.

Mons, in Flanders, 103, 175.

........., letter dated at, 117.

Monsirone *v.* Mongirone.

Montaborinus, Christopher, Cromwell's clerk, on a mission to Germany, ii. 877, 996.

Montagna di Sant Angelo, 363–4.

Montagu, lord, *v.* Pole.

Montague, viscount, *v.* Bayard.

Montaldi, family of the, at Genoa, 831.

Montalto, duke of, *v.* Aragon.

Montalvo, Dr. Francisco de, signs the opinion of the university of Salamanca against the divorce, 841.

Montanyes (Montañes), Spanish captain, executed by order of the marquis del Vasto, ii. 122.

Mont de Marsan, in Gascony, 619–20.

Monte, Antonio Maria Ciochi di, bishop of Porto (1524–33), *Int.* xxiii.

.... Aragon, abbacy of, 13, 61, 153, 701, 728 ; ii. 958.

.... [a Sansovino], cardinal Antonio Ciochi da, governor of Rome in 1529, 7, 267, 530, 585, 611, 708, 629 ; ii. 32, 327–8, 468, 470, 630, 708, 806.

.... Cavallo, the pope at, unable to enter Rome owing to the overflowing of the Tiber, 751.

.... Doca, Montes de Oca, Johan or Julian, imperial solicitor at Rome, ii. 238, 247, 557, 565.

........., Giovan Maria, archbishop of Manfredonia, designated for a mission to the emperor (Nov. 1530), 829 ; ii. 711.

Montefeltro, Agnesina di, mother of Ascanio Colonna, 212.

........., Giovanna di, mother of Francesco Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino, 212.

Montefortino, castle of, in Romagna, 610, 655.

........., lord of, *v.* Colonna (Julio).

Monte Leone, duke of, *v.* Pignatello.

Montesa, Military Order of, in Aragon, 678.

Montesperello, Gio. Benedetto da, Malatesta's secretary, arrested by the pope's men as he was returning from France, 196.

Montferrato, marquisate of, claimed by the marquis de Saluzzo and by the duke of Savoy, ii. 713, 905.

........., the fief of, 636.

........., Leyra's opinion respecting the possession of, ii. 666, 994.

........., marquis of, *v.* Paleologo.

........., marchioness dowager of, *v.* Alençon.

........., heiress of, *v.* Paleologo (Mary).

........., her sister, *v.* Margaret.

........., ..., suit and negociations for the marriage of, *v.* Gonzaga.

........., abbey vacant in, ii. 713.

........., cardinal Medici presented to, *ibid.*

Montfort, count de, master of the horse to the emperor, 68; 112 ; ii. 462.

........., death of (1530), ii. 9, 86, 462.

........., Guillaume, baron de, on a mission to Italy and Flanders, 34, 100, 575.

Monti, the, at Sienna, ii. 383.

Montmorency, Anne de, count of Beaumont, grand master and constable of France, 106–9, 205, 384, 459, 487, 575, 577, 614, 675.

........., ..., at the Spanish frontier for the delivery of the sons of Francis, 619.

........., ..., ..., returns therefrom, 681, 685.

........., ..., as much a partisan of peace as Francis is warlike, ii. 51.

........., ..., starts for Calais, ii. 516.

........., ..., present at the conferences, ii. 849–50.

........., ..., at Marseilles with king Francis, ii. 826, 829.

Montmorency, Anne de, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., nephew of, in London, Coligny (?), ii. 851.

........., Jean de, ii. 973.

........., (Philip de), sieur de Courrières, the emperor's steward, 488, 553 ; ii. 973.

........., ..., on a mission to Venice (Feb. 1530), 454, 488 ; ii. 979.

........., ..., ..., returns, 492.

........., ..., ..., instructions to, 281.

Montorio, count, in the service of Ferrara, 49.

Montoya, Chapuys' secretary, sent by Katharine on a mission to Spain in 1529, ii. 214, 967.

........., Hieronymo, imperial captain, *ibid.*

Montpezant, Montpezat, sieur de, *v.* Pres.

Monza, in Lombardy, 374.

Monzon, town of Aragon, 78, 683, 718, 790, 839 ; ii. 780, 785, 842.

........., cortes held at, in 1533, ii. 779.

........., petition the emperor not to grant bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices to foreigners, 824.

........., letters dated at, 1118–19, 1125, 1134–5, 1141, 1146, 1150–51, 1160, 1166–8.

Moors newly converted, or Moriscos of Granada, 12 ; ii. 849.

Moqueron, imperial messenger, 112.

Morales, treasurer, 885–6.

Morano (Murano), near Venice, the duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este, at, 654.

More, the, a royal manor in Hertfordshire, 486.

........., Katharine at (from Aug. to Dec. 1531), ii. 228, 273, 332, 348, 353.

........., letters dated at, 819, 860, 877.

........., Sir Thomas, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster (15), lord high chancellor ; the most learned man in the kingdom, and a good servant of queen Katharine, 304.

........., ..., seals delivered to (Dec. 1529), 304, 322–24, 326, 346, 416.

........., ..., not present at the meeting of prelates and lords (12 Jan. 1530), 599.

........., ..., at Hampton Court (11 Aug. 1530), 690.

........., ..., speaks so much in favour of Katharine that he is on the point of being dismissed from office, 727.

........., ..., is so horrified at the turn affairs are taking that he thinks of resigning, ii. 71.

........., ..., has always behaved well to Katharine and shown such affection to the emperor that he is justly called in London "the protector of the imperialists," ii. 80.

........., ..., on good terms with Chapuys, who causes the emperor to write him a letter, ii. 98, 114.

........., in the Privy Council, ii. 252.

........., ..., opposes the bill, ii. 446, 452–3.

........., ..., resigns, and gives up the seals (16 May 1532), ii. 449.

Morette, Mr. de or de la, *v.* Soliers.

Morezin, *v.* Morosini.

Moriana, S. Giovanne di, in Savoy, bishopric of, 119, 146, 172.

........., bishop of, *v.* Gorrevod.

Moriano, Hironimo, secretary of the Venetian ambassador in London, ii. 993.

Moriscoes, the, of Andalucia; give signs of disaffection, 866.

........., the newly converted, of Valencia, 12.

Morone, Moron, Girolamo, Milanese ambassador at Rome; in Naples, 19, 65, 145, 164, 371–2.

........., ..., with the pope, negociating on behalf of his master, 179, 206, 249, 842–3.

........., ..., on a mission to the prince of Orange, 219.

........., ..., secretary of, *v.* Martirano.

........., Moron, bishop of Modena, to replace his father Girolamo in the embassy Rome, 843; ii. 986.

Morosini, Andrea, Venetian gentleman, 455, 543.

Mosambique, ii. 413.

Moscardo, Lodovico, his history of Verona quoted, ii. 961.

Moscettola, *v.* Muscetula.

Moscoso, Dr., a Spaniard residing at Paris, writes a book in favour of queen Katharine and against the divorce, ii. 266.

........., ..., ..., much approved by bishop Fisher, *ibid.*

Mosquera, capn., has a narrow escape at Naples from Spanish mutineers, 567.

........., ..., obliged to refund 1,000 ducats, 568.

Mota, Hieronymo Aleandro, bishop of Brindisi, *v.* Aleander.

Motril, on the coast of Granada, 886.

Motzbeck, the silversmith, ii. 202.

Mountjoy, lord, *v.* Blount.

Mugectola, *v.* Muscetula.

Munckwitz, Mynkuitz, agent of the duke of Saxony (?), at Cracow with Lasky and Lobosky (1531), ii. 346, 991.

Muñoz, imperial solicitor at Rome, ii. 634.

........., a hosier, at Valladolid, 774.

........., imperial courier, 742.

........., D. Juan, *Int.* xxii.

Mur, *v. More.*

Mura, La, (Mur ?), river of, ii. 519.

Murano, close to Venice, 653.

Murcia, city of, Spain, 84.

.... the see of, to be united to that of Cartagena, 734.

Muros, prior, ii. 282.

Mus, Musso, castle in the del. of Como, ii. 29.

........., marquis of, *v.* Medici (Gianiacopo).

Muscetula, Muxetula, Giovan Antonio, a Neapolitan, *Int.* xvii.; 5, 8, 9, 10, 380, 580–81, 595, 603–4, 763, 841, 843, 846, 877–8; ii. 66, 77, 209, 298, 434–5, 442, 479.

........., ..., appointed by Clement to represent him as papal commissary at the camp before Florence, 501, 524–5.

........., ..., returns to Rome (11 May 1529), 536.

........., ..., reports, 540–41.

........., ..., again to Florence, 562.

........., ..., leaves for Naples (26 June), to procure money for the army before Florence, 525, 570, 611, 635.

........., ..., much wanted in Florence and at Rome, 680.

........., ..., arrives at the imperial camp, 710–11.

........., ..., objects to the draft of the capitulation of Florence (Aug. 1530), 694.

........., ..., ..., which is subsequently amended with regard to Malatesta and Stephano Colonna.

........., ..., asks for leave, 777–8.

........., ..., suggests that the money collected for the repulsion of the Turk be employed against the Lutherans, 781.

........., ..., ..., in which idea Grammont concurs, though Andrea del Burgo disapproves of it, *ibid.*

........., ..., negociating in Rome together with Mai and Loaysa, 763–5, 779, 781, 806–7; ii. 130, 137.

........., ..., seems to know more about Clement's secret thoughts than any one else in Rome, 821.

........., ..., chosen by Clement to represent, against the disadvantages of the general council, 826.

........., ..., again sent to Florence to report on the state of affairs in that city, 851, 859.

........., ..., back in Rome (Jan. 1531), ii. 18, 33, 58, 347.

........., ..., reports a long conversation with Clement, respecting Francis' views about Milan and the marriage of Caterina his niece (1531), ii. 178–9.

........., ..., again to Florence, ii. 179.

........., ..., to be present at the reception of duke Alessandro, ii. 184.

........., ..., recommended by Clement to Charles (July 1531), ii. 220.

........., ..., back from Florence (14 Aug.), ii. 231.

.........; ......, his differences with Miçer Mai, the ambassador, ii. 236, 436–7, 469; ii. *Int.* vii–x.

........., ..., ..., with Burgo, 436–7; ii. *Int.* vii–x.

Muscetula (Muxetula), Giovan Antonio, &c. —*cont.*

........., ..., his differences with cardinal Loaysa, ii. *Int.* ix.

........., ..., ..., with Colonna at Naples, 816, 822; ii. 17, 33.

........., ..., trying in vain for a cardinal's hat, ii. 469.

........., ..., ..., which he will not get, for it has been found that he is of Jewish origin, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., perhaps, too, aiming at the pontificate, ii. *Int.* ix.

........., ..., his nephew, son of a Neapolitan rebel, ii. 236.

........., ..., recalled, ii. 545.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 296, 306, 313, 325, 332–3, 338, 341, 349, 357, 361, 395, 410, 413, 417, 423–4, 441, 459, 462, 470, 475, 484, 499, 501, 508, 545, 591, 593, 599, 608–9, 612, 627–9, 640, 645, 658, 668, 687, 703, 707, 715, 726, 734, 741, 743, 761, 780, 791, 803, 816, 830, 844–5, 850–51, 858, 869, 871, 889, 894, 903, 918, 920, 935, 937, 944, 1016–17.

........., ..., to the empress, 890.

........., ..., to the high commander (Cobos), 611, 622, 719, 724.

Muscovite, the, a vassal of Sigismund of Poland, included in the treaty with Turkey, ii. 756.

........., ambassadors of, at the court of Charles, ii. 961.

Muzan, Brasco Antonio di, a native of Vicenza, 491.

Myrambee (Mirambeau), in dep. Charente Inferieure; letter dated at, 336.

N.

Najera, capital of Rioja, in Spain, 885.

........., duke of, *v.* Lara.

Namors, *v.* Nemours.

Namur, in Belgium, 174.

Nancy, in Lorraine, 174.

Naples, kingdom of, 17–19, 35, 123, 129, 171, 495, 541, 609; ii. 886.

........., ..., the census or feudal prestation for, to be prorogued at the emperor's request, 180, 185, 311.

........., ..., Spanish infantry and light horse at, deserting to go to Rome and Florence, 195.

........., ..., "fuorusciti" or emigrants of, give trouble, 14, 88, 515, 546, 577.

........., ..., spies set among them by Mai, 88.

Naples, kingdom of—*cont.*

........., ..., innovations introduced by the papal nuncio at, to be complained of, 525.

........., ..., commissioner appointed to try the rebel barons of, 561.

........., ..., Colonna the viceroy, and Alarcon the military commander, disagree, 171, 177.

........., ..., Spaniards in the, discontented, owing to their being deprived of what they so justly earned during the last war, 364.

........., ..., administration and government of, 372–3, 380, 609, 806.

........., ..., sadly in want of the emperor's presence, 400, 408.

........., ..., infested by highwaymen, 727.

........., ..., plague in, 751.

........., ..., property confiscated from the rebel barons to be sold, 777.

........., ..., bad state of the finances, 777.

........., ..., Charles advised to visit his kingdom of, on his return from Germany, ii. 179, 208.

........., ..., ..., since the state of affairs there is unsatisfactory, ii. 181, 260.

........., ..., money from, for the imperial army, not forthcoming, ii. 340.

........., ..., the revenue of, quite insufficient, ii. 342.

........., city of, mutiny of the Spanish infantry in, 684.

........., ..., put down by the viceroy Colonna, on the pay to the men of part of their wages, 700.

........., ..., galleys of, ii. 687.

........., ..., gentleman from, going to Turkey with 10 mounted retainers, ii. 339.

........., ..., collateral council of, 679.

........., ..., viceroys of, *v.* Chalon; Colonna; Toledo; Lannoy.

........., cardinal archbishop of, *v.* Sanseverino.

........., ..., regent of the court, *v.* Gattinara.

........., ..., treasurer, *v.* Sanchez.

........., ..., letters dated at, 67, 218, 231, 261.

Napoli, Cesare di, 524, 525.

Narbonne, in France, a meeting of Louise de Savoie and of Charles, or his chancellor Gattinara, proposed at, 71.

........., the delivery of the hostages to take place at, or Fontarrabia in Spain, 313.

........., cardinal of, *v.* Castelnau.

Narciso, Dr., one of the emperor's physicians, ii. 395.

Nasao, *v.* Nassau.

Nasi, Nassy, Roberto, a Florentine, 676.

Nassadista, Nassadita, 198, 611.

.... meaning of the word, ii. 975.

Nassau, Henry, count of, marquis de Cenete, lord high chamberlain to the emperor, *Int.* xxv., 100, 116, 266; ii. 297, 908.

........., ..., at Charles's coronation in Bologna, 312.

........., ..., much disliked by cardinal Loaysa, 859.

........., ..., his quarrel and law-suit with Philip, landgrave of Hesse, ii. 322, 330.

........., ..., at the cortes of Monzon, ii. 904.

........., ..., on a mission to the palatine Frederic, ii. 908.

........., ..., brother of, ii. 297.

Naturelli, Neturelli, Philip, provost of St. Mary of Utrecht, generally called Dom. Prevost, 59.

........., ..., arrival of, in Rome, 59, 82.

Navarre, kingdom of, along the Pyrenees, conquest of, by Ferdinand the Catholic; assistance towards it given from England, ii. 171.

........., ..., a constant sore to Francis, ii. 173.

........., ..., fortresses and passes in Navarre to be strengthened against an attempt from the French, ii. 492, 591.

........., Madame de, daughter of Henri d'Albret, 751.

........., ..., sought in marriage by the duke of Mantua, Frederico Gonzaga, *ibid.*

........., king of, *v.* Albret.

........., prince of, ii. 845.

........., viceroy of, *v.* Cueva, duke of Alburquerque.

........., prince of, (Henri II.), son of Henri d'Albret, ii. 417.

........., sister of, (Catherine) likely to be married to King James of Scotland, ii. 417.

Neapolitan emigrants in Rome, Venice, and France, *v.* Fuorusciti.

Negro, abbot, *v.* Nero.

Neidhardt, Sebastian, a citizen of Augsburg, agent of the archbishop of Maintz, 797.

Nemours, town of France, 16.

........., duc de, *v.* Savoie (Philippe).

Nero, Marco (?) del, abbot, employed by Clement in various missions to France, ii. 203–4, 306, 362, 828, 991.

........., *v.* Doria.

Neustat (Newstadt), in Austria, ii. 254, 525.

........., false report of the taking of, by the Turks, ii. 254, 525.

........., ..., spread in London by the French ambassador (La Pommeraye), a most mischievous news-monger, ii. 454, 525–6.

Neuville, sieur de, *v.* Bayard.

Nevers, Mr. de, 620.

Neville, Sir George, lord Abergavenny, ii. 497, 992; ii. *Int.* xxx.

Newenar, count, ii. 908.

Newmarkt, in Silesia (?), 974.

Newport, Nieuport, town of Flanders, ii. 932.

Nicola (?), count, a Mantuan, 837.

Niccolò (?), count, returning from Germany with news (Dec. 1530), 843.

Nice, *v.* Nizza.

Niccolizza, governor of Gunz, ii. 993.

Nicea, council of, alluded to, ii. 129.

Nicholas, Dr., called the Italian friar, one of the principal writers in favour of Henry's divorce, 858; ii. 984.

Nicolino, Girolamo, his "Historia della Città di Chieti" quoted, 571 *note.*

Nigno, *v.* Niño.

Niño, Juan, brother of the imperial ambassador Rodrigo; knighthood asked for, ii. 92.

........., Pedro, count of Buelña. *Int.* xx. *note.*

........., Rodrigo, imperial ambassador in Venice, notice of, *Int.* xix.

........., ..., reports from Venice, 480, 490, 492, 496, 502, 521, 525, 536, 540, 542, 544, 546, 571, 578; ii. 92, 168.

........., ..., a perfect gentleman, but not a scholar; to be addressed in Spanish, 454.

........., ..., consults a question of precedence at the reception of duke Sforza in Venice, 698–9.

........., ..., does his utmost to counteract Casale's action in Venice, and reports on Stokesly's doings there and at Padua, 653–55, 660, 680, 695–9, 704, 727–28; ii. 7, 60, 469, 807.

........., ..., conversation with the doge Gritti, respecting Milan and French intrigues, 830.

........., ..., corresponds with Mai, 836, 851.

........., ..., sends advices from the Turk, ii. 32, 192.

........., ..., instructions to, 281.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 288–89, 294, 297, 304, 307, 310, 312, 317, 335, 355, 365, 384, 387–9, 415, 439, 457, 519, 562, 660, 714, 915, 958, 1036, 1049.

........., ..., to Micer Mai, at Rome, 311.

........., ..., to Cobos, 375.

Nisano in Aragon, ii. 999.

Nizza, in Piemont, 14.

........., the French fleet arrives at, 478.

........., mortgaged to France by one of the dukes of Savoy, 204–5.

........., an interview between Clement and Francis to take place at, 727–8, 746; ii. 204, 688–9, 705, 816.

........., ..., to be prevented if possible, ii. 683.

........., ..., ultimately held at Marseilles, ii. 698–9, 816, 829, 842, 844, 868–9, 870, 886–9.

Nogarolo, Noguerolles, count Girolamo II. 961.
........., Leonardo, count, one of Charles's chamberlains, sent on various missions by Ferdinand the archduke, 34, 168–9, 192, 197, 203, 250–51, 259, 265, 281, 490; ii. 133, 961.
........., ..., instructions to (1529), 113.
........., ..., Ferdinand's letter to, 138.
........., ..., his mission to Denmark, ii. 145.
........., ..., ..., to the imperial court concerning the Lutherans (1533), ii. 785, 961.
Nordlinghen, in Bavaria, 46.
Norfolk, duke of, *v.* Howard.
........., duchess of, *v.* Stafford.
........., dowager, *v.* Tylney.
Noircames, Mr. de, sommelier du corps to the emperor, sent on a mission to Francis, 668, 744, 802.
........., ..., sent on a mission to Francis,
........., ..., of the emperor's privy council, ii. 903.
Normandy, William of, the Conqueror, alluded to, ii. 26.
Norquemes, *v.* Noircames.
Northumberland, earl of, *v.* Percy.
Nova Aquila, *v.* Aquila.
Novalesa, in Savoy (?), 240.
Novara, in Sardinia, 403.
Novellara, count Hannibale della, in Venice, ii. 454, 456, 458, 467, 717.
Nove, monte di, at Siena, ii. 983.
Novi, the castle of, taken by Leonelo Pio da Carpi, ii. 800, 805, 827.
........., ..., the league not considering itself bound to bring about the restoration of, ii. 828.
Novocastro, abbey of, in Italy, applied for by Mai for one of Ferdinand's servants, 82, 89.
Nuñez [de Guzman], Ramiro, his estate in Spain confiscated and sold, 747.
Nuncios, &c., in England, *v.* Campeggio, Casale, Borgho.
........., another, an auditor at the Rota, ii. 765.
........., at the imperial court, 592, 784, 791; ii. 830.
........., ..., at Barcelona, *v.* Sclède.
........., ..., at Piacenza, 208.
........., ..., at Bologna, *v.* Quiñones, Farnese, Medici.
........., ..., in Germany, *v.* Campeggio, Gambara, Poggio.
........., ..., one sent to negociate about the Council, ii. 766.
........., ..., legates to the emperor at Mantua, two of Clement's nephews (Alessandro and Ippolito) sent by him to Mantua for the emperor's reception in that city (1530), 484.
Nuncios, papal—*cont.*
........., ..., in Austria, *v.* Coppa (1529); 59, 82, 88, 117.
........., ..., knighthood of Santiago for a nephew or relative of (1533), ii. 49, 50, 52, 778, 833.
........., ..., in France, *v.* Salviati and Pio da Carpi.
........., ..., ..., (1529) Triulzo, 249, 266–7, 375.
........., ..., ..., (1530) the same, 259, 528, 562, 555, 561, 583, 669, 761, 793, 836.
........., ..., ..., ordered to obtain possession of a book written or published in France, 737.
........., ... , to Milan, a minorite, Clement's confessor, sent to remove any scruples of the duke Sforza respecting his marriage to Caterina (July 1531), ii. 912.
........., ..., in Naples, *v.* Arcella.
........., ..., to Scotland (June 1530), 582; ii. 17; *v.* Uvaldino.
........., ..., the cardinal of Liege with a message from Clement, ii. 815.
........., ..., ..., an auditor of the rota (Fr. Jacopo di Lodi?) on his way to Scotland (1530), 857, 863.
........., ..., ..., badly received by the king and privy council (1532), ii. 370–71.
........., ..., ..., allowed to proceed on his journey thither, and to exercise all papal faculties on his passage, ii. 354.
........., ..., ..., daily expected back in London, ii. 465.
........., ..., to Switzerland (Filonardo), ii. 664.
........., ..., of Venice, 496; *v.* Arcella and Filonardo.
........., ..., a legate in June 1530, much alarmed at the duke of Ferrara's sudden arrival in Venice (May 1530), 554.
........., ..., living most of the time at his house in the Paduan, 613.
........., ..., ordered to remonstrate against Renzo da Ceri making levies in the territory of the signory, 867.
Nüremberg, diet of, *Int.* xxvii. 46, 348; ii. 474–5.
........., protest signed at, ii. 955.

O.

Obrovazzo (Obroabzo), in Dalmatia, Turkish "fustees" being built at, for the purpose of attacking the neighbouring town of Zara (?), 521.
Obtonaz, in Sclavonia, burning of the Turkish fleet at, 635.
Ocaña, town of New Castille, 786, 838, 881; ii. 160.
........., letters dated at, 477, 570.

Ochoa de Landa, treasurer, 715, 746, 771, 774.

Ocken, Oking, Ockham in Surrey, king Henry at, ii. 782, 996.

Odet de Selve, Jean, sieur de Cromyères, first president of the Parliament of Paris, 744.

Œcolampadius, the reformist, ii. 355.

Ognibene, Master Thomas, prior of the Dominicans at Venice; gives opinion in favour of the divorce, 696.

......, ..., which he hands over to the imperial ambassador, 830.

Ogonyl, 206.

Oldradus (?), his opinion on the divorce case, *Int.* xxiv.

Oloron, a town of Bearn, *Int.* xxii.

Omnibonus, Oniven, *v.* Ognibene.

Oppel Vicedmis (?), ii. 346, 992.

Oran, in Africa, ii. 266, 916.

........., governor of, *v.* Comares.

Orange, prince of, *v.* Chalon.

Orbieto, *Int.* xi.; 8, 20, 723, 759; ii. 53, 60.

........., Clement's brief from, promising Henry that the divorce will be looked into, and decided in his favour, 759.

Orders, military, in Spain, 61, 77, 119.

........., ..., mastership of the, to be administered by the empress Isabella during the emperor's absence from Spain, 77, 160.

........., ..., permission to marry, applied for by the knights of, 160.

Ordnance, several pieces of, lent by Ferdinand to his brother, the emperor, 336, 354, 455.

........., ..., eighty of them, with the arms of France, sold by Leyva to the marquis of Mantua (Frederico Gonzaga), 485.

........., ..., several cast in London, ii. 885.

........., ..., stores of, in Spain, ii. 266.

Orense, bishop of, *v.* Valdés.

Oria, marquis d', 561; *v.* Doria.

Orihuela, bishopric of, to be united to that of Cartagena, 806.

Oristan, bishopric of, 218.

........., bishop of, *v.* Grimaldo.

Orleans, town of France, 809.

........., duchy of, to be given to Henri de' Valois on his marriage to Caterina de' Medici, ii. 848.

........., university of, consulted, gives opinion in favour of the divorce, 818; ii. 41, 212, 214, 217, 810.

........., Claude d', duke of Longueville, ii. 619.

........., François d', duke of Longueville, son of Claude, ii. 990.

........., Louis d', brother of the preceding, ii. 620.

Orleans, Jean d', archbishop of Toulouse, ii. 51, 179, 184, 244, 284, 289.

........., ..., application for a cardinal's hat rejected, ii. 244, 330, 340.

........., Margaret, sister of Francis, and widow of Charles IV., duke of Alençon, 108; ii. 990, 999.

........., duke of, *v.* Valois.

Ormond, earl of, *v.* Boleyn.

Orrus, *v.* Rœulx.

Orsini, Roman family, their feud with the Colonnese, 15, 22, 88.

........., join the league against Charles, 44.

........., quarrels of, interfered with, 118.

........., count Pitigiliano, one of the most influential among them, 153, 872.

........., overrun the Campagna of Rome, 135, 171; ii. 219.

........., to be employed in the Hungarian campaign, ii. 505.

Orsino, Camillo, arrives in London on a secret mission of Francis, ii. 445.

........., ..., accompanied by two captains, one a Neapolitan, the other from Gheldres, ii. 448–9, 451, 453.

........., ..., boasts that he purposes to revenge himself from injuries received, and the confiscation of his estates in Naples, ii. 449.

........., ..., ..., and that he is going to Dantzig on behalf of Francis, ii. 449.

........., ..., no reliable information obtained about his plans, though his frequent conferences with the king and the duke of Norfolk are much open to suspicion, ii. 445, 448.

........., ..., on his leaving for Dantzig or Hamburg is presented by Henry with 200 ducs., ii. 448.

........., ..., offers his services to Henry, ii. 451.

........., ..., hearing that the imperial ministers in Flanders have their eyes on him, determines to pass through France, ii. 451.

........., ..., embarks at Sandwich, watched by Chapuys' spies, ii. 451, 453.

........., ..., ..., who follow him into France, ii. 465.

........., ..., report of his going to join the Turk, ii. 477.

........., ..., ..., contradicted by the duke of Norfolk, *ibid.*

........., Madona Felice, sister of the ex-abbot of Farfa, induced by the bishop of Tarbes to send her son to France, 750.

........., ..., which she refuses, *ibid.*

........., Lodovico, count of Pitigliano, at war with the Sienese, who claim his estate, 15, 22, 67, 82.

........., ..., makes a truce with them, 88, 152.

........., ..., offers his services to the emperor, 152.

Orsino, Napoleone, ex-abbot of Farfa, threatens to go to France, 15, 16, 62, 63, 135, 191.

.........., ..., joins the Italian league against Clement and Charles, 48, 65.

.........., ..., about to raise troops for the service of the Florentines, 164, 174, 179.

.........., ..., one of his secretaries captured on the road to Florence, 164, 179, 193.

.........., ..., takes cardinal Santacroce prisoner on the road to Bologna, 165.

.........., ..., sets him free conditionally, 193.

.........., ..., overruns the Campagna to the gates of Rome, 171, 193, 594.

.........., ..., the imperial embassy fortified against a sudden attack of, 193.

.........., ..., Clement and the Romans much alarmed at his frequent forays, 193, 206.

.........., ..., helps the Florentines with 500 men, 212.

.........., ..., returns to Rome and offers his services to Micer Mai, 540, 591.

.........., ..., seizes his brother's estate, 542.

.........., ..., his marriage to a daughter of Julio Colonna reported, 542, 567, 592, 609, 858.

.........., ..., Clement decides to punish, 567.

.........., ..., makes peace with cardinal Colonna, 595.

.........., ..., attacked by Ascanio at Vicovaro, 608, 610.

.........., ..., takes to flight and goes to Montefortino, 635.

.........., ..., not considering himself secure in the Romagna or in Naples, takes shelter in Venice, 657.

.........., ..., calls on the imperial ambassador and protests of his attachment to the empire, 657.

.........., ..., under the protection of the French ambassador, 705.

.........., ..., his castle of Bracciano to be invested by the papal troops, 717, 727.

.........., ..., ..., unless he surrenders unconditionally, *ibid.*

.........., ..., Grammont and Casale intercede for, 717, 872.

.........., ..., no faith to be attached to his professions, 727.

.........., ..., attacked by the papal troops under Giovan Paolo da Ceri, 750, 785, 842.

.........., ..., pardoned by Clement (1533), ii. 850.

.........., ..., his stepmother (Madonna Felice), 872.

.........., Giovan Paolo, son of Renzo, 523; *v.* Ceri.

.... da Ceri, Renço or Lorenço, *v.* Ceri.

Ortenburg, count (Salamanca ?), 128.

Ortiz, Francisco, brother of Dr. Pedro, *Int.* xvii.; ii. 117, 461, 659.

Ortiz, Juan, *Int.* xvii. *note*; ii. 659.

.........., Dr. Pedro, Katharine's proctor at Rome, notice of, *Int.*, xvii.

.........., ..., appointed, 335, 385, 557, 565, 613, 677, 786, 836; ii. 17.

.........., ..., in Savoy, 41–2.

.........., ..., in Rome (Jan. 1531) with papers and deeds for the divorce suit, ii. 42, 48, 57; ii. 487.

.........., ..., acting as Katharine's solicitor, disputes the case in the presence of the pope, ii. 58.

.........., ..., reports proceedings in the suit, ii. 190, 248, 452, 514, 730, 733.

.........., ..., nephew of, slain by robbers, ii. 136.

.........., ..., ordered not to act in the divorce suit without consulting Mai first, ii. 452.

.........., ..., becomes imperial chaplain and preacher, ii. 158, 193.

.........., ..., asked by Clement to give opinion on a book published in London in favour of the divorce, ii. 214, 217.

.........., ..., ..., which opinion he himself forwards to bishop Fisher, ii. 215.

.........., ..., doing his work well, and quite prepared for the attack, ii. 241, 704.

.........., ..., corresponds with Chapuys, ii. 227, 463.

.........., ..., reprimanded for having acted without consultation, ii. 369.

.........., ..., his differences with Micer Mai, of whom he complains, ii. 116, 552, 730, 733.

.........., ..., his allegation against the divorce, ii. 363.

.........., ..., at Bologna in Dec. 1532, ii. 570–1.

.........., ..., his correspondence with Katharine, ii. 422–3, 942.

.........., ..., ..., with Chapuys, 267–8, 430.

.........., ..., letters to the emperor, 477, 702, 723, 730, 738, 750, 766, 779, 811, 813, 821–2, 834, 836, 840, 855, 872, 893, 901–2, 917, 941, 947, 955, 960, 969, 978–9, 984, 997, 1010, 1025, 1034–5, 1067, 1120, 1175.

.........., ..., letters to the empress, 729, 740, 806, 820, 835, 856, 863, 873–4, 914, 919, 942, 970, 989, 1002, 1042, 1044, 1050–51.

.........., ..., to secretary Covos, 887, 949, 985, 988, 990, 996, 1000, 1011, 1066.

.........., ..., to the archbishop of Santiago, president of the council, 685–6.

.........., ..., to Eustace Chapuys, 812.

.........., ..., letters to, 891, 956.

Osma, cardinal, bishop of, *v.* Loaysa.

Osorio, Ossorio, D. Alonso, 62, 88.

.........., Fr. Alvaro de, bishop of Astorga, 775; ii. 780, 782.

.........., D. Diego de, ii. 770, 921.

.........., Pedro, 782.

Osorio, Pimentel, Da. Maria, marchioness of Villafranca, ii. 664, 683.

Osorno, count of, *v.* Manrique.

Ostend, ii. 930.

Ostia, the port of Rome, 64, 77, 83–4, 136.

........., said to belong to the Empire, 118.

........., Clement's departure from, 751.

........., governor of, entertains Praët, 136.

Ostin, Jean d', dit Hesdin, steward of Margaret and governor of Bethune, 337; ii. 994.

........., ..., on a mission to England, ii. 635–6, 638, 994.

Otranto (Naples), the Venetians overrun the coast of, 192.

Oviedo, a cross-bow maker at Val de Ezcaray, 885–6.

Oxerra, *v.* Auxerre.

Oxford, the Cardinal's College, at, 326, 370.

........., bishop Longland sent to, 467, 475.

........., ..., also the duke of Suffolk and treasurer Fitzwilliam, 475.

........., earl of, *v.* Vere.

........., university of, 508.

........., ..., book against the divorce to be examined by the, ii. 497.

........., letter dated at, 844.

P.

Pace, Richard, 304.

........., ..., kept for two years prisoner in the Tower or in a monastery, 305.

Pacensis, the bishop of Badajoz (Pax Julia), *v.* Gonzalez Manso.

Pacheco, Diego, *v.* Lopez Pacheco.

........., D. Pedro, accused of having carried away cardinal Ancona's manuscripts, 11; ii. 407 *note*, 505.

Padilla, D. Garcia de, high commander of Calatrava, 1546.

........., ..., on a mission to Francesco Sforza, 210, 213, 715.

........., ..., president of the council of the Military Orders in Spain, ii. 824, 903.

........., Gutierre de, *Int.* xxv.; ii. 698, 715, 824.

........., *v.* Lopez de Pdailla.

Padua, ii. 167.

........., heretical propositions preached at, by a German friar during the Holy Week (1530), 546.

Padua—*cont.*

........., the bishop of Chieti sent by Clement and the signory of Venice to investigate the matter, *ibid.*

........., mont de piété at, 521.

........., university of, English ambassadors ask permission to consult the, on the divorce question, 502–3.

........., ..., ..., which is denied by the signory, 520, 544.

........., ..., ..., they try, however, to obtain individual votes, 526–7, 537, 542.

........., ..., ..., out of six professors five are disposed to obey the signory's orders, one only, Mariano di Sena, resisting, 547.

........., ..., the opinions of 11 friars deciding in favour of Henry, procured by Stokesley, 655, 658, 662–3, 818, 869; ii. 41.

........., ..., doctors and professors of, ask permission to counsel in the divorce case, 695.

........., ..., copy of the opinion of a doctor there forwarded by Niño to Mai, together with a new one by Decio, ii. 7.

........., ..., ..., both of which are unfavourable to Katharine, *ibid.*

........., Reginald Pole, a student at, ii. 813.

........., letters dated at, 737.

Paget, Sir William, of the King's chamber, his mission to Germany, ii. 506, 551, 583.

Palace, papal, at Rome, Mai having spies inside the, 19.

........., ducal, in Venice, 771.

........., royal, of Henry, in London, *v.* Bridewell and York House.

Palacios, Dr., the assessor, 880.

Palaçnelos de la Sierra, in the prov. of Burgos, 882, 985.

Palamós, in Catalonia, 109, 528.

Palandaria, meaning of the word, ii. 991.

Palatine, *v.* Frederic.

Palauderia, a flat-bottomed vessel, *v.* Palanderia, ii. 323, 991.

Palavesinos, *v.* Pallavicini.

Palencia, bishopric of, in Castille; pension on the, held by Wolsey, 476.

........., bishop of, *v.* Sarmiento.

Paleologo, Bonifacio VI., marquis de Montferrat; at Bologna for Charles's coronation (1529), 471.

........., ..., killed by a fall from his horse (Jan. 1530), 593; ii. 994.

........., ..., Giovan Giorgio, bishop of Casale, succeeds him (d. April 1533), 594 *note*, 663; ii. 994.

........., ..., delays payment of contribution towards the expenses of the Turkish war, 811.

........., Guglielmo VI., 594 *note*; ii. 995.

Paleologo—*cont.*

………, Margarita, daughter of Guglielmo V., and sister of Bonifacio; promised in marriage to Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, 663 *note*, 678, 772; ii. 994.

………, ……, her hand solicited by the prince of Orange, 678.

………, ……, ultimately married to Frederico Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua (Sept. 1532), ii. 994.

………, ……, Maria, her eldest sister; her marriage to the duke of Mantua dissolved, 663 *note*, 678, 755.

………, ……, her death reported (September 1530), 731.

Palermo, archbishop of, *v.* Carondelet.

Palestrina, del. of Venice, lord of, *v.* Colonna (Stefano).

Palizoli (?) goes to Rome and gives Clement hopes of the conversion of the Lutherans through the duke of Saxony, ii. 424, 429.

………, a staunch Frenchman, and not to be trusted, ii. 430.

Palla Ruchellai (?), ii. 988.

Pallavicini, territory of the, in the Bolognese, the imperial army to go for winter quarters to, 662.

Palma (?), cardinal, ii. 635, 639, 988, 994.

………, ……, letter to the emperor, 1060.

Palmeri, Palmieri, Andrea Matheo, bishop of Accerenza and Matera, 149; ii. 193, 196, 205, 635, 662, 887, 958, 994.

………, ……, letters to the emperor, 90, 1060.

………, Gio., at Siena, ii. 983.

Palude, Petrus de, his book in the library of St. Dominic at Paris; said to contain a passage in favour of the papal dispensation, ii. 10–11, 986.

Panciatichi, faction of the, at Pistoia, 574.

Panizone, Penezone, Penyson, Dom Guglielmo (William), sent by Henry on a mission to Francis (17 June 1532), ii. 226.

………, Giovane Domenico, a Milanese gentleman in waiting to Henry, ii. 226.

Paolo, secretary to the count of Potença, bearer of a letter from Muxetula to the emperor, 549.

Papagayo (Parrot), room so named, in the papal palace at Rome, 860.

Papal collector (Poggio ?), leaves Marseilles on a mission from Clement to the emperor, ii. 848, 851–2.

Papers, deeds, instruments, and letters bearing on the matrimonial cause; urgently applied for by the imperial ambassadors at Rome, 588, 649, 666, 668, 674, 740–41, 778, 807, 835, 844; ii. 9, 17, 30–31.

………, ……, some, if not all, forwarded from Spain, 825, 835; ii. 84, 273, 289.

Papers, &c.—*cont.*

………, ……, all treaties of alliance made before Katharine's marriage to Arthur particularly wanted, 880; ii. 227.

………, ……, ……, to prove that at the time of her marriage to Henry war between England and France was apprehended, 702–3; ii. 241.

………, ……, ……, considered necessary for the good issue of the suit at Rome, as without them nothing can be done, 688; ii. 241.

………, ……, affidavits to be procured in virtue of the remissory letters, ii. 110–1, 115, 117.

………, ……, ……, also an authenticated copy of the breve of Julius III. dispensing on the marriage of Katharine to Henry, 588, 702, 807.

………, ……, ……, and another of the proceedings in England, in the Legatine court, which the queen's proctor is to apply for immediately, 245, 249–50, 887.

………, ……, an authentic copy of such proceedings secretly obtained and forwarded by Chapuys to Katharine's proctors at Rome, ii. 94–5.

………, ……, powers of attorney also to Chapuys for the prosecution of the suit (June 1531), ii. 197.

………, ……, shown by Katharine to her councillors, who find them correct, *ibid.*

………, ……, the act of notification to Flanders of the first two breves urgently required for the continuation of the matrimonial suit in Rome, ii. 659.

………, ……, ……, said to be in the possession of Mai, who took it with him to Spain, *ibid.*

………, ……, the emperor's letter to the cardinals in consistory very much wanted (June 1533), ii. 709.

………, ……, copies of the marriage settlements at the time of Katharine's first and second marriage to be procured by Chapuys, ii. 786.

………, tracts, and books against the divorce and in favour of queen Katharine, mentioned or alluded to, 674; *v.* Fisher, Garay, Ortiz, Sepulveda, and Tunstall.

………, ……, all books and allegations against the divorce to be printed by Charles' order (27th Nov. 1530), ii. 818.

………, ……, in favour of the divorce, mentioned or alluded to, ii. 194, 200.

………, ……, the "Glasse of Truth," ii. 200, 988.

………, ……, another by Wakefield forwarded by Chapuys to Rome, ii. 514.

Papeschi (papists), name given to Catholics by the German Lutherans, 202.

Paris, university of, part taken by the faculty of the Sorbonne in the divorce question, 596; ii. 83, 135, 671.

Paris, University of—*cont.*

........., ..., Henry's boast that 16 doctors of the, the principal and most learned, have decided in his favour, 415.

........., ..., Garay, on the other hand, asserts that a conclusion signed by 15 of them has pronounced the dispensation of Julius to be valid, and the marriage indissoluble, 500.

........., ..., ..., and that the votes in favor of the King are illegal, having been obtained after dinner, and at the request of Guillaume du Bellay, *ibid*, ii. 135, 239.

........., ..., ..., that pope Julius had no power to dispense for the marriage of king Henry and Katharine except for "reasonable cause," 582, 621, 665, 677.

........., ..., the rector and heads of the, did not behave well in the affair, 677.

........., ..., king Francis and his ministers might have acted better, *ibid.*

........., ..., list of the doctors (44 in number) who voted in favour of Katharine brought to London by one of her chaplains (Abel?), 672.

........., ..., ..., who is banished from court in consequence, 673.

........., ..., authenticated copy of their conclusion forwarded by Garay to the emperor, 692.

........., ..., the doctors, however, refusing to give a collective opinion, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., at which Henry is exceedingly angry, and complains to Gioachino of Francis' behaviour in the matter, 616–7.

........., ..., rector of, 500, 677.

........., ..., list of doctors who voted against the queen, 677.

........., ..., two conclusions debated in, by order of the parliament, and carried: one that the pope could not excommunicate the king of France; the other that no female legally obtain possession of the kingdom, ii. 489.

........., ..., president of, *v.* Poillet.

........., ..., bishop of, *v.* Bellay.

........., ..., letters dated at, 285–6, 315, 353, 370, 412, 450, 463, 468, 656.

Parisio [a Puteo], Pietro Paolo, ii. 167.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 735.

Parliament, English, convoked for the end of Sept. 1529, 195.

........., ..., ..., queen Katharine terribly frightened at the announcement of its meeting, 235, 274.

........., ..., various conjectures about the meeting of, in 1529, 235, 257.

........., ..., Wolsey's misdeeds to be brought before, 304.

........., ..., meeting for ecclesiastical reform and the reduction of taxes (Nov. 1529), 332, 344.

Parliament, English.—*cont.*

........., ..., prorogued till after Easter for the purpose of intimidating the queen, 335, 353, 355, 358, 387, 433, 452.

........., ..., further prorogation of, till September, 477, 512.

........., ..., ..., till the 5th October, 671–2.

........., ..., members of, favourably inclined towards Katharine, but unable to do anything for her, 671–2.

........., ..., Henry's word of honour that the queen's case will not be brought before, 725.

........., ..., inhibited by the pope, 738; ii. 8.

........., ..., prorogued till the 20th of October (1530), 712, 723–6, 732.

........., ..., ..., till February 1531, 758–9.

........., ..., to meet on the 2nd, and measures respecting the divorce to be proposed therein, 817.

........., ..., three or four members of, call on Chapuys, and ask him whether any provision has come from Rome on which they may ground their opposition to the bill (Dec. 1530), 852–3.

........., ..., no motion yet in, concerning the divorce case, ii. 15–7, 28, 38, 62–4.

........., ..., ..., most people thinking that no attempt will be made, ii. 40.

........., ..., ..., seemingly kept open for no other purpose than that of proceeding with the divorce case, ii. 63, 96–7.

........., ..., ..., how engaged in March, 1531, ii. 82.

........., ..., subsidy voted by, in May 1532, ii. 441.

........., ..., bill in, to abolish papal authority in England, strongly opposed by chancellor More and Dr. Gardyner, ii. 446.

........., ..., prorogued till November, ii. 448; 931 (May 1532).

........., ..., no measure of importance yet proposed, as the king is evidently waiting for the Canterbury bulls to come from Rome (Feb. 1533), ii. 609, 625–6, 628–9.

........., ..., to meet again in Oct. 1533, ii. 721, 786.

........., ..., the member for London, a great friend of Chapuys, proposes an amendment, ii. 628.

........., ..., assembled (Nov.), ii. 820.

........., ..., members of, to be knighted on the payment of a sum of money, ii. 821.

........., ..., again prorogued in consequence of the arrival of a courier from Marseilles, ii. 829.

........., ..., ..., Henry waiting, no doubt, for the result of the interview of Francis and Clement, ii. 829.

Parliament, English—*cont.*

........., ..., 353, 387, 433, 452, 512, 725; ii. 17, 74, 78, 80–2, 95, 212, 227, 640, 893–4.

........., French, first president of the, *v.* Selve.

Parma, 258, 310, 319.

.... and Piacenza to constitute the dower of Caterina on her marriage to the duke of Orleans, ii. 747.

........., letter dated at, 169.

Parmigiano, the, destined for quarters to the imperial army (1531), ii. 316.

Pasquino, Il Maestro, at Rome, 75.

Passano, Giovan Gioachino da, an Italian in the service of Francis; generally called Jean Jocquin, sieur de Vaux; French ambassador in London; replaces Jean du Bellay (Jan. 1530), 391.

........., ..., takes up his quarters at the house of a confidential servant of Wolsey, 448.

........., ..., ..., and works in support of that cardinal, 450, 467.

........., ..., about to undertake a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk, 477.

........., ..., in great favour with Henry, who, besides many presents, gives him permission to export 4,000 head of cattle, 511–12, 514.

........., ..., doing all the mischief he can to the emperor, 513–18.

........., ..., accompanies the bishop of Bayonne to Dover, 737.

........., ..., treated with greater consideration than the papal nuncio himself, 758.

........., ..., two Genoese, great friends of, arrested, and their papers seized, 805.

........., ..., letter to king Francis, 279.

Passerino, Giovanne Silvio, cardinal of Cortona, 289.

........., ..., death of, 13, 21.

Pastorelli, Domenico, presented to the bishopric of Alguer, 172.

Patras, in Greece, the Turks fortify, ii. 468.

Paulet, Sir William, master of the wards, surveyor-general, comptroller of the household (1532), 199.

........., ..., to form part of Norfolk's embassy to France in April 1533, ii. 647.

Paulette, Pawlet, Sir William, *v.* Paulet.

Paul's Cross, in London, violent sermon preached at, by Father Forest, ii. 427–8.

Pavia, in Lombardy, 166, 827.

........., to be invested in case of Sforza refusing terms, 217, 251, 260, 265, 267.

........., recovered, 280, 299, 403.

........., university of, in favour of the divorce, 501, 818; ii. 214.

Pechin [Pelu?], ii. 575.

Pedraza de Campos, in Castille, 827.

Peicoke, Peycok, lord mayor of London, ii. 646.

Pelon (?), a native and resident of Marano, ii. 858, 997.

Peloux, Anne de, a Frenchman in the service of the emperor, 711; ii. 395, 575.

........., ..., his mission to Mantua, 210, 216–17, 699.

........., ..., estate given to, in the marquisate of Corata, ii. 575.

........., ..., letter to, from the marquis of Mantua, 155.

Pelu, Pelux, *v.* Peloux.

........., Pechin (?), ii. 575.

Pembroke, marchioness of, Anne Boleyn created, at Windsor (on Sunday, Sept. 1, 1532), with a pension of 1,000*l.* a year, ii. 508, 511.

........., Mme. de, ii. 894.

Penison, Penyson, *v.* Panizone.

Penna, duke of, *v.* Medici (Alessandro).

Peñafiel, Dominican convent at, *Int.* xii.

Peñalosa, capn., ii. 204, 219, 909, 915.

Penniçon, Sir William (?), *v.* Panizone.

Pensions, hardly any one about the King's person who has not one from France, 303, 309.

........., Wolsey in the receipt of one of 25,000 crs. a year without the extras, of which nothing was owing in Dec. 1529, 384.

........., paid by Francis to the duke of Norfolk, ii. 465.

Peppoli, family of Bologna, their feud with the Ramazzoti, 49; ii. 956.

........., count Hugo de', his palace at Bologna, ii. 564 *note.*

Percy, Henry Algernon, earl of Northumberland, takes charge of Wolsey, 804.

Peregrin, Geronimo, contractor at Naples, ii. 402.

Pereni, Pedro or Pietro, Pierre (?), sends an embassy to the Grand Turk asking to become his vassal (1531), ii. 288.

Perez, Alvar, Spanish lawyer in Rome, 771.

........., Juan, secretary to Spanish embassy in Rome, 1525–7, *Int.* ix.

........., Matheo, 841.

.... de Almazan, Juan, lord of Maella, 879.

........., Miguel, secretary to Ferdinand the Catholic, *Int.* xxii.; 702, 752, 879; ii. 985.

.... de Nueros, Juan, Spanish messenger, murdered between Velletri and Sermonetta, 699, 700, 704; ii. 981.

.... supposed to have been the bearer of Colonna's nomination to Naples, and to have been murdered at Clement's instigation, 705.

Perez, Jayme, *v.* Hamo.

.... de Olivan, Miguel, takes a verbal message to Miçer Mai concerning the divorce suit, ii. 490.

Pernot, *v.* Perrenot.

Perpignan, in the Roussillon, the English ambassador (Ghinucci, bishop of Worcester), to be escorted to the frontier of, 1.

........., the emperor to go to, and meet there Louise de Savoie, 71.

........., interview at, between Clement and Charles proposed, ii. 828.

Perrenot [de Granvelle], Antoine, son of Nicolas, bishop of Arras, 172; ii. 469 *note*, 903.

........., Nicolas, sieur de Granvelle, *Int.* viii.; 76, 101, 271, 335, 346, 375, 453, 518, 565, 671, 674, 700, 781, 786.

........., ...; appointed, with Gattinara and Praët, to discuss the preliminaries of the treaty of Barcelona, 76–7.

........., ..., witnesses the ratification of the said treaty, 116–17.

........., ..., ..., and that with the duke of Milan, 375.

........., ..., in Italy with the emperor, 198, 266, 432, 515–17, 625, 671; ii. 161, 656, 858.

........., ..., as privy councillor, and having most influence with the emperor, consulted, ii. 32, 34, 46, 115, 791, 824–5, 858, 906.

........., ..., in correspondence with king Ferdinand through Salinas, ii. 903–6,

........., ..., letters to the Emperor, 1038.

........., ..., ..., from the Emperor, 39.

........., ..., ..., from Chapuys, 291, 972.

Perrin, Frey (?), disputes a commandery of the order of Calatrava, ii. 55.

Persia, 184, 455, 463, 543.

........., Sophi of, *v.* Thamasp.

Perugia, held by Malatesta Baglione, 63, 65, 80.

........., attacked by Braccio, 164.

........., threatened by the prince of Orange, 172, 192.

........., surrendered to the imperialists, 211–12, 284.

........., English ambassadors trying to get votes at, for the divorce case, 578.

........., Malatesta likely to ask to be again put in possession of, 643; ii. 129.

........., lord of, *v.* Malatesta (Sigismondo).

Perugino, Malatesta's forces in the, to be attacked, 711, 748.

........., report of the imperial army approaching the, 845.

........., ..., to be quartered there, ii. 136, 139.

Pesaro, on the coast of the Adriatic, 288.

........., the duke of Urbino retires to, 23.

........., bishop of, *v.* Simonetta.

Pescara, marquis de, *v.* Davalos d'Aquino.

Pesce (?), Balthasar del, 78, 84.

Petillano, count, *v.* Pitigliano.

Petit, Guillaume, bishop of Senlis, 623.

Peto, friar, preaches at Greenwich against the divorce, ii. 427.

........., ..., is imprisoned, 428.

Petrucci, Fabio, supposed to be marching against Siena, 15.

Peycoke, Sir Stephen, the haberdasher, lord mayor of London (1532), ii. 789.

Pharaon, game of, 355 *note.*

Philip I., king of France, 1, 810.

Philip, archduke of Austria, father of Charles V., alluded, 348; ii. 930, 939.

........., prince, son of the emperor Charles V., (1598), 551.

........., ..., in delicate health, 714; ii. 790.

........., landgrave of Hesse, *Int.* xxviii.; 46, 48, 165, 825; ii. 908.

........., ..., attends the diet of the Lutheran princes at Francfort, ii. 201–2.

........., ..., his quarrel with the count of Nassau, ii. 322, 330.

........., ..., to be encouraged in his rebellion, ii. 346.

........., ..., said to be ready to submit if the emperor will only pardon him, ii. 398.

Philippopoli, in Rumelia, the Turk said to be at, in June 1532, ii. 456.

Physician, Clement's, *v.* Scipio.

........., queen Katharine's, *v.* Victoria.

........., the emperor's, *v.* Escoriaza.

........., one from Flanders meets with bad treatment in England, 584.

........., the duke of Norfolk's, ii. 674.

Piacenza, 165, 167, 181, 209, 210, 212, 248, 309.

........., Charles at, 25th Oct. 1529, 243, 249, 292, 391.

........., governor of, 644.

........., letters dated at, 112, 145–6, 148, 151, 156, 159, 166, 174–6, 181, 184–5, 186, 206, 207, 220.

Picardy, Francis going to, not to visit the emperor, but to visit that province, ii. 258.

........., French cavalry sent to, ii. 504.

Piccolomini [d'Aragon], Alfonso, duke of Amalfi, commanding at Siena in the emperor's name, 202, 211, 659, 662, 681.

........., ..., to Rome on a mission from the prince of Orange, 138.

........., ..., said to meditate a rising at Siena, 732.

........., ..., his differences with Pirro da Cipizano, ii. 829.

........., Geo. Battista, cardinal, archbishop of Siena, 23.

Pico della Mirandola, Galeotto I., count della Concordia, ii. 984.

........., Galeotto II., murders his uncle Gian Francesco, and takes possession of his castle, ii. 870.

........., ..., applies to Venice for a "condotta," *ibid.*

........., Gian Francesco, count della Concordia (1509–), accepts service under Venice, 17, 556; ii. 984–5.

........., ..., (1533), murdered by his nephew Galeotto, ii. 870, 985.

........., ..., Giovan Thomasso, count della Mirandola, lawyer at Rome, 556, 565–6, 685.

........., Giulia, wife of Malatesta, the lord of Rimini, ii. 960.

........., Lodovico, son of Galeotto, ii. 985.

Pictaviensis, the university of Poitiers in France, *v.* Poitiers.

Pie de Monte, pension of 400 ducats on, to be conferred on Mr. de Chalayn, ii. 395.

Piemont, asked by France in exchange for equal territory in Burgundy, ii. 122.

Pienza, in Tuscany, 808.

........., letter dated at, 495.

Pietro, Giovan, of Vicenza, friar minor, revokes his signature to a paper in favour of the divorce, 529.

........., Paolo Martyr, secretary to the archbishop of Capua, 84.

Pignatello, Annibale, 12.

........., Camillo, count Borrello, 13.

........., Ettore (Httore), viceroy of Sicily, 208; ii. 55 *note*, 334, 741.

........., Fabricio, grandson of Ettore, ii. 55 *note*.

........., Troylo, a relation of the duke of Monteleone, in the service of France, arrives at Corphu, ii. 869.

Pilares, Juan de, notary at Saragossa, ii. 64 *note*.

Pimpinello, archbishop, papal nuncio in Germany,

Pio da Carpi, count Alberto, always a hot-mouthed fellow, 582, 747.

........., ..., sending Clement alarming reports from the court of France, 582, 665.

........., ..., reported death of, 640, 643.

........., ..., his agent at Rome, 23.

........., ..., his nephew, the bishop of Faenza; *v.* Pio da Carpi (Ridolfo).

........., ..., dangerously ill in France, ii. 20–21.

........., ..., death of (Jan. 1531), much felt by Clement, ii. 32.

........., Leonelo, son of Alberto, ii. 121.

........., ..., takes possession of Novi, ii. 800, 827–8.

........., Ridolfo, bishop of Faenza, papal nuncio at the court of France; returns to Rome (Nov. 1529), 334.

Pio da Ridolfo—*cont.*

........., ..., again in France, 747, 824, 837; ii. 365.

........., ..., sent by Clement to Francis to arrange the proposed interview at Nice, ii. 707.

........., ..., likely to get a Cardinal's hat, ii. 888.

Piombino, in Tuscany, 165, 181; ii. 966.

........., Moorish fustees at, ii. 69, 135.

........., lord of, *v.* Appiani.

Piquer, Juan, of Antwerp, 329.

........., ..., letter to, from a London merchant, 214,

Pirates in the Channel:

........., article about, amended by mutual agreement, 391.

........., English, on the coast of Ireland, ii. 823.

.... in the Channel, 709.

........., two Flemish craft seized and plundered by English armed vessels sent in chase of the, ii. 377.

........., Chapuys' complaints before the privy council concerning the, *ibid.*

........., French, released by La Guiche's intercession (May 1531), ii. 156.

........., Moorish, in the Mediterranean, 135; ii. 92.

Pirro da Cippizano, a colonel in the imperial army before Florence, 606–8; ii. 304.

Pisa, 132, 523, 604; ii. 804, 828, 847.

........., in league with Florence, 574, 595, 599.

........., infantry from, defends Volterra against the Imperialists, 549.

........., Spanish mutineers enter, 635.

........., people of, defeated by Chalon, 679.

........., the imperial ambassador (Cifuentes) at, ii. 828.

........., and Leghorn to be attended to, for fear of their falling into the hands of the French, ii. 867–8.

........., letter dated at, 1131.

........., writes against the divorce, *Int.* xxv.; 753.

Pisani or Pisano, cardinal Francisco, to negociate peace with Charles (1529), provided the terms be discussed at Rome, 200, 653.

......, (1530) in Venice, 730, 732.

Pisani, Giovanni, brother of the cardinal of that name sent by the signory to France to congratulate the king on the delivery of his sons (July 1530), 653.

Pistoia, abandoned by the Florentines, 249, 574, 583.

........., bishop of, *v.* Pucci.

Pitgorn, Thomas of, *v.* Balwery and Scott.

Pitigliano, count, *v.* Orsino.

........., marquis of (?) 872; ii. 568.

Pius II., pope (1458–64), his decretal excommunicating all those who should appeal to the council, 803.

.... III., (1503), dispenses for the marriage of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon,

........., his brief, considered a forgery,

Pitoz (Pithous?), a French sea-captain, ii. 706.

Pizzighetone in Lombardy, count of, *v.* Triulzo (Theodoro).

Placard, one against the chancellor of the archbishopric of Canterbury, 847.

Plague, in London, 273, 707, 720, 724, 788, 799; ii. 757.

........., in Rome, 636.

........., rumours of, in Dover, ii. 509.

........., in Spain, and said to be making great ravages, 799.

........., in Lombardy (May 1529), 50.

........., in Burgos, people dying in numbers, 713.

........., in Naples, 751.

........., in Constantinople, 773.

........., in Francfort, 839.

Plantagenet, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and wife of the duke of Norfolk, 368.

........., Margaret, countess of Salisbury, 854; ii. 813, 984.

........., ..., a very honourable and virtuous lady if there be one in England, ii. 882.

Plasencia, Plazencia, Piacenza in Italy, or Plasencia in Spain, 493; *v.* Machin.

Platamonius Ludovicus, archbishop of Syracusa, said to be insane, 152.

Plaza, Pedro de la, one of Mai's secretaries in Rome, (1530) death of, 827.

Pò, the river, 16, 17, 166.

Pobladura, lic., 841.

Podagra, Puagra, (the gout,) Clement ill with the, ii. 183, 189.

Poggibonsi (Poggibonsi) in Tuscany, 874.

Poggio, Giovanni, bishop of Tropea, papal collector in Spain, on a mission to Charles (1533), ii. 848, 851, 880, 887.

Poillet Denis, president of the parliament of Paris (1526–34), ii. 977; *v.* Poyet.

Poison, sure remedy against, 18.

.... used by Clement, *ibid.*

Poissy-on-the-Seine, the court of France at,

........., letter dated at,

Poitiers, university of (Pictaviensis), decides in favour of Katharine, ii. 214.

Pola in Illyria, bishop of, *v.* Averoldi.

......, in Istria, *v.* La Pola.

Polanco, Lic., ii. 824.

Poland, king of, *v.* Sigismond.

........., ambassador of, at Constantinople, his letter to the governor of the Easterlings in London, ii. 755.

Poland, king of—*cont.*

........., news letter from, 875.

.... not to be invaded by the Turk, ii. 287.

Policastro, ii. 205.

........., count, assassinated at Naples, ii. 183.

Pole, Henry de la, lord Montagu,

......, Reginald, his report about the doings of the Paris university in the divorce question, 673; ii. 978.

......, ..., the archbishopric of York offered to, if he will accept the charge of judge in the divorce suit, 854; ii. 366.

......, ..., a student at Padua (Sept. 1533), ii. 813.

......, ..., Chapuys and Katharine propose him as a husband for the princess, *ibid.*

......, ..., ..., as, in case of Henry's death without male issue, he has a right to the crown of England, *ibid.*

......, Richard, surnamed "Blanche Rose," ii. 984.

Polish ambassador at Constantinople, ii. 755.

Politi, Ludovico, Sienese agent, negociates with Mai and the imperial ambassadors at Rome, ii. 67.

Pollard, master of Henry's chamber (?), 296.

Pomblin, Pumblin, *v.* Piombino.

Pomerania, ii. 346.

Pommeraye, Gilles de la, French ambassador in England (1530–32), to succeed Jocquin, 858; ii. 338.

........., ..., arrival of, in London (23 Dec. 1530), 862.

........., ..., attends a dinner party given by Anne Boleyn at a house presented to her by Henry, ii. 254–6, 525–6.

........., ..., embarks at Southampton (5 May 1532) to meet king Francis in Brittany, ii. 444.

........., ..., expected back from France, ii. 449.

........., ..., returns (11 June 1532), ii. 463, 511.

........., ..., presents Henry with two fine greyhounds in Francis' name, *ibid.*

........., ..., admits to Chapuys that his last visit to France had been made at Henry's request, ii. 464.

........., ..., ..., and in consequence of Rosymboz' mission to Scotland, *ibid.*

........., ..., returns, owing to a disagreement with Henry on the Scottish affairs, ii. 488.

........., ..., his conversations with Chapuys, ii. 513, 525–6.

........., ..., lies invented by, a most mischievous newsmonger, ii. 525.

........., ..., takes leave of Chapuys (12 Oct. 1532), and has a long conversation with him respecting the intended interview of Henry and Francis at Calais, ii. 533–5, 550.

........., ..., to be replaced by Montpesat, ii. 550, 561.

Ponce de Leon, Leonor, marchioness of Tarifa, 885.

Pont de Vaux, count of, *v.* Gorrevod.

Ponte Coronna, a village in the land of the Orsini, 50.

Pontremoli, in Tuscany, 562.

........., count, *v.* Francesco and François.

Populi, *v.* Peppoli.

Portillo, imperial courier (?), ii. 844.

Porto, bishop of, *v.* Monte.

Porto de Novo (?), 491.

Porto Farina, in Africa, Turkish galleys captured by Doria at, (1531), 192, 194.

.... Pisano, Florentine galleon brought in at, 99, 124.

Portonaon, Angela de, wife of Gradisca, the vicar, 491.

Portugal, D. Alvaro de, bishop of Siguença, 706.

........., D. Fadrique de, viceroy of Catalonia, ii. 205.

........., infanta of, *v.* Savoie (Beatrix).

........., D. Martin de, Portuguese ambassador in Rome, 869 *note.*

Portuguese in the Red Sea, in danger of an attack from the Turk, ii. 288, 324, 333–4, 341, 788.

........., factor or consul at Antwerp, ii. 788.

Portundo, loss of his galleys (1529), 321.

Possonia, taken by the Turks, 284.

Potença, count of, captain of the light horse in Naples, 525.

........., ..., his secretary Paolo, 549, 567.

Pouber, Joanes, a German residing at Padua, 573.

Poulet (?) Sir William, the king's comptroller, 1530, *v.* Paulet.

Poupet de Lachaulx, Charles, knight of Alsantara, 101, 116, 123 *note*, 167, 382, 388, 597, 773.

........., ..., on a mission to France, 168, 240–47, 306, 311, 354, 497.

........., ..., appointed for the delivery of the hostages at the frontier, 458–9, 488.

........., ..., but detained by illness, 379.

........., ..., dies, 773.

........., ..., son of, 61, 123.

........., ..., application for a bishopric in his favour, 123.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 164.

........., ..., from the emperor to, 206.

Powers of attorney granted by Katharine to the imperial ambassador (Mai), 164, 181.

...., by the emperor and Katharine to Mai at Rome, 674.

........., ..., ..., to Chapuys in London, 13 Aug. (1530), 408.

........., ..., received, 720.

........., ..., inspected by Katharine's councillors, who find them correct, ii. 697.

Poyet, Guillaume, king's advocate, privy councillor, and president of the parliament of Paris, 1529 ; ii. 977.

Prada, Lte., commissioned by Mai to search in Spain for certain deeds and papers wanted for the divorce suit, ii. 30.

Prado, *v.* Prate.

Praët, Mr. de, *v.* Flandre.

Prague, in Bohemia, letters dated at, 696, 701, 709.

Prat, Antoine du, high chancellor in France, frequently mistaken for Praët, owing to the similarity of their names, 120 *note*, 148, 150, 661; ii. 382, 629.

........., bishop of Sens, in France (Senoncensis), and cardinal (1527) ; death reported (Oct. 1530), 751.

........., Henry's divorce discussed at his hotel in Marseilles, ii. 835–9.

Prato, town of, Tuscany, ii. 208.

........., Fr. Felice de, a friar of Ancona, writes on behalf of queen Katharine, 584, 591, 789.

........., ..., his opinion on the divorce suit, 437, 578.

Preachers, convent of friars, Dominicans or Blackfriars, in London, 323.

........., ..., one or two [in London], bribed to preach that pope Julius had no power to grant a dispensation for Katharine's marriage to Henry, 369.

........., ..., sent to the counties to inveigh as much as possible against the pope, ii. 822.

........., ..., one in particular spreading Lutheranism throughout the country (Oct. 1533), ii. 822.

Precedence, questions of, frequent among ambassadors:—

.... between Andrea del Burgo and the English and French, 212.

.... between the English ambassador to Charles at Bologna and the Austrian (Mr. de in Bredan), Dec. 1529, 378.

.... between Niño and the English ambassador (?) at Venice, 754.

.... between the duke of Albany and Don Pedro de la Cueva in Nov. 1530, 821.

........., between the same (?) and Andrea del Burgo, in Dec. 1531, ii. 347.

.... between the papal nuncio to Scotland (Uvaldino) and the French ambassador, 863.

........., ..., decided by Henry in favour of the latter, *ibid.*

Pregadi, council of the, in Venice, 657.

Premontrés, Prèmostrés, Order of the, or Regular Canons, founded in 1120, 826.

Prepaulo (?) a Veronese priest, preaching Lutheran doctrines at Padua, 573.

Près, Antoine des, sieur de Montpezat, French ambassador in London, (1532), ii. 550, 557.

........., ..., succeeds La Pommeraye, ii. 561.

........., ..., not so solicitous as his predecessor in helping to Henry's divorce, ii. 561.

........., ..., ..., and consequently not so well received, ii. 561.

........., ..., calls on Chapuys, and professes great attachment for the emperor, ii. 565.

........., ..., promises to show him the draft of the late treaty between Henry and Francis, but does not, ii. 565.

........., ..., accompanies the king and Anne Boleyn in their visit to the Tower, ii. 566.

........., ..., invited with his successor in the embassy, D'Inteville, to attend a meeting of the House of Commons (Feb. 1533), ii. 600.

........., ..., about to depart for France, having already taken his congé from the king, *ibid.*

........., ..., asked by Henry whether, in case of his quarrelling with Charles, his master (Francis) would assist him; answers hesitatingly that the case is not specified in their mutual treaties, ii. 631.

Present of a rich fur pelisse by the English ambassadors at Rome to cardinal Ancona, 10.

.... of silver plate to cardinal Campeggio by king Henry, 273.

........., a short sword (*estoque*) by Clement to Charles at Bologna, 380.

.... of fowling-pieces by Ferdinand to his brother, the emperor, 431.

.... of gold plate to the bishop of Bayonne (Du Bellay) in Jan. 1530, 435.

.... of rings and necklaces to Anne Boleyn by the French ambassador Du Bellay, 436.

.... of venison to Chapuys by the master of the horse (Sir Nicholas Carew) in August 1530, 692.

.... of a unicorn's horn in a gold casket by the Venetians to the Turk (Solyman), 731.

.... of two fine horses, splendidly caparisoned, to King Francis by Henry in Oct. 1530, 762.

.... of poultry from the duchess of Norfolk to queen Katharine, 818.

.... and an orange besides, containing a letter from Casale, *ibid.*

.... of 2,000 ducats to cardinal Sancti Quatuor by Charles, 837.

.... of two camels, two horses, and two slaves, by an officer of Ferdinand's household, to king Henry, ii. 62.

Present—*cont.*

.... of a fine galley by Barbarossa to the Grand Turk (Feb. 1531), ii. 77.

.... of an artistic clock by the French ambassadors to Henry (April 1531), ii. 114.

.... of a fine horse and two silver gilt cups by Henry to Stefano Colonna on his departure from London, 21 May 1531, ii. 155.

.... of three horses and three stags by the duke of Norfolk to Gioachino (July 1531), ii. 213.

........., ..., another, said to be the best in England, by Cromwell to Chapuys; offered, though not accepted (July 1533), ii. 751.

........., with a permission to hunt in the Royal parks, *ibid.*

.... one of Katharine to king Henry on New Year's Day (1532), refused and returned, ii. 354.

.... from Anne Boleyn to Henry, of certain Biscayan darts, on the same occasion, accepted, *ibid.*

.... of rich hangings, and a bed covered with gold and silver cloth, by Henry to Anne (1532), ii. 354.

.... of two hawks to king Henry by Gioachino the ambassador in the name of the duke of Ferrara, ii. 360.

.... of four hackneys by the duke of Norfolk to the treasurer of the king of France, ii. 465.

.... of 200 ducs. by king Henry to Orsino's companion, ii. 477.

.... of two hackneys and half a dozen hunting dogs by Henry to the Palatine, ii. 855.

.... of a fine galley by Barbarossa to the Turk,

.... from king Francis to George Boleyn, 2,000 ducats in 1533, ii. 644.

.... of two greyhounds to Henry by the ambassador of France, ii. 463.

.... of some Scotch claymores by the duke of Norfolk to Chapuys in Jan. 1533, ii. 584.

........., a casket of pure gold filled with balsam to king Francis by Luigi Gritti (1533), ii. 839.

........., one of marten skins (*martas cibelinas*) to Covos and Granvela by king Ferdinand (1533), ii. 858.

.... by the grand master Montmorency to Rocco de Xauser, a native of Lucca, two horses in Nov. 1533, ii. 849.

Preudhomme, Maistre Guillaume, one of king Francis' ministers, 576.

Prevost, Don, provost of St. Mary of Utrecht, *v.* Naturello.

Priest, an English, arrested and hung, 81.

Privateers, English, two French vessels captured by, in June 1530, 858.

........., ..., capture a Biscayan ship, ii. 828.

Privateers—*cont.*

.. .., Scotch, capture eight English merchant vessels, ii. 627.

Prividello, Girolamo, a canonist and professor of Bologna, who became in time auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, commissioned by Henry to dispute the divorce case before the assembly at Nice, ii. 812.

Privy seal, held by Cuthbert Tunstal, 422.

........., transferred to the earl of Wiltshire, *ibid.*

Prma (Prüm?), in the electorate of Trèves, letters dated at, 277, 666.

Processions, &c. in London to celebrate the retreat of the Turk from Vienna (Nov. 1530), 331.

........., ..., attended by great crowds praying for victory over the Infidel (Oct. 1531), ii. 257.

........., ..., throughout England to commemorate Charles's success, ii. 529.

Proclamations, various, in London, in Sept. 1530, 726, 834, 847.

........., one of Henry in Dec. 1530, printed and hawked about the streets of London, showing reasons why his marriage should be dissolved, ii. 35, 37.

........., several more printed and circulated (Dec. 1533), ii. 876.

Proctors, Henry's, to be sent to Rome for the divorce suit (4 Dec. 1530), 848.

........., ..., before the archbishop of Canterbury's court (1533), ii. 773.

........., Katharine's, exiled from London, ii. 16–7.

........., in Rome, *v.* Quiñones, Mai, Burgo.

Prodrono in Greece, the Turkish fleet at, ii. 519.

Prophecies, several current among the people at the end of 1530; one that England was to be destroyed by a woman, 852.

Protests of Mai and Burgo at Rome against the assertions of the English ambassadors and the supposed forgery of Julius's dispensation brief, 2–9.

.... of Sir Francis Brian at Bayonne, 575.

.... of queen Katharine, prepared by Chapuys, ii. 796.

.... of princess Mary, drawn by the same, *ibid.*

........., prepared by Chapuys for Mary, to be learnt by heart and repeated daily before the ladies of her household, 839–40.

Provence, Doria's galleys sent to the coast of, 36.

........., ..., back in Genoa without achieving anything of importance, *ibid.*

........., French levies in, ii. 910.

Prussia, knights of Rhodes (Teutonic) in, 262, 307.

........., grand master of, *v.* Albret and Brandenberg.

Puagre (Podogra), meaning of the word, 189.

Pucci, Puggi, Antonio, cardinal of Pistoia, 583, ii. 289.

........., Lorenço, cardinal Sanctiquatuor or *Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum* (d. 14 Sept. 1531), 12, 69, 139, 141–2, 154, 160, 172, 181, 556, 588, 651, 665–6, 686, 737, 810, 823, 837, 849, 867; ii. 222, 289, 742.

........., ..., refuses to receive his honoraries, 23.

........., ..., recommended by Mai as doing good service in the divorce suit, 89, 139–40.

........., ..., objects to the drafts of the bulls for Ferdinand's coronation as king of the Romans, 821.

........., ..., death of (Sept. 1531), ii. 248.

Puebla, Ferdinando de, ii. 198, 453 *note.*

........., Dr. Rodrigo de, ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella in England, 703.

...., Ruy or Ruiz, Diez de, 881–2; *v.* La Puebla.

........., ..., his brother, the archdeacon of Malaga, 881.

Puente, Agustin de la, citizen of Saragossa, *Int.* xxii.

Puglia, prov. of Naples, the army of the confederates occupying, 44.

........., ..., to be invaded by the Turk in the spring of 1531, ii. 51.

........., ..., the coast of, to be fortified, ii. 137, 140.

........., ..., ..., threatened by the Venetian fleet, 145, 163–4, 167, 181, 283–4, 301.

........., ... , ..., which sails away without achieving anything of importance, 171.

........., ..., to be fortified against another attempt, 181.

........., ..., Venetian proveditor in, 199.

........., ..., fortresses and castles in, still held by the Venetians, 328, 331, 365.

........., ..., ..., all surrendered after the peace (1530), 467.

........., ..., Turkish armaments by sea intended for the coast of, 502, 546; ii. 324.

Pulignano, in Bari (Naples), held by the Venetians, 328, 365.

Pulla, Pullie, *v.* Puglia.

Puteo, Parisio or Paris de, Neapolitan lawyer (1531), residing at Venice; offers to write against the divorce, ii. 60 *note*; *v.* Parisio.

Puzzolo, in Lombardy, the Venetians quartered at, 26, 35.

Puzzuolo, in Naples, ii. 544.

Pyrenees, fortresses along the Spanish, to be repaired by Charles's orders, ii. 308.

Q.

Quarata, marquis of (Bury?), 561, 678; *v.* Corata.

Quarta or fourth of all ecclesiastic revenues in Spain asked for and obtained for the prosecution of the war against the Turks, 18, 142–3, 172, 249, 265, 528, 563, 565, 567, 611, 668; ii. 92, 539.

........., bankers in Spain advance one million and half of ducats on the proceeds of the, 494.

Querea (Quiros?) sent by the signory of Venice to Hungary and Turkey to report on the state of affairs in those countries, ii. 457.

Quevedo, a Spaniard, procter at Rome, 567.

Quevas, *v.* Cuevas.

Quieta, Quieti, *v.* Chieti and Theate.

Quildara, *v.* Kildare.

Quindal, *v.* Kendal.

Quintana, Dr., confessor of Charles, *Int.* xiv.

........., Pedro de, secretary to the Catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella], 880.

Quiñones, Fr., Francisco Fernandez de, cardinal Santacroce, *Int.* ix., x.–xii.; 1, 10, 19, 20, 29, 60, 75–6, 135, 139, 147–8, 155, 285–6, 742, 823; ii. 236, 978.

........., ..., appointed with others to congratulate the emperor on his landing at Genoa, 88, 135, 139, 143, 168.

........., ..., strongly recommends the Florentine expedition, 177.

........., ..., taken prisoner by Napolone Orsino, 164, 179, 193, 657.

........., ..., conditionally released, and allowed to proceed to Genoa, accompanies Clement to Bologna, arrives there, 311.

........., ..., his "mastro di casa" or steward, *v.* Conchano.

........., ..., offers, with Clement's permission, to go to Spain and collect one third of all ecclesiastic revenues for the purpose of a holy war against the Turk, 742.

........., ..., asks leave to return to Spain, ii. 544 (Oct. 1532).

........., ..., accompanies Clement to Marseilles, ii. 806.

........., ..., appointed together with other cardinals to report on the opportunity of a general council, 814–15.

........., ..., his opinion thereon, 821.

........., ..., in the consistory of Nov. 1533, votes against the prorogation of the English matrimonial suit, ii. 848.

Quiñones, Fr., Francisco Fernandez de—*cont.*

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 38, 89, 91, 94, 189.

........., ..., to the high commander, 88.

........., ..., to his own agent at the imperial court, 504.

Quirinale, the pope's palace in Rome, 732, 792; ii. 708.

Quirós, a Spaniard, accompanies Lasco to Constantinople on a mission from Ferdinand to Solymán, 11, 126.

R.

Raciani ( ), *v.* Russians.

Raffaele, Girolamo, 167 *note.*

Ragusa, community of, 614, 698; ii. 421.

........., agent of, residing at Venice, 521.

........., advices from, respecting the Turk, 657; ii. 122.

Rain, Pedro, imperial consul in Venice, 491.

Ramirez de, Fuenteal, Diego, bishop of Cuenca and Gerona, ii. 537 *note.*

Ramon, (?) Pedro, at Naples, 831.

Ramazzoto (?), family at Bologna, their feud with that of Peppoli, 49 *note.*

Ramossot, *v.* Ramazzoto.

Rance de Chery, *v.* Ceri.

Rangone, count Guido, a Modenese condottiere in the service of France, 637, 644, 653, 664, 698.

........., ..., receives his congé, 831.

........., ..., his services solicited by the French, ii. 290.

........., ..., his law suit with Casale, ii. 530.

........., ..., in Venice, in communication with Niño, ii. 324, 420–21, 454–6.

........., ..., on a mission from the emperor to the signory (1532),

........., Ginevra, ii. 968.

........., Hugo, bishop of Reggio, papal nuncio sent to the Lutheran princes (1533), ii. 728, 784, 831.

........., Niccolò, ii. 968.

Ransom, to be paid for the release of Francis's sons, not coming as quickly and regularly as stipulated, 438, 496.

........., the money of, found deficient, 541.

........., (Ramon, Roman ?), Luis, 635; iii. 977.

Ras, island of, on the coast of Africa (?); Algerine galleys and fustees anchor at, (Jan. 1531), ii. 32.

Raspuil (?), in Switzerland, ii. 310 *note.*

Ratcliffe, Ratclyffe, Robert, lord viscount Fitzwalter, created earl of Sussex (Dec. 1529), 362; ii. 969.

Ratcliffe, Ratclyffe, Robert, &c.—*cont.*

………, ……, ……, in the privy council, ii. 252.

………, ……, ……, forms part of the deputation sent by Henry to Katharine in Oct. 1531, ii. 263.

………, ……, ……, is appointed member of the council of Government, ii. 497, 536, 992.

………, ……, ……, sent with other privy councillors to intimate to the princess that she is no longer to use her title, ii. 819, 830.

Ratisbon, in Bavaria, 120; ii. 305, 314, 339.

………, third diet to be held at (1532),

………, ……, delayed, ii. 432.

………, letters dated at, 941, 953, 957, 967.

Rausonnieres, sieur de, 258.

Ravenna, cardinal of, *v.* Accolti.

………, the city of, retained and strongly fortified by the Venetians, 16, 21, 49, 141, 218, 310.

………, ……, to be restored to Clement, together with Cervia, if he will join the Italian league against Charles, 150.

………, the duke of Albany going to, 749.

Ravenstein, William, duke of, ii. 476.

………, ……, report of his marriage to Mary, the princess of Wales, ii. 476 *note.*

Rawdon Brown, his "Venetian Calendar" quoted, *Int.* vii. xx.; ii. 817, 962, 975, 978.

Raynera, Reynera, Renera, *v.* Renée, of France.

Recim, Recin, sieur de, *v.* Barres and Vecin.

Regente, regent, or president of the court of Sumaria at Naples, *v.* Muxetula and Figueroa.

………, the office of, granted to Muxetula, 577.

Reggio (Rhegium Lepidi) in the Modenese, long retained by the duke of Ferrara, 21, 166, 178, 609, 640, 670, 679; ii. 47, 56, 153, 784.

……… (Reghium Julii), in Naples, ii. 831 *note.*

………, bishop of, *v.* Centellas.

………, bishop of, *v.* Rangone.

Reichstadt, of Innsbruck, 100; ii. 793.

Rejoicings at Rome for the treaty of Barcelona between Clement and Charles (1529), 135.

Relator, reporter or prolocutor in a court of law; imperial for Katharine's case at the Rota, ii. 241.

………, in consistory of cardinals, 844; ii. 8.

Remiremont, *v.* Romaricomonte.

Remisorias, *v.* Letters remissory.

Renço da Ceri, *v.* Ceri.

Renée de France, duchess of Chartres, married to Ercole d'Este, 245, 314, 639–40, 653.

Renque (?), Juan, 68.

Reyna, archdeacon of Toledo; delivers opinion on the divorce case, 753, 887.

………, ……, memorandum for, 576.

………, Juan, ii. 685.

Rhese ap Thomas, Sir, a Welsh gentleman; brother-in-law of the duke of Norfolk, sent to the Tower (Oct. 1530), 762.

………, ……, condemned and executed (4 Dec. 1531), ii. 248, 323.

Rhodes, island of, ii. 324.

………, order of, 124, 202, 307.

………, galleys of, to sail against the Turk 795.

………, grand master of, *v.* Villiers.

………, prior of, in England, *v.* Weston.

………, permission granted for the knights to settle at Malta, 834.

………, galleys of, to join in a chase against Turkish pirates, ii. 77.

Rhone, river of France, 242.

Ribadeneyra, knight commander Antonio de, 25.

………, ……, imperial courier, 35, 124.

Ricaldo, Ricardo, II., English solicitor at Rome, *v.* Croke.

Rice, Ryce, *v.* Rhese.

Rich, Hugh, friar of Christ Church, Canterbury; executed (21 Apr. 1533), ii. 866, 1,000.

Richmond, Charterhouse at, 486.

………, the queen and princess to pass five or six days together at (May 1530), 366, 532, 633.

………, duke of, *v.* Fitzroy.

………, letters dated at, 22.

Richmont, the king-at-arms, in attendance upon the earl of Wiltshire; takes a message from that earl to Chapuys, 437.

Ridley, Dr., one of queen Katharine's counsel, ii. 993.

Ridolfi, cardinal, 45; ii. 542.

………, Luigi, a Florentine, ii. 988.

Rie (Rye), one of the Cinque ports, 787 *note.*

Riedmatten, Adrian, bishop of Silten or Sion in the Valais, ii. 133, 467.

Rieux (?), Mr. de, a gentleman from Britanny; at Cambray, with Louise de Savoie, 108.

Rimini, 289.

………, lord of, *v.* Malatesta.

………, Sigismondo da, much better treated at the court of Francis than the rest of the Italian "fuorusciti," ii. 51.

Rincon, Capt. Alonso del, a native of Medina del Campo, in Spain, with a message from Francis to the Turk, Solyman, 447, 602; ii. 147, 193, 196, 421.

………, ……, his mission to the vayvod, in April 1532, ii. 420.

………, ……, at Ragusa, dangerously ill, ii. 457.

………, ……, in Venice, in company with the French ambassador, circulating all manner of alarming rumours concerning the Turks, ii. 519, 572–3, 797–8.

Ripalda, Capt. Rodrigo de, 99, 145, 162, 176, 829.

Ripalta, Ripalti, *v.* Ripalda.

Ris, *v.* Rhese.

Rivadeneyra, *v.* Ribadeneyra.

Risby, warden of the Observants of Canterbury, execution of (21 April 1533), ii. 866, 1000.

Rivolta, the Venetians at, 37.

Robertet, the bailli, 102.

Rocandolf, Rocandorf, *v.* Roghendorf.

Roccadamor, abbey of, in Sicily, 12.

Rochefort, lord, *v.* Boleyn, Thomas and George.

Roche Guyon, La, a fief in France, once belonging to the constable Bourbon, 824.

Roche-sur-Yon, princess of la, *v.* Bourbon Montpensier.

Rochester, plague at, ii. 253, 523.

........, bishop of, *v.* Fisher.

Rocion, Mr. de, 487.

Roco de Xauser (?), a native of Lucca, at Marseilles during the conferences, ii. 849.

Rodilla, monastery of, 713.

Rodomonte, *v.* Gonzaga (Luigi).

Rodrico (?), *v.* Ripalda.

Rodriguez de Pisa, Juan, "corregidor" of Granada; his services at Rome in the matrimonial cause of England, ii. 491.

........, ..., his work on administration, *ibid.*

Rœulx, (Reux, Rieux, Orrus), Mr. de, *v.* Croy.

Roghandorf, Roghendorf, Wilhelm von, 39, 100; ii. 297, 957.

........, ..., to be appointed high lord steward to king Ferdinand, 492.

........, ..., on a mission to Constantinople (1531), ii. 126–7, 141.

Roig y Jalpi, Gaspar, his history of Gerona, ii. 248 *note.*

........, ..., at Constantinople with the Turk (1533), ii. 892.

Rojas, D. Enrique de, sent by the emperor to console the empress for the loss of their son, 668–71, 716, 771, 774; ii. 983.

........, D. Francisco de, Ferdinand and Isabella's ambassador to Henry VII. (1504), ii. 145, 887.

........, Da. Maria de, 88 *note.*

........, Da. Maria de, Katharine's lady-in-waiting, 887.

Rolans (Roelands), Purxelai (?), Pietro, ii. 166–8.

Romagna, 699; ii. 55, 859.

........, the abbot of Farfa no longer secure in the, 657.

........, the imperial infantry to quarter in, 334, 816.

Roman, Martin, to replace in Naples Jacopo di Bologna, 596, 865.

Romano, Simone, a captain in the Venetian service, slain at Brindisi, 218.

Romans, king of the, Ferdinand's election as, to be promoted, 509.

........, ..., the dignity of, offered to Henry VIII. by Maximilian, 809.

........, ..., bulls for the election of, applied for; one excluding the duke of Saxony (George) required, 791.

........, ..., election of, opposed, ii. 12–13.

........, ..., definitively made in favour of Ferdinand, 810, 839, 874; ii. 35, 37.

Romaricomonte, (Romarici Mons, and Remiremont,) abbey of, in the Vosges (France), 700, 717.

........, ..., law-suit concerning the, to be tried at Rome, ii. 59, 744, 829, 986, 998.

........, ..., the French in favour of one of the parties claiming it, ii. 806.

Rome, city of, (1529,) most of the "taboriones" at, resign their offices in consequence of the heavy taxes imposed upon the inhabitants, 14.

........, persons to be expelled from, at the emperor's desire (Sept. 1529), 239.

........, vacations or holy days (from July to Oct.) at, cause of the frequent suspensions of the proceedings in the divorce suit, 848; ii. 230.

........, the divorce suit avocated to, 154.

........, the Campagna of, overrun by the Orsini, 171, 705.

........, rejoicings at Rome for the peace of Cambray (Sept. 1529), 212.

........, ..., for the delivery of the French hostages, 636.

........, ..., for the defeat of Zwinglius and the Swiss lutherans at Cappel, ii. 282.

........, full of Spaniards (May 1530), 530.

........, rumours of plague at, 636.

........, congress at, for the purpose of discussing the enterprise against the Turk, 675.

........, great inundation at, caused by the overflowing of the Tiber, 751, 765, 797; ii. 981.

........, dearth of provisions in, ii. 91.

........, governor of, *v.* Monte.

........, letters dated at (1529), 2, 3, 6, 17, 23, 29, 30, 35–6, 38, 41–2, 74, 77, 87–98, 100–1, 104–7, 115–16, 119, 121–2, 127, 133–4, 140, 142, 150, 158, 162–3, 165, 179, 180, 186–7, 189–91, 193, 198, 202, 204, 206, 215, 217, 219.

........, letters in 1530, 275.

........, letters dated at, (1531) 588–9, 591, 593, 594, 596, 599, 600–14, 616, 620–34, 636–7, 639–40, 642–45, 653–5, 657–9, 663, 665, 667–73, 678–9, 685–90, 693, 695, 697–700, 702–8, 715, 718–19, 723–7, 729–34, 738, 740–51, 758–61, 766–71, 773–4, 779–81, 783–5, 787, 789–92, 794–5, 797–9, 803, 806, 810–13, 815–17, 820–28, 830, 832, 834, 835–6,

Rome, city of—*cont.*
840–5, 849–53, 855–9, 861–4, 867–9, 871–4, 876, 884–5; (1532) 887, 889–90, 892–4, 900–3, 909, 913–4, 916–21, 925, 929–30, 932–3, 935, 937–8, 941–2, 944–7, 949–50, 955, 960–61, 969–71, 973–4, 976–9, 981, 984–5, 988–92, 996–7, 1000, 1002, 1004–6, 1010–12, 1014–21, 1025, 1029, 1031–2, 1034–5; (1533) 1042, 1044, 1050–51, 1054, 1059–60, 1066–71, 1074–5, 1078–80, 1082–5, 1088–9, 1092–3, 1095–7.

Ronquillo, 13, 18.

Rosa, *v.* La Rosa.

Rosario, Girolamo, a native of Vicenza, secretary to the nuncio at the imperial court, 269.

........., ..., takes messages to the imperial ambassador in Venice (Niño), 729.

Rosas, in Catalonia, landing of Charles at, 21 April 1533, *Int.* iii.

Roses, war of the, alluded to, ii. 672.

Rossano, archbishop of, *v.* Coppa.

Rossel, Roussel, Russell, Sir John, *v.* Russel.

Rosso, Gasparo, Venetian ambassador in France, 73; ii. 956.

........., ..., Pietro Maria, count of San Secondo, ii. 532–3, 538–9, 541.

Rosymboz, Pierre de, imperial ambassador in England, *Int.* vii.; 29, 37–8, 107, 303, 318, 338, 342–3, 349–50, 355, 357, 427, 429, 453.

........., ..., ..., instructions to, 195.

........., ..., in England for the ratification of the treaty of Cambray (Oct. 1529), 279, 306–8, 323, 327, 333, 353–54; ii. 928–9.

........., ..., ..., also to gain over people to the emperor's service, 429.

........., ..., ..., a rather difficult mission to carry out, as he has neither leisure nor the means required, *ibid.*

........., ..., ..., permission granted to, to see queen Katharine, 350.

........., ..., ..., comforts her by saying that all the Parisian doctors consulted believe her marriage to be indissoluble, 351.

........., ..., ..., on a mission to Scotland, 444, 464, 475.

........., ..., ..., returns, ii. 465.

Rota, ecclesiastical court at Rome, 191, 202, 433, 507, 725, 731, 749, 821; ii. 8, 50, 83, 91, 94, 276, 326–8, 415, 433, 441, 461, 490, 579, 686, 717.

........., auditor at, a native of Barcelona, recommended by queen Katharine, 266.

........., another sent as papal nuncio to Scotland, ii. 337, 354, 857, 863.

........., a Spaniard of noble blood, well versed in canon law, to come to Rome and fill the place of auditor at the (Dec. 1530), 858.

........., how composed, ii. 629.

Rotaland, *v.* Rutland.

Rotlove Declyff, Danish ambassador in England (March 1553), ii. 627.

Roucarme, *v.* Noircames.

Rouis (?), 124; *v.* Rœulx.

Rovere, Micer Antonio della, 23.

........., Francesco Maria della, duke of Urbino, makes peace with Venice, and accepts the command of her army, 17; ii. 133, 521.

........., ..., ..., resigns it, and affects neutrality, 164, 174.

........., ..., the Florentines apply in vain for his help, 269.

........., ..., agent of, in Venice, 615.

........., ..., in Rome, ii. 765.

........., ..., death of (Oct. 1529) by poison, 284, 968.

........., Guidobaldo, ii. 470, 590.

Rua, gentleman of Alarcon's household, bearer of letters to the emperor, 328.

Rubiera, in the Modenese, 21.

........., Antonio della, agent of the duchess of Urbino, 212.

Ruccelai (?), Pietro Rolans, ii. 168.

Ruiz de Mota, Garcia, imperial notary, 883.

.... de Puebla (Ruy Diez ?), son of Dr. Puebla, Ferdinand's ambassador in England, statement made by, respecting the divorce, 571.

........., ..., his brother, archdeacon of Malaga, 881.

Runfla, game of the (?), 822.

Rup, Rupt, François de, sieur de Waury, a Frenchman in the imperial service, 280; ii. 179, 395, 575.

........., ..., marries the lady of Frascati, 165, 560; ii. 959.

........., ..., sues for the duchy of Traletto, ii. 966.

Russel, Sir John, of the privy chamber, introduces Chapuys, 222, 232–4.

........., ..., his interference in favour of Wolsey much resented by Anne Boleyn, 449–50; ii. 963.

Russians defeated by one of Ferdinand's captains (1529), 379.

Rusticis, Vincentio de, a Roman gentleman, 873.

Rusticq, Nicholas, a native of Antwerp and captain in the French service, sent by Francis to recruit men in Italy, ii. 449.

Rutland (Thomas Manners), earl of, ii. 602.

Rycio (Ricci ?), Florentine courier, 212.

Rye, Gerard de, sieur and baron de Valançon, 18, 19, 685; ii. 246, 249, 252.

........., ..., brother of, sent by the emperor to pope Clement, 677.

Rymelen, Sigismond de, 258.

Ryncon, *v.* Rincon.

S.

Sahavedra, Rodrigo de, a relative of the archbishop of Santiago, prisoner in France, ii. 829.

Saint Martin de Bomint (?) in the diocese of Dax, 576.

.... Quentin (dep. L'Aisne), 103–5.

Salamanca, city of, in Spain, bishopric of, 613.

........., its university, xvii.

........., ..., opinions of, ii. 91, 679, 720, 755, 841; ii. 134.

........., law-suit between the sees of, and Santiago, 596, 866; ii. 162.

........., papers and letters signed at, 400, 430, 532.

........., Fernando de, *Int.* xxxviii.

........., Francisco de, treasurer, 380, 716, 743, 775, 776.

........., Gonzalo de, count of, 743.

........., Juan, Francisco's secretary, 776.

Salazar, Francisco de, Austrian courier, 743.

........., Licte. Pedro de, 841.

........., [y Castro], *Int.* xxvi. *note.*

.... de Mendoza, quoted, ii. 960, 971.

Saldaña, count of, *v.* Hurtado de Mendoza.

Salerno, prince of, *v.* Sanseverino.

........., archbishop of, *v.* Fragoso.

Salinas, Salins (Salins in France), the imperial ambassador La Chaulx detained by illness at, 458.

........., town of, in Spain (Guipuzeoa), 458.

........., viscount of, *v.* Gorrevod and Sarmiento.

........., ——, imperial courier (1531), ii. 128.

........., Martin de, Austrian ambassador to the emperor, *Int.* xxviii.; 61, 67, 100, 170, 250, 431–2, 585.

........., ..., in Bologna for the emperor's coronation, 431–2, 454, 471–3.

........., ..., in Mantua, 484, 493, 495–6.

........., ..., ..., sent to Spain to collect money for his master, 187, 742, 746, 770–71, 774–7, 781–3, 784.

........., ..., in Spain with the emperor; at the cortes of Monçon, ii. 84, 150, 296, 778–9, 783–5, 790–91, 919.

........., ..., (1529) letters to Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, 11, 14, 31–3, 48, 65, 81, 111–12, 166, 167, 172, 174–6, 181, 185, 196, 212, 227, 238, 240; (1530) 251, 256, 258, 259, 262, 266, 267, 269, 271–4, 278, 282, 292, 293, 427, 465, 473; (1531) 652, 716, 839; (1533) 1086, 1118, 1125, 1141, 1146, 1150, 1166–8.

Salinas, Martin de, Austrian ambassador to the emperor—*cont.*

........., ..., to the emperor, 220.

........., ..., to secretary Castillejo, 469, 474, 1087, 1119, 1126, 1134, 1135, 1142, 1151.

........., ..., to Cobos, 426, 466, 717.

........., ..., to Juan Vazquez [de Molina], the emperor's secretary, 449, 451, 464.

Salisbury, a preacher in the diocese of, hooted and hissed by his audience in consequence of his having preached in favour of the divorce, ii. 412.

........., bishop of, *v.* Campeggio.

........., countess of, *v.* Plantagenet (Margaret).

Salma (Salm), count, ii. 666.

Salona, in Dalmatia, taken from the Turks (1532), ii. 521.

Salsas, a town of Catalonia, ii. 904.

Salt, rent of the, in France, ii. 464.

Saltzburg, cardinal of, *v.* Lang.

Saludador, a quack; king Ferdinand sends for one, a Spaniard, who pretends to work miraculous cures, ii. 903.

Saluzzo, Saluzzes, marquisate of, the possession of, very important to the French, owing to its situation, 783.

........., troops in the, collected, ii. 233, 455.

........., Francesco, 13th marquis of, (1529–1537), 405, 751, 782; ii. 970.

........., ..., delays payment of his contribution towards the expenses of the Turkish war, 811.

........., Giovan Luigi, 782 *note*; ii. 970.

........., ..., dispossessed, ii. 970.

........., Luigi II., eleventh marquis de, ii. 970.

........., Michaele Antonio, marquis of (1528), ii. 970.

Salviati, cardinal Giovanni, 2, 21.

........., ..., papal legate in France, 2, 21, 61–2, 73, 79, 162, 313, 561–3, 566–7, 732, 735, 737, 826; (1531) ii. 35, 309, 312, 650–1, 735, 737, 908.

........., Jacopo, Clement's secretary, 3, 61–2, 72, 81, 86, 135, 137–8, 143, 144, 154–5, 212, 218, 289, 290, 536, 610, 702, 732, 741–2; ii. 104, 603, 662–3, 684, 749, 908.

........., ..., (1530) not so much in favour with the pope as formerly, owing to his entertaining a different opinion as to the kind of government to be given to Florence, ii. 732, 735, 737.

........., ..., death of (4 Sept. 1533), ii. 803.

........., ..., replaced by Sanga, ii. 858, 997.

........., Signora, wife of Giacopo, 334, 536, 539; *v.* also Medici (Lucrecia).

Salzedo, Fr. Bernaldino de, provincial of the Franciscan convent at Burgos, 882.

Sampson, Dr. Richard, dean of the Chapel, appointed to go on a mission to Charles, 190, 196, 215, 257, 259 ; ii. 965, 969.

........., ..., the most violent supporter of the divorce, 238.

........., ..., departs (8 Oct. 1529), 279.

........., ..., formerly at Toledo, on a mission to the emperor, and yet the greatest enemy Katharine ever had, 257.

........., ..., recommended to the emperor by the duke of Norfolk, 428.

........., ..., returns from Italy, 514.

........., ..., acting in London contrary to his engagements, *ibid.*

........., ..., calls upon Chapuys (June 1530), and offers his services, 587.

........., ..., as Henry's proctor in the divorce suit, presents to the chancellor of the see of Canterbury eight different documents to be copied and put in a probative form, 818.

........., ..., ..., being the opinions of as many universities, *ibid.*

........., ..., in the deputation to queen Katharine, ii. 171.

........., ..., ..., his speech, ii. 172.

...., in the privy council, ii. 496, 669, 758, 782.

........., ..., at Eltham in Kent, ii. 557.

........., ..., appears as Henry's proctor before the archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 773.

........., ..., deputed with others to call on the princess in 1533, ii. 819, 830.

San Antonio de Padua, the duke of Milan going to, for his health, 687.

.... Bartholomé, college of, in the university of Salamanca, 841.

........., ..., opinion of, against Henry's divorce, 532.

Sanchez, Alonso, imperial ambassador at Venice, his recall considered a mistake, 66, 119, 163.

........., ..., imperial treasurer at Naples, 765, 778.

........., ..., leaves for Germany, 781.

........., ..., cardinal Colonna's letter to, 218.

........., Gabriel, the treasurer and secretary in Naples, 333, 431, 831 ; ii. 145, 701.

San Clemente, Dr., of Naples, 13.

Sanct Angelo, castle of, at Rome, bonfires in, at the news of the ratification of the treaty of Barcelona, 139 ; ii. 129.

Sancti Angeli in foro piscium, cardinal, *v.* Lang.

........., [in Vado], count of, ii. 504.

.... Quatuor, cardinal, *v.* Pucci.

.... Spiritus, hospital of, at Besançon, 167.

Sandoval, Fr. Prudencio de, bishop of Pamplona, the historian, his history of Charles V. quoted, xiii., xxvi. ; 127, 162, 321 ; ii. 986, 993.

.... y Rojas, D. Bernardo de, marquis of Denia, governor of Tordesillas in Castille, 409, 775.

........., ..., letter to the empress, 246.

Sandwich, in Kent, ii. 451.

Sandys, Sandes, Sir William, lord chamberlain (1526–40), ii. 773.

San Esteban del Puerto, town in the kingdom of Jaen, *Int.* xvi.

San Geronimo, friars of, at Madrid, apply to Clement for a jubilee, 431.

San Felice, Miçer Antonio di, 701, 728.

Sanga, Giovan Battista, papal secretary, 6, 66, 81, 128, 136, 143, 203–4, 208, 240, 248, 270, 283, 288–9, 515, 557, 566–7, 605, 826, 840–41, 845 ; ii. 130–31, 370, 482, 570–71, 770, 908, 964, 997–8.

........., ..., his differences with the bishop of Vaison, 270.

........., ..., succeeds Jacopo Salviati as Clement's secretary, ii. 858.

Sangiacs, four, of the Turk, allowed to arm against all Christians except Poland and Venice, ii. 287.

San Giovanni di Moriana, the duke Carlo di Savoia at, 240.

.... di Verdara, convent of, Augustinians in Padua, 696.

San Isidro de Leon, the abbacy of, in Spain, solicited by Ferdinand for a nephew of his secretary, Christoval de Castillego, ii. 145.

San Juan y Polo (St. John and Paul, in Venice), 830.

........., prior of, 830.

San Lorenço, in the suburbs of Rome, letter dated at, 1129.

San Marcello, 680 *note.*

San Matheo, cardinal of, *v.* Egidio.

San Millan, Maestro Juan de, 841.

San Petronio, church of, in Bologna, brief of Clement secretly affixed at, 239.

........., Charles in, previous to his coronation (5 Nov. 1529), 322.

San Pietro, cathedral church of, in Mantua, 481.

San Salvador, abbey of, on the frontier of Naples, 15.

........., de Montesa, military order of, created by Alfonso IV. of Aragon (1317), 880.

San Secondo, Pietro Maria Rosso, count of, arrested by order of the emperor, ii. 532–3, 538–9.

........., ..., released and allowed to proceed on his journey, ii. 541.

San Severino, Alfonso, duke of Somma, 13.

San Severino, cardinal Antonio, archbishop of Naples, 2, 13, 22–3, 61, 119, 153, 594; ii. 887.

........., ..., not to be trusted, 165.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 95.

.... (Ferrante ?), prince of Salerno, ii. 575.

Sansevero, in Capitanata, 364.

San Sixto, cardinal of, *v.* Gaetano.

Sansovino, Francesco, quoted, ii. 961.

Santa Croce, Santa Cruz, cardinal, *v.* Quiñones.

Santa Cruz, college of, at Valladolid, opinion of, transmitted to Miçer Mai at Rome, 753.

........., Francisco de, imperial messenger 566.

Santangelo, castle of, in Rome, 152.

........., ..., documents said to be preserved, showing that, together with Ostia, it belonged to the Empire, 118.

........., ..., bonfires in, on the receipt of news from Barcelona, and the notification of the treaty by Charles, ii. 129.

........., Montagna di, in Naples, surrendered by Renzo de Ceri, 363.

Santa Eufemia, priorate of, *v.* Santofimia.

Sant' Antonio, church of, in Bologna, Charles takes his oath at, 198.

Santarem, in Portugal, ii. 413.

Santiago, knighthood of, conferred on Luis Tobar, ii. 780.

.... [de Galicia], town, ii. 116.

.... de los Españoles, a church at Rome, 139.

.... [de Compostella], see of, 561.

........., the "Indutto Quadragnsimal" granted to the, for six months, 185, 561; ii. 33.

........., law-suit between the, and that of Salamanaca, 596, 866.

........., the deanery of, ii. 505.

........., archbishops of, *v.* Fonseca, Tavera.

.... de Galicia, town, ii. 116.

Santiseban, *v.* Sant Stephano.

Santlis, *v.* Senlis.

Sant Lorenço, in the suburbs of Rome, letter dated at, 1128.

Sant Martino, 378.

Sant Matheo, cardinal of, *v.* Ægidius.

Santofemia, Santofimia, a town in the kingdom of Cordova,

........., papal brief concerning the priorate of, 165.

........., commandery of, in the Order of Calatrava, disputed at Rome, ii. 55.

Santo Vito, *v.* San Vito.

Sant Sebastian, Fray Miguel de, professor at the college of San Pablo de Valladolid, his opinion on the divorce case, 753.

Sant Stephano, in Venice, prior of, solicited by the English ambassadors to give opinion on the divorce, 659.

San Thomaso, marchese di, *v.* Carrone.

St. Albans, abbey of, Katharine residing at the More, within the precincts of the, ii. 228, 277.

St. Andrews, archbishop of, *v.* Betoun.

........., permission to prosecute the archbishop of, ii. 753, 787.

St. Asaph, bishop of, *v.* Barlo.

St. Bernard, order of, in Spain, reformer of, 775.

St. Claude, abbé de, *v.* Savoie (Pietro).

St. Dominic at Bologna, ii. 564.

........., ..., Spanish friar, contemporary of, passage from his works adduced as argument in favour of the divorce, 582.

St. Esprit, order of the, badge of, worn by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk at the reception of Mr. de Montpezat, ii. 609.

........., ..., though not by the latter on the 24th of February, ii. 613.

........., ..., conferred upon the vayvod Zapolsky, ii. 464.

St. Francis of Burgos, convent, 882–3.

St. Gall, in Switzerland, 46.

St. George, the standard of, to be prepared for the emperor's coronation at Bologna, 310.

St. Germain, Francis' court at, ii. 21.

St. Jean de Lus, 619.

St. John [of Jerusalem], order of; 36, ii. 30, 827, 869.

........., high commander or prior of, in England, *v.* Weston.

........., vice-chancellorship at Rome, to be given to Vosio (?), 260.

.... of Letran, at Rome, procession at, in thanksgiving for the peace of Cambray (Aug. 1529), 149.

.... and Paul (San Joan y Polo), convent of, in Venice, 696, 869–70.

........., ..., prior of, *v.* Ognibene.

.... and Peter, assemblies of armed men on the eves of; their prohitition (in London) contemplated, ii. 721.

St. Julien, Mr. de, French gentleman, brings a present from Francis to Anne Boleyn, ii. 721.

........., ..., goes to Greenwich, ii. 724.

........., ..., to St. Osmer, ii. 581.

St. Paul, church of, at Lyons, 245.

St. Peter (San Pietro), at Rome; procession in, for the conclusion of the peace of Cambray, 149.

........., priory of, at Dunstable, ii. 647.

St. Pol, Francois de Bourbon, count of, 15, 26, 89.

........., ..., about to march on Milan, 16–17.

........., ..., disagrees with the duke of Urbino as to the manner of conducting the war in Lombardy, 49, 245.

........., ..., on his way to Loretto, 636.

St. Quentin, 104, 162.

St. Thomas in Parione, church in Rome, 321.

St. Tropez (Provence ?), Doria's galleys sack the town of (1529), 36.

St. Villeury (?), *v.* Fitz William.

St. Vincent, abbot of, *Int.* vii.

Sanuto, Marino, his Venetian Diary, quoted, *Int.* vii.; ii. 817.

San Vito, Vitores, in Friul, letters dated at, 1006–7.

Saracosa, in Sicily, *v.* Siracosa and Syracusa.

Saragossa (Zaragoza), capital of Aragon, 116, 177, 255, 329, 702, 880; ii. 779, 905.

........., archbishop of, *v.* Aragon (Juan de).

Sardinia, ii. 859 *note.*

........., the galleys of the order of St. John on the coast of, bound for Malta, 180.

........., the churches of, said to be comprised in the bull of pope Adrian, 866 ; ii. 186.

........., coast of, ravaged by Barbarossa (1533), ii. 824.

........., viceroy of, *v.* Cabrero.

Sarmento, Luis, *v.* Sarmiento.

Sarmiento, D. Diego, captain of "bisogni" or raw levies in Italy, 337 *note.*

........., ..., mortally wounded in battle, 603.

........., D. Diego Gomez, count of Salinas, ii. 59 *note.*

........., Francisco, captain in command of the Spanish infantry in Florence, 337 *note.*

........., Juan, Gonzaga's lieutenant sent to Siena, ii. 89.

........., Luis, imperial ambassador in Portugal, 184 ; ii. 82, 88.

........., Pedro, bishop of Palencia, present at the ratification of the treaty of Barcelona, *Int.* xxiv.; 116 ; ii. 81, 88.

........., ..., goes to Rome, ii. 532.

........., ..., on a mission to the empress Isabella, 337.

........., ..., to Rome, ii. 532.

........., ..., instructions to, 221.

.... de Mendoza, Da. Maria, wife of high commander Francisco de los Covos, ii. 553.

Sarmoya (?), le sieur de, 241 ; ii. 964.

Sarraceni, Gio. Michaele, bishop of Accerenza, ii. 205, 988.

Saspuerge, *v.* Saltzburg.

Sassa, *v.* Saxony.

Sassatello, Sessatello, Zuane, or Giovanne, servant of, 270.

Sauche, Jean or Jehan de la, 354, 427.

Save (Sau), a river of Illyria, the Turks to encamp during the winter of 15 between the, and the Drave, 695.

Savoie, Anne de, ii. 973.

........., Beatrix de, infanta of Spain, daughter of Dom. Manuel of Portugal, and wife of duke Carlo, iii.; 110, 196–7, 240–41 ; ii. 41, 132, 720, 963.

........., ..., in Mantua, 471.

........., ..., at Bologna, for the emperor's coronation, 474.

........., ..., how received, 475, 479, 516.

........., ..., offended at Gritti being apprehended within her dominions, ii. 197.

........., Claude de, count of Tende, governor of Lyons, 564, 567, 680.

........., Emanuel Philibert, son of Carlo III., 241, 963.

........., Jaque de, ii. 977.

........., Jeanne de, duchess of Mercœur, ii. 977.

........., Louis de, son of Carlo III., duke of Savoy, 241 ; ii. 963.

........., Louise de, duchess of Angouleme and Anjou, mother of Francis I., treating with Margaret for the peace of Cambray, 37, 39, 42, 57, 71, 102–9, 162, 242–4, 306.

........., ..., intercedes for the duke of Ferrara, 313, 354.

........., ..., illness and death of (1531), ii. 249, 274.

........., ..., alluded, 465, 532, 708 ; ii. 6.

........., ..., said to be averse to war, ii. 910.

........., ..., chancellor and president of her council, *v.* Brinon.

........., Philibert de, 110 *note.*

........., Philiberte de, duchess of Nemours, wife of Giuliano de Medici, ii. 977.

........., Philip de, count of Geneva, duke of Nemours ; his differences with duke Carlo III., 619 ; ii. 315, 330–31, 976.

........., Pierre de, duke of Nemours, 16, 315, 619.

........., Pietro, bishop of Geneva and abbot of St. Claude, uncle of Carlo III., 110 *note.*

........., René de, son of Claude, ii. 680 *note.*

Savona, in the Genoese, 116, 167 *note*, 870.

........., Charles at (9–12 Aug. 1529), 166–7, 170, 186, 188, 401.

........., the French fleet in the harbour of, 485.

........., Clement at (Dec. 1533), ii. 870.

Savorgnano, Dr. Pietro, 491.

Saxony, George, duke of, sends an agent to London to compliment him, and procure horses and dogs, 305, 332 ; ii. 908.

........., ..., memorandum presented by, and four more Lutheran princes, 619, 640–41.

........., ..., writes to dissuade Henry from the divorce, 642.

Saxony, George, duke of—*cont.*

........., ..., leaves the imperial court, 761.

........., ..., to be excluded from the election of king of the Romans, 791.

........., ..., writes to Francis, complaining of the emperor, ii. 160.

........., ..., his defection, and Henry's remarks about it, 825.

........., ..., son of, refuses to be present at the celebration of a mass after the election at Aix-la-Chapelle, ii. 37, 46.

........., ..., report of his having taken Ferdinand prisoner, ii. 95.

........., ..., in correspondence with Francis, ii. 165, 234, 289.

........., ..., secretary of, to France with letters, ii. 121.

........., ..., sends Francis two tracts written by Luther (1531), ii. 127.

........., ..., does not attend the diet of the Lutherans at Francfort, ii. 201–2.

........., ..., a man sent to Augsburg to work the duke's conversion, ii. 305.

........., ..., has already done some good, *ibid.*

........., ..., great hopes entertained at Rome of his forsaking the Lutherans, ii. 315.

........., ..., joins the Lutheran league against Charles, ii. 419.

........., ..., report of his having refused allegiance to the king of the Romans, ii. 458.

........., ..., but willing to keep the peace as long as Germany is threatened by the Turk, ii. 491.

........., ..., letter to Henry VIII., 379.

........., John, duke of (1525–32), 809; ii. 992.

........., ..., agent of, in London, 305, 332, 429, 433, 452.

........., John Frederic, duke elector of (1532), Latin letter to, on the council, 1094.

Savoy, 751; ii. 65.

........., an interview in, between the pope, the emperor, and Francis, proposed by the latter, 645.

........., duke of, *v.* Carlo.

........., duchess of, *v.* Beatrix and Savoie.

........., *v.* Savoie.

Scalenga, Scalengues (De Scalengues), imperial captain, governor of Asti; stops French couriers through the Astesan, and seizes their correspondence, 192, 195–7, 385, 493, 603, 607, 660, 764, 844; ii. 192, 195, 197.

........., ..., at which the French and English ambassadors complain, 740.

........., ..., seizes money destined to the Florentines, 193, 603–4; ii. 55, 210.

........., ..., which Clement says belongs to him, and not to them, *ibid.*

........., ..., if not returned it will be discounted from his debt to the emperor, 504.

Scalenga, Scalengues (De Scalengues)—*cont.*

........., ..., instructed to arrest Georgio Gritti, ii. 196–7, 204, 209–10, 504, 989.

........., ..., ..., and the ambassador of the vayvod at his passage through the Astesan, 496; ii. 208.

........., ..., ..., also Marco Raffaelo (?), the Jew, coming to England from Venice, 825, 844.

........., ..., refuses to return the 5,000 ducats taken from Baglione's secretary, ii. 55, 210, 504.

Scappos (Spahis ?), Turkish, ii. 333.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 763.

........., ..., to Cobos, 764.

Scaramucci, Scaramuccia, Miçer, a Milanese, 334.

Scarpinello, Agostino, Milanese ambassador in England, 394–5, 467, 532, 698, 804, 820.

........., ..., visits Chapuys and gives his opinion on the divorce suit, 394.

Sçavre, Laurent, of Nuremberg, agent of the archbishop of Mainz in London (1529–30), 393, 450, 462.

........., ..., said to be a pensioner of Henry, 393.

........., ..., ..., and to have come to England to intercede for cardinal Wolsey, 451.

........., ..., closely watched by Chapuys' orders, 451, 453.

Scepperus, Cornelius Duplicius, sent by Charles on a mission to Hungary, ii. 127, 904, 907, 912.

........., ..., to Switzerlamd, ii. 297.

Scherbes, (Therbes ?), *v.* Tarbes.

Schomberg, Nicolas, archbishop of Capua, generally called "the Capuan," (Il Capuano), 2, 10, 19, 21, 61, 62, 64, 69–71, 73–4, 77, 84, 143, 146, 160, 177, 208.

........., ..., at the imperial camp with Chalon, 249, 267, 282, 287.

........., ..., to be recalled, 192.

........., ..., sent by Clement to the emperor to represent against the general council, 334.

........., ..., appointed to go to Florence, declines on the plea of bad health, 635, 643, 861.

........., ..., designated to go on a mission from Clement to Charles, 803, 826, 829, 835, 861.

........., ..., in frequent communication with the imperial ambassadors at Rome, ii. 54, 74, 78, 93, 433, 480, 684, 729, 730, 732, 828.

........., ..., to be recommended for a cardinal's hat, ii. 717, 888, 907–8.

........., ..., ..., much hurt at his not getting it, ii., 877–8.

........., ..., letter to Francis, 107.

Schwytz, Swiss canton, ii. 310 *note.*

Scipio, physician to the duke of Milan, attends on Clement VII., 283.

Sclavonia, the Venetian fleet sailing in the direction of, 171.

Sclède, Jerome, bishop of Vaison in the dep. of Vaucluse (France), Clement's nuncio in Spain (1529), 1, 17–19, 21, 25, 72–3, 76, 115, 117, 136, 155, 183, 200, 248, 287, 289, 840; ii. 128, 276, 955.

........., ..., leaves for Bologna, 480.

........., ..., visits Vicenza, and learns there the doings of the English ambassadors at Padua and Piacenza, 552.

........., ..., goes to Venice and persuades Vochterinus and others to retract and write against Henry's divorce, 525, 552.

........., ..., leaves for Rome, 552.

........., ..., again in Venice, 729.

........., ..., about to leave for Germany in company of Alexandro de' Medici, 730.

........., ..., said to have persuaded the emperor to decide as he did the Ferrara case, ii. 152.

........., ..., ..., and to have misunderstood Clement's instructions respecting it, ii. 190.

........., ..., his differences with Sanga, the papal secretary, 170, 840.

........., ..., in Germany (1531) on a mission from Clement, ii. 36.

Scotch gentleman sent to the Tower (Sept. 1533), ii. 787.

.... privateers, ii. 627.

.... gentleman, though describing himself as a servant of Francis, ii. 626–7.

Scots, their movements on the borders not considered very alarming, 257.

........., under great pressure [from France], and willing enough to make peace, ii. 440, 632.

........., yet, notwithstanding the truce, making raids and capturing English vessels at sea, ii. 488, 627, 698, 705.

........., ..., and threatening to invade England with the help of the Irish, ii. 528.

........., ..., the French remaining neutral all the time, *ibid.*

........., dislike Francis' interference with their affairs, ii. 761.

........., Henry complains of their spreading rumours to his discredit, ii. 762.

........., described by the French ambassador (Beauvois) as a fine set of men, and the best soldiers in the world, ii. 753.

Scotland, ambassador from, to claim compensation for injuries sustained during the last war, 534.

........., ..., and explain the reason of king James collecting a force on the borders, 618.

........., a deputation from, arrives in London (Nov. 1550), 820.

Scotland, a deputation from—*cont.*

........., ..., for the purpose, as it is rumoured, of asking for the hand of the princess for king James, 820.

........., the castles on the borders of, to be repaired by order of Henry (Dec. 1530), 857; ii. 337, 440.

........., a messenger (from the papal nuncio ?) takes to, a letter from Clement concerning the convocation of a general council (Jan. 1531), ii. 28.

........., affairs of, and marriage of James, debated at Rome through cardinal Accolti, the protector of that kingdom, ii. 86, 88, 115, 192, 195, 913.

........., highlanders from, said to be encouraging the Irish rebellion, ii. 237.

........., skirmishes on the borders of (Oct. 1531), ii. 266.

........., papal auditor on a mission to, accompanied by Albany's secretary and another Scotchman (Dec. 1530), 857; ii. 337, 354, 364.

........., ..., how received at court, ii. 863.

........., a new treaty of peace or extension of the old truce with, solicited by Henry through the intervention of France, ii, 424, 440, 465.

........., an express sent to, by the French ambassador (Apr. 1532), ii. 424–5.

........., Francis about to send an ambassador to, offering king James the hand of his daughter Madeleine, ii. 561.

........., ..., who returns to London (July 1533), and gives Chapuys information, ii. 752.

........., ..., his mission supposed to have been the marriage of king James to a daughter (Marguerite) of Mr. de Vendôme, ii. 417, 757.

........., affairs of, discussed at the conferences of Calais, ii. 582.

........., king of, *v.* James.

........., protector of, at Rome, *v.* Accolti.

........., principal secretary, *v.* Erskine.

........., one year's truce between, and England (Oct. 1533), ii. 818.

Scott, of Balwery, Sir William, Scottish ambassador in England, ii. 568, 575 (?), 858–59, 993.

........., of Pitgorno, Sir Thomas, Scottish James's ambassador in England (1531–2); ii. 568, 575, 858–9, 993.

Scrivan, captain, at Rome with money from Naples, 765.

Scutetto (Schultheiss, avoyer or advocate), in Switzerland, ii. 467.

Sebenico in Dalmatia, ii. 421.

Sedan chair, a handsome and richly decorated, three mules and their harness, presented by Francis to Anne Boleyn in 1533, ii. 721, 724.

Sedunense, Sedunensis, bishop of Sion, *v.* Riedmatten.

Segni, Florentine historian, quoted, 167, 188, 291, 679, 685, 867; ii. 991.

Selve, Jean Odet de, sieur de Cromyères first president of the parliament of Paris, 744.

Selade, Seladeus, a mistake for Sclède, *q. v.*

Sena, Mariano di, consulted by the English ambassadors, persists in his resolution of voting in favour of the divorce, 527, 544, 547.

Senis, Micer Philippo de, dean of the chamber at Rome, 753, 781.

Senlis, town of France, 102, 105.

........., bishop of, *v.* Petit.

Senoncensis, *v.* Sens.

Sens (Senones), dep. Yonne, in France; archbishop of (Senoncensis), *v.* Prat.

Sentence, papal, in the divorce suit urgently applied for by Katharine and Charles, ii. 177.

........., ..., indefinitely prorogued through Clement's hesitation, ii. 181, 222, 531, 579.

........., before giving, in the divorce suit Clement inquires what help Charles intends lending towards its execution, ii. 657, 806, 817, 832.

........., Katharine's inquiries on the subject, ii. 833–4.

........., to be procured at any cost before Anne's confinement, ii. 721.

........., an extraordinary ambassador from the emperor to be the bearer of it, ii. 722, 836.

........., again prorogued for one month, ii. 832.

........., ..., for two more, ii. 841.

........., objections against the final, raised at Marseilles, ii. 836.

........., Francis entreats Clement at Marseilles to delay the, for five or six months, as in the meantime Henry may return to his legitimate wife and send away Anne Boleyn, ii. 847.

........., prorogued for one month more, ii. 848.

........., a further prorogation of the, discussed in consistory, cardinals Siena and Santa Croce voting against it, ii. 848.

Sepulveda, Juan Ginés de, writes against the divorce, *Int.* xxv.

........., ..., work of, printed at Rome, ii. 913.

Sepusio, *v.* Zapoli and Zapolsky.

Sermacre (Commercy?), 102.

Sermonetta, town of the Campagne di Roma, 699.

Servia, the Turks to take winter quarters in (1532), ii. 520.

Sesena, *v.* Cesenna.

Sessut Vassi, Turkish corsair on the coast of Barbary, 543.

Sessa, duke of, *v.* Fernandez de Cordoba.

Sestini, Thomasso, a Florentine, 522 *note.*

Setubal, in Portugal; letters dated at, 924, 1179.

Severino, *v.* San Severino.

Seville, in Spain, ii. 407.

........., archbishop of, *v.* Manrique.

........., university of, 753.

Sforza, Francesco, duke of Milan and Bari, 130, 208, 212, 247, 249, 251, 260, 265, 298, 300, 320, 603, 615.

........., ..., at Lodi, 17, 26, 28.

........., ..., negociations with, 31, 32.

........., ..., to be suspended until the conclusion of the treaty of Barcelona, 123.

........., ..., Clement intercedes for, 64–5, 85, 113.

........., ..., renewed, and himself desirous of obtaining the emperor's pardon, 141, 164, 179, 197, 208.

........., ..., sends a message to Mai through a Milanese friar, showing a disposition to obey the emperor's sentence, whatever it may be, 150.

........., ..., in bad health, not expected to live long, 173.

........., ..., prepared to accept any terms which Clement may make for him, 204.

........., ..., sends new proposals, 210, 288.

........., ..., is sure that the peace will be a lasting one, 291.

........., ..., holding Cremona and other towns in the Milanese, 309.

........., ..., refuses the terms offered to him, 265, 334, 336, 375.

........., ..., re-invested in the duchy on the payment of a fine (Dec. 1529), 374, 403, 441.

........., ..., present at Charles's coronation in Bologna, 471.

........., ..., dangerously ill again, 478, 494–5, 560.

........., ..., consumptive, cannot possibly live many weeks, 596, 603, 610.

........., ..., said to be collecting troops, 636.

........., ..., his debt to Venice, 654.

........., ..., advised by his physicians to go to San Antonio di Padua, and thence to Loretto and Venice, 687.

........., ..., to be dissuaded from his journey, or to be followed and watched wherever he goes, 687.

........., ..., obtains permission to send an agent to France, 698.

........., ..., daily expected in Venice, 698, 731.

........., ..., arrives there (Oct. 1530), 749, 771, 777.

........., ..., his reception by the doge, 754.

........., ..., visited by Niño, to whom he explains the object of his journey, 772.

Sforza, Francesco, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., ... which is to obtain money to redeem the fortresses in his duchy pledged to the emperor, 772, 808.

........., ..., Francis' proposal of paying the remainder of his debt to the emperor on condition of the new investiture of the duchy being transferred to his son, the duke of Orleans, 772.

........., ..., summoned by Francis to restore the property of the "fuorusciti," 772, 782 ; ii. 46.

........., ..., asks the signory's advice respecting the matrimonial alliances offered to him, 772.

........., ..., applies for the hand of princess Mary of England, and sends an embassy for that purpose, 772–3, 786, 830.

........., ..., delays answering the papal brief exhorting the Christian princes to help with money to the Turkish war, 811.

........., ..., promises of a loan in England made to, by the earl of Wiltshire, that he may pay his debt to the emperor, 820.

........., ..., about to make an alliance with the Swiss Catholics, 843.

........., ..., his marriage to Margaret, the emperor's daughter, talked of, 204.

........., ..., ..., to Caterina, the niece of Clement, 609 ; ii. 183, 185, 260.

........., ..., ..., to Dorothea, daughter of Christiern of Denmark, ii. 969.

........., ..., ..., to a sister of the prince of Navarre, ii. 290.

........., ..., his secretary and agent at Rome, 201, 249, 267 ; *v.* Corbeta.

........., ..., his chancellor (Taverna) to negociate with the Swiss, ii. 311.

........., ..., ill again, not expected to live long, ii. 566–7.

........., ..., the execution of Maraveglia, Francis' spy, likely to bring, into trouble, ii. 756, 817.

........., ..., ..., though, according to Henry, not to be blamed for it, ii. 817.

........., ..., sends his chancellor (Taverna) to Marseilles to explain the circumstances of the case, ii. 829, 850, 854.

........., ..., to be informed by Caracciolo of all that passes at the conferences of Marseilles, ii. 881.

........., ..., deed of re-investiture (23 Dec. 1529), 235.

........., Massimiliano, death of, in France, 261, 777.

........., Ottaviano, bishop of Lodi, 654.

Shenk, John, 68 ; *v.* Xenque.

Sherland, Sir Thomas Cheyne's place in, king Henry staying at, ii. 253, 524.

Ships, English, ii. 704, 874.

........., Biscayan, one taken on the Irish coast by English privateers, ii. 823.

........., Spanish, one detained in London, ii. 788.

Ships—*cont.*

........., Spanish, another captured by the Lubeckians on the English coast (1533), ii. 859.

........., French, with Charles's fleet, according to the treaty of Cambray, 458, 478, 685.

........., ..., one so large (in Britanny) that she cannot be navigated, ii. 454.

........., Flemish, one (a pinnace) seized in London on suspicion of piracy, 68.

Shrewsbury, earl of, *v.* Talbot.

Sicily, 537, 663.

........., galleys of, 218.

........., the coast of, threatened by the Turk (1530), 502, 518.

........., patronage of the churches in, granted by Adrian, 186, 866.

........., wheat abounding in, 308.

........., opinion of theologians and doctors in, respecting the matrimonial cause, ii. 108.

........., invaded by Barbarossa (1533), iii. 824.

........., inquisitor of, ii. 869.

........., viceroy of, *v.* Pignatello.

Siena in danger of an attack from Malatesta, Petrucci, and Pitigliano, 15.

........., Lutheran friar preaching at, 23, 67.

.... furnishes artillery for the siege of Florence, 108, 163, 172, 176, 178, 211, 220.

........., Italian infantry under Marramao quartered in the territory of, 334.

........., revolution in (June 1530), 524, 583.

.... troubles, 659, 662.

........., the affairs of, far from being settled, 680.

........., again in danger of a revolution, 706.

........., imperial troops committing great ravages in, 781–3.

........., Monti, the four, or divisional quarters of, 807 ; ii. 983.

........., Gonzaga and Soria engage to remove Spanish infantry to other quarters, 823.

........., new troubles apprehended, 868.

........., matters at, said to be mending, 811 ; ii. 52.

........., Gonzaga and Soria to propose new terms, ii. 56, 76.

........., Charles advised to take possession of, ii. 68.

........., Captain Guevara, in command at, ii. 126.

........., the Spaniards evacuate the territory of, ii. 136, 162, 178, 525, 751 ; ii. 111, 829.

........., cardinal of, *v.* Bandini.

Sienese, their differences with count Pitigliano, 15, 22, 67.

........., offer their services to the emperor, 210.

Sienese—*cont.*

........., glad to bear arms against their old enemies, the Florentines, 211.

.... promise siege artillery against them, 267.

.... solicited in vain by Florence to enter into a league against the emperor, 583, 644, 753.

.... object to the imperial troops being quartered in their territory, 784.

........., their disagreement with Ferrante Gonzaga on that account, *ibid.*

.... continually endangering the peace of Italy, ii. 66.

.... secretary (Mario Bandini ?) agent of the, at Rome, going to procure the ratification of the agreement made with Gonzaga in 1531, ii. 67.

........., new terms to be made with the, ii. 68, 118.

.... intimate to the imperial delegates to quit the territory of the signory, ii. 89, 139, 191.

.... ask again for Piccolomini, ii. 183.

.... terribly alarmed at the news of duke Alessandro going to Florence, ii. 193.

........., differences between the imperial commissary and Pirro finally adjusted to the satisfaction of the, ii. 829.

Sigismond I., king of Poland (1506–48), 181, 463, 481–2, 755, 801; ii. 324, 334, 347, 756.

........., one of his daughters to be married to Henry, duke of Orleans, 644.

........., ..., said to have declared his son (Sigismond Augustus) successor to his crown (1530), 463.

........., ..., ..., and to have made an alliance with the Turk, ii. 756, 861.

Sigismondo (?), Don, a close relative of the pope, his arrest at Rome procured by the imperial ambassadors, 218.

Siguença, Siguenza, episcopal town of Castille, in Spain, ii. 4 *note.*

........., bishops of, *v.* Loaysa, Portugal.

Silly, Claude de, *v.* Cilly.

Silten, in the Valais, ii. 467.

........., bishop of, *v.* Riedmatten.

Silva, D. Fernando de, count de Cifuentes, imperial ambassador at Rome, ii. 633, 658, 683–4, 709, 721, 725, 732–4, 736, 743, 779, 835–9.

........., ..., succeeds Miçer Mai in the Roman embassy, ii. 868.

........., ..., signs some of his despatches "El conde Alferez," and why, ii. 888 *note.*

........., ..., not on good terms with cardinal Merino, ii. 703, 808.

........., ..., attends the conferences of Marseilles (Oct.—Nov. 1533),

........., ..., his conferences with Clement at Marseilles (1533) respecting Italian politics and the designs of Francis, ii. 845.

Silva, D. Fernando de, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., concerning the commission given to Domenico Centurione, ii. 846–8.

........., ..., disagrees with Merino on politics, ii. 684, 726–9, 731–2.

........., ..., his secretary, *v.* Archangel.

........., ..., letters to the emperor from Rome, 1059, 1069, 1071, 1078, 1082, 1085, 1097, 1101, 1103, 1113, 1128, 1159, 1163.

........., ..., ... from Pisa, 1131.

........., ..., ... from Marseilles, 1136, 1143, 1147–8.

........., ..., ... to secretary Cobos, 1070, 1155.

........., ..., ..., the emperor's, to, 1122.

........., Miguel de, bishop of Viseu, Portuguese ambassador in Rome (1530), 611, 869 *note.*

........., ..., his hotel in Rome attacked by the servants of the French ambassador (Sept. 1530), 871–2.

........., ..., instructed to urge for the sentence of the divorce suit (1532), ii. 574.

Silvestro, Micer, auditor to cardinal Ancona; naturalisation of, 266, 566, 741.

Simancas castle, near Valladolid, 775.

........., archives of, account of papers in the, *Int.* i. ii.; 124, 871; ii. 6 *note*, 33 *note*, 348, 351, 462.

........., founded by Philip II. in 1567, 322 *note.*

Simandres, Desiderio, one of the emperor's secretaries in Flanders, ii. 903.

Simonetta, Jacopo, auditor at the Rota, bishop of Pesaro, *Int.* xxiii.; 5, 6.

........., ..., recommended by Mai, ii. 38, 206, 589, 633, 806.

........., ..., sent to Marseilles to discuss the divorce case, ii. 659, 802, 835.

........., ..., recommended for a cardinal's hat, ii. 888.

Sion (Silten) in the Valais, bishop of, *v.* Riedmatten.

Siponto, *v.* Manfredonia.

Siracosa (Syracusa) in Sicily, archbishop of (Ludovicus Platamonius), arrested, and sent to the castle of Sant Angelo, 152.

........., feuds between the inhabitants, ii. 334.

Siruela, count of, *v.* Velasco.

Sisa, meaning of the word, 396.

Sittig, George, captain of Grisons in the emperor's service, ii. 313 *note.*

.... Demps (d'Ems), Marc or Marco, ii. 313 *note.*

Slavonia, rumours of an invasion of, Croatia, and Hungary by Luigi Gritti and an army of Turks, ii. 859.

........., *v.* Sclavonia.

Smalkalde, league of,

Smyrna, in Greece, 321 *note*.

Só de Castro y Pinós, D. Ramon de, *v.* Castro.

Sodderini, Thomasso, sent by the Florentines to the emperor (Aug. 1529), 167.

Soffy, Sophi, of Persia, *v.* Thamasp.

Soleure, Swiss canton, ii. 309.

Soliers, Charles de, sieur de Morette, on a mission to the emperor, 458, 708, 971.

Solis (?), bishop, 865.

Solodoro, *v.* Soleure.

Solyman "the Magnificent," emperor of the Turks (1520–66), 15, 50, 127–8, 698; ii. 103.

........., ..., at Sophia, 151.

........., ..., invades Hungary, 169.

........., ..., marches on Vienna, 169, 185.

........., ..., the whole of Syria revolts against, 185.

........., ..., at Buda, 317.

........., ..., about to invade Hungary, 391.

........., ..., lays siege to Vienna, 412.

........., ..., preparing a powerful fleet to scour the Mediterranean, 502, 526.

........., ..., said to have considerably relaxed in his warlike preparations, 543.

........., ..., sends Gritti to Hungary, 657, 860.

........., ..., arms against the Portuguese in the Red Sea, ii. 333.

........., ..., at war with the Persians, 184, 421, 455, 463; ii. 324, 519, 797–8.

........., ..., ..., and with his own subjects, who revolt, 184, 455, 563.

........., ..., (Nov. 1531), recovers from "il morbo caduco," ii. 287.

Somersham, Hunts; Katharine to be removed to, whether she will or not, ii. 892.

Somma, duke of, *v.* San Severino.

Sophia, in Bulgaria, Solyman the Grand Turk arrives at, 151, 458.

Sorbonne, La, or Faculty of Theology at Paris, 597, 612, 693; ii. 499.

........., the opinion of the, on the divorce solicited by the English ambassadors, 367, 450, 459.

........., ..., its conclusion being that pope Julius had no power to dispense, 387, 665, 677, 756, 773; ii. 215, 497, 499.

........., an opposite conclusion signed by 15 doctors sent by Garay to the emperor, 497, 500, 550–51, 657, 670.

........., rector of the, 496–7.

........., an English student at the, sent by the duke of Norfolk to report on Du Bellay's doings in the matter of the divorce, 514.

Soria, Alfonso, imperial secretary, *Int.* xv.

........., Lope de, imperial ambassador in Venice, *Int.* xi.; 21, 86, 89, 168, 334, 563, 578, 583, 593, 732; ii. 402, 983.

Soria, Lope de, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., appointed commissary-general to the imperial army, *Int.* xi.; 209–10.

........., ..., at Piacenza, 168.

........., ..., sent to Siena on a mission, 555, 593, 636, 644, 646, 732, 739, 749, 753, 781, 822, 868; ii. 7, 46, 56, 67–8, 76.

........., ..., in Venice, ii. 834.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 1156.

Sormano, Il, Gasparo (?), paper describing a conversation between, and the Ferrarese agent in France, 640, 830; ii. 984.

........., ..., his brother, 640.

........., ..., *v.* Tormano.

Sotomayor, Don Diego de, 536, 539, 558, 594, 613, 841, 865.

Southampton (Southampton), 672; ii. 444.

Spahis, a Turkish militia, ii. 333.

Spain, exaggerated reports of the plague in, 799.

........., Charles's return to, decided upon, ii. 142.

........., said to be so bad that the empress could hardly find a safe place of residence, *ibid.*

........., riots, similar to those of the "Comunidades," apprehended in, 34; ii. 124–5.

........., frontiers of, to be fortified against the French, ii. 266 (Oct. 1531), ii. 492, 591.

........., bad state of the finance in, ii. 491.

Spalatro, in Dalmatia, governor of, ii. 521.

Spaniards, discontented at the emperor's long absence from the Peninsula,

........., hate to see their substance spent in foreign wars, 404.

........., in London, Chapuys complains to the duke of Norfolk that the, are worse treated than in Barbary, 627.

........., ..., offer, as well as the German residents, their services to Chapuys when his house was burnt down (Oct. 1533), ii. 818.

Spelle, in Umbria, castle of, besieged by the imperialists, 191.

........., surrenders at discretion, 192.

........., the marquis Juan de Urbina mortally wounded at, 201, 207.

........., excesses committed by Chalon's troops at, 211.

Spezia, La, island, ii. 764, 816.

........., interview of Clement and Doria at, ii. 868.

........, letter dated at, 1155.

Spice trade, ii. 77.

Spies, of Micer Mai at Rome, and within the papal palace, 3, 19, 751.

........., of Chapuys, in London, ii. 451, 465, 842.

........., of Clement, in Venice, 554, 773.

Spies—*cont.*
........., of Niño, in Venice, to follow Marco Raffaelo to Trent, Milan, Asti, or wherever he goes on his way to England, 825.
........., of king Henry, in Spain, ii. 124–5.
Spinelli, Gasparo, secretary of the Venetian embassy in London (1533), ii. 513.
Spinola, the, of Genoa, recruiting forces in the Milanese, 831, 842.
........., Agostino, 844.
........., Bartholomeo, 842; ii. 32, 46.
........., Giovan Battista heads a revolution in Genoa, ii. 46.
Spires, 858; ii. 4, 341.
........., diet of, 47, 99; ii. 4, 246, 311.
........., letters dated at, 527, 528.
Spoletto, sacked by the confederates under Braccio Baglione, 87.
........., French treasurer at, engaging men for an expedition to the Abruzzi, 584.
Squarçafigo, Squarcafigho, Umberto, banker at Naples, 541, 570.
Staber, Stauber, Laurenz, *v.* Sçavre.
Stafford, Edward, duke of Buckingham, alluded to, 325, 819; ii. 814, 819.
........., ..., his son (Henry) to be married to Anne Boleyn?, 325.
........., ..., daughter of (Elizabeth), married to lord viscount Fitz Walter, 362.
........., Elizabeth, duchess of Norfolk, 366; ii. 814.
........., ..., tries to take precedence of her mother-in-law at court, but is prevented by Katharine, 368.
........., ..., remark made by Henry to, concerning Anne Boleyn there present, ii. 617.
........., ..., message to be conveyed to, ii. 814.
........., ..., sister-in-law of the duke of Norfolk, married to lord Fitz-Walter, 362.
........., Leonor, the duke of Norfolk's mother-in-law, to stand godmother to Elizabeth, ii. 789.
Stanley, Edward, earl of Derby, 360, 477, 628.
........., ..., to be married without dispensation to a niece of his deceased wife, 762.
........., Lady Dorothy, countess of, daughter of the duke of Norfolk, 360; *v.* Howard.
........., ..., dies of the plague (15 March 1530), 477.
Staphileo, Dr., auditor (?) of the rota at Rome, writes in favour of the divorce, 159.
Statute of premunire, ii. 22.
Steel cap, one made at Toledo for Ferdinand, the king of Hungary, 776.
Steve, Dr., *v.* Gardyner (Stephen).
Steward, *v.* Stuart.
Stilliart, commercial house of the, in London, ii. 794.
Stillington, bishop of Bath (1466–91), alluded to, 883.
Stippiciano, Pirro da, *v.* Colonna and Civazzano.
Stock, *v.* Stokesley.
Stocker, *v.* Stokesley.
Strasburg (Argentine), 46; ii. 309.
Stokesley, John, dean of the chapel, deacon of Surrey, bishop of London, appointed 14 July 1530,
........., ..., the greatest enemy queen Katharine ever had, 238, 257; ii. 967.
........., ..., sent to France for the purpose of inducing the universities to conclude in favour of the divorce, 305, 351, 386.
........., ..., leaves for Paris in company with George Boleyn, 305, 351, 422 432, 465.
........., ..., writes in favour of the divorce, though formerly against it. 386.
........., ..., is presented by Henry to the bishopric of London (Jan. 1530), 422.
........., ..., in Paris, consulting several doctors of the Sorbonne, who promise him a favourable opinion, 432, 448.
........., ..., ..., and yet contrary to his wishes, 448.
........., ..., to go to the emperor at Bologna in company with the earl of Wiltshire, 422.
........., ..., ..., but ordered to proceed at once to Rome, 512; ii. 974.
........., ..., leaves Lyons for Rome, 528, 564; ii. 974.
........., ..., to visit, first Venice, Vicenza, and Padua, for the purpose of procuring opinions of lawyers and canonists on the divorce case, 545, 624, 637, 650, 869.
........., ..., finds at the latter place 11 friars ready to conclude in favour of the king for 10 ducats each, 637–8, 651, 656.
........., ..., applies to the signory for permission to consult the Paduan university respecting the divorce case, 502, 658.
........., ..., upon the doge's refusal uses threatening language, 503, 658.
........., ..., goes to the college-hall accompanied by Casale and Croke, and urgently asks for an answer to Henry's letter, 662.
........., ..., ..., and upon the doge and council, declaring that the king's application cannot be granted, makes uses of intemperate language, 663.
........., ..., goes to Padua, 665.
........., ..., gives out that he is authorized by Clement to consult all theologians, as well as canonists and lawyers, friars or laymen, on the matter of the divorce, 697.
........., ..., abundantly supplied with funds to bribe the doctors, 698.

Stokesley, John, &c., preparing to go to Bologna for the furtherance of Henry's plans, 679.
........., ..., ..., where he obtains the opinion of certain canonists, 727–8.
........., ..., his doings in Venice as reported by the imperial ambassador (Niño), 655–6, 653–9, 662, 695–7.
........., ..., in the King's suite at Calais, ii. 494.
........., ..., signs Henry's letter to the Pope, ii. 608.
........., ..., ..., all the credit of the negociation, however, Casale attributes to himself, 830.
........., ..., returns to England (Dec. 1530), 876.
........., ..., in London for the convocation, ii. 39.
........., ..., one of the deputation sent to Katharine in June 1531, ii. 171.
........., ..., ..., his argumenfs on the occasion, ii. 174–5.
........., ..., to Paris with the duke of Norfolk, ii. 647.
........., ..., alluded to, ii. 688.
Stow, John, his Annals of the Reformation quoted, ii. 999.
Strigonia (Stigonium, and Gran in Hungary), 50, 203, 378.
........., taken by the Turks, 829.
........., to remain in Ferdinand's hands after the peace with Turkey, ii. 807.
........., archbishop of (Swlyok), goes over to the Turk, 198.
Strozzi, Matheo, 167, ii. 688.
........., Philippo, takes a sum of money to Florence for Catherina's outfit, 748.
Stuart, Alexander, bishop of Murray, proposed for a cardinal's hat, ii. 851, 999.
Stuart, John, duke of Albany, French ambassador at Rome, urgently asks for an answer to his memorandum on the best means of carrying on war against the Turk, 335, 710.
........., ..., returning to Rome, 701.
........., ..., ..., apparently to negociate about Caterina's property in France, 703.
........., ..., ..., but in reality to treat of her marriage to the duke of Orleans, 704.
........., ..., suspected by the English ambassadors, who know him to be no friend of their king, *ibid.*
........., ..., to replace Grammont in the Roman embassy, 747.
........., ..., report of his going to Ravenna by water turns out untrue, 751, 764.
........., ..., ill for some time, or feigning to be so, 782.
........., ..., gone incognito to Ferrara or to some other place in Italy, for an unknown purpose, *ibid.*
........., ..., trying to secure the services of Giovan Paolo da Ceri and other Italian "condottiere" in case of a war with Charles, 806.
Stuart, John, duke of Albany, &c.—*cont.*
........., ..., his arrival at Rome a source of suspicion for the signory of Venice, 807.
........., ..., in Rome again (3 Nov. 1530), 791–2, 793, 821, 830, 836, 842; ii. 266, 480, 483, 910, 913, 964.
........., ..., advises Clement respecting the Turkish war, 794–6.
........., ..., visited by the imperial ambassadors, to whom he explains his charge, 806.
........., ..., thinking of nothing but pleasure, and yet visiting Clement at night, 823.
........., ..., ..., assures him that there will be no Turkish invasion in the spring of 1531, as announced, 841.
........., ..., takes off the mask and declares that Francis wants Milan, 843.
........., ..., about Caterina's marriage and other matters, ii. 18, 32, 35, 47, 50, 132; ii. 123, 128.
........., ..., much closeted with Clement II. (1531), ii. 54, 58.
........., ..., about the interview [of Francis, Clement, and the Emperor] not taking place elsewhere than in Italy, ii. 119, 128.
........., ..., a squire of Francis' chamber (Pontremoli ?) sent to, with instructions, ii. 120–21.
........., ..., (1531) his views on the general council and the matrimonial alliance with France, ii. 18, 33, 178–9, 188, 190, 221, 232–3.
........., ..., negociating about ecclesiastical affairs connected with France, ii. 19.
........., ..., to be temporized with until fresh orders, ii. 32.
........., ..., league against the Turk proposed by, ii. 77.
........., ..., going to the baths of Loretto and thence to France, ii. 123.
........., ..., again to replace cardinal Grammont at Rome until the arrival of bishop D'Inteville, ii. 185.
........., ..., writes (in May 1531) that the affair of the divorce is assuming there a better aspect, ii. 152.
........., ..., Dr. Fox's mission decided in consequence, ii. 152.
........., ..., to command the French fleet (April 1532), ii. 419.
........., ..., secretary of (Jean Barbon), to Scotland on a mission (Dec. 1530), 857.
........., ..., arrival of this latter in London (27 Dec. 1531) accompanied by a papal auditor, ii. 337.
........., ..., son of, 703–4; ii. 980.
........., ..., his advice respecting the Turk, 490.
........., ..., letters to, from king Francis, 507.
........., ..., brother of, *v.* Stuart (Alexander).

Stuffa, Giovanni della, the pope's chamberlain, on a mission to Nice, ii. 685.

Styria, ii. 519–20.

Suabian, *v.* League.

Suarez de Figueroa, knight commander D. Gomez, imperial ambassador to Genoa, 25, 459, 485, 604, 684, 852, 871 ; ii. 118, 231–3, 808, 828, 852, 912, 917.

........., ..., letters to the emperor, 15, 21, 32, 37, 40, 46.

........., ..., and instructions to, 71.

Suffolk, duke of, *v.* Brandon.

........., duchess of, *v.* Mary and Tudor.

Sulmona, prince of, *v.* Lanoy.

Sumaria Council della, at Naples, 644 ; ii. 961.

Sumer (?), Micer, vice-chancellor at Naples, 536.

Suriano, Antonio, Venetian ambassador at Rome (1529–31), 454 *note*, 609, 617, 626 ; ii. 976.

........., ..., conversation with Miçer Mai, ii. 21.

........., ..., his quarrel with Andrea del Burgo (1531), ii. 120.

........., ... , not present at the congregation of Dec. 1531, ii. 347.

........., ..., replaced by Venier, ii. 976.

Surrey, earl of, *v.* Howard.

........., ..., letter to, 43.

Sussex, earl of, *v.* Ratcliffe.

Sustfringen, Dr. John, to be appointed to a place in the royal council of Castille, ii. 778.

Sweating sickness (suettin and suerye) in London, Henry's physician and several of the royal household taken with the, ii. 757, 782.

Sweden (?), Suabian League, ii. 90.

Sweets, the emperor Charles immoderately fond of sweets, ii. 42–3.

Swiss in the pay of the confederates, 26–7.

........., claim money from Charles, 128.

........., 6,000 expected in Italy to succour the Florentines, 526.

........., those serving under the prince of Orange likely to mutiny for want of pay, 501.

.... holding a general diet, 662.

........., Sforza and the duke of Savoy about to make a defensive alliance with the (1530), 842–3.

.... Catholics apply to Rome for help against the Lutherans, ii. 195.

.... to be furnished with money and 2,000 hackbutiers from Milan, ii. 259, 470.

.... make a separate treaty with Zurich, ii. 305, 308.

........., ..., ..., and prepare to march against the Bernese, *ibid.*

Swiss cantons, the six Catholic, declare war to the seven Lutheran (May 1533), ii. 664.

........., some of them embrace Lutheranism, 151.

.... invade Savoy, and try to convert the inhabitants to the new sect, 151, 308.

........., ..., covenant made by the, 152.

.... Francis to pay part of his debt to the, to secure their services in case of need, 334, 824.

......., ..., to make war on the Catholic cantons, 192.

.... become the allies of Francis, 835.

.... take possession of Geneva, 835.

...., Francis promises payment of part of his debt to the (1533), ii. 180, 185.

...., 6,000 ducats to each canton, ii. 733, 808, 828.

...., hopes of their reduction entertained by Clement, ii. 831.

Switzerland, the Catholic cantons of, to be helped with men and money, so as to enable them to fight the Lutherans, 241–2, 298–9, 301 ; ii. 338, 358.

........., about to return under the rule of Carlo III. of Savoy, ii. 92.

........., treaty between the Catholic and Lutheran cantons of (26 June 1529), 212.

........., money from Venice may be obtained for, if a good intelligence be kept with the Catholic cantons of, 785.

........., the peace said to have been concluded between the Catholic and Lutheran cantons by the mediation of France gives general satisfaction, 858.

........., ..., the news thereof joyfully received in London, ii. 357.

........., ..., La Pommeraye's remarks to Chapuys about it, ii. 357–8.

........., ..., defeat the Lutherans at Cappel, ii. 311–2.

........., Lutheran cantons of, reported to have made peace with the Catholics, ii. 326.

........., Catholic cantons of, dismiss the Italians they had in their pay, ii. 326.

Swlyok (George II.), archbishop of Strigonium (1528–37), deserts to the Turks, 198.

Sylva, *v.* Silva.

Syracosa, in Sicily, bishop of, *v.* Platamonius.

Syria revolts against Solyman, 184, 455, 463.

Symoneta, Jacopo, auditor at the Rolta, *v.* Simonetta.

........., ..., a friar of Padua, a very perverse man, 526, 546.

T.

Tabarino *v.* Jabarino.

Taberna, Taverna, Francesco, grand chancellor of the duke of Milan (Sforza); ambassador in London (1533):

........., ..., his relations with Chapuys, 467; ii. 804.

........., ..., ambassador at Marseilles for the Maravegalia business, ii, 829, 850.

........., ..., Francis' ministers not at all satisfied with his excuses, 854; ii. 890, 986.

........., Giovan or Juan, LL.D., Milanese ambassador in France, ii. 986.

Taillebot, Taillop, Tallebot, *v.* Talbot.

Talavera de la Reyne, town of, New Castille, *Int.* xii.

Talbot, lord Francis, Wolsey's ancient enemy, 804–5; ii. 80, 96, 992.

........., ..., one of the deputies sent to Katharine in June 1531, ii. 176.

........., ..., had it not been for, stronger terms might have been used on the occasion, ii. 176–7.

........., George, earl of Shrewsbury, lord high steward, 804–5; ii. 80, 992.

........., ..., to attend Anne's coronation, ii. 489.

Tallebot, *v.* Talbot.

Talleschi, a faction at Florence, 685.

Tamayo, Juan, notary to the Spanish embassy in London (1501), 885, 887.

Tanays de Nerlis, Philippus, ii. 209.

Tancarville, in Normandy, count of, *v.* Orleans (Claude).

Taranto, in Naples, archbishop of, 153.

Tarba, Terbes, *v.* Tarbes.

Tarbes, Mr. de, or bishop of, *v.* Grammont.

Tarazona, a town of Aragon, 880.

Tarento, Sanct Severino appointed to the archbishopric of, 165.

........., prince of, ii. 973.

........., Charlotte, princess of, *ibid.*

Tarifa, marquis de, *v.* Enriquez de Ribera.

........., marchioness of, *v.* Ponce de Leon.

Tarmoya, *v.* Tramolla.

Tarragona, town of Catalonia, archbishopric of, ii. 33.

Tartary, king of, attacked by shah Thamasp, 543.

Tassis, Don Luis de, of king Ferdinand's chamber, on a mission to Spain (1529), 120, 251, 315, 380.

........., ..., banker, 829.

Tauris or Tabriz, a city in the Îrán, 543.

Tavera, D. Juan, archbishop of Santiago (1525–34) and cardinal, president of the council of Castile (1524–45), 178, 185, 379, 396 *note*, 578, 714, 770, 849, 858, 882–3.

........., ..., as president of the council, to assist Isabella in the government during the emperor's absence, ii. 29, 42, 47, 82, 84, 117, 162, 186, 189, 241, 263, 462, 498–9, 505.

........., ..., his agent at Rome, ii. 85.

........., ..., letters to, 654.

Tavora, Bernardino de, a Portuguese, sent by João to visit queen Eleanor in France, 728, 766.

Taxis, Juan Baptista, 490.

........., ..., the emperor's postmaster-general, 490.

........., ..., indemnity to be paid to, by the Venetians, 490.

........., Louis de, leaves with despatches, 203, 380; *v.* Tassis.

........., Mafeo de, 490.

........., Simon de, 490.

........., *v.* Tassis.

Tayler, Taylor, Dr. John, vice-chancellor of England, or master of the Rolls, ambassador to France, ii. 240.

Telas, the lists enclosing a field for tournament, 492.

Tellez, Bras, ii. 413.

........., Giron, Don Juan, count of Ureña, ii. 396 *note.*

Tello de Sandoval, Francisco, rector of San Bartholomé, 841.

Temses, member of the House of Commons, his motion, ii. 994.

Tenda, Tende, *v.* Savoie (Claude de).

Tent, Ferdinand sends Charles his own royal field, 492.

Teodolo, Hieronimo, bishop of Cadiz, in Spain, ii. 121.

Teranni, Trani, Terni, near Spoletto, in the Roman states; Clement at, 282, 284; ii. 556.

........., letters dated at, 186, 1029.

Termini, duchess of, *v.* Termoli and Capua.

Termoli, duke of, *v.* Capua and Termini.

Termonde (Dendermonde), in Belgium, ii. 146 *note.*

Terni, ii. 556.

........., letters dated at, 1029.

Tertullian, the Latin father, quoted, ii. 263.

Tessino (Ticino), river, 35.

Teutberge, wife of Lothaire, the emperor, repudiated, ii. 810.

Thamasp, Thahmasp, sophi or shah of Persia (1524–75), at war with the Grand Turk, 184, 421, 455, 463; ii. 73–4, 166, 421, 519, 797–8, 908.

........., ..., with the king of the Tartars, 543.

Thamasp, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., defeats the Turks, ii. 909.

........., ..., agent of, at Constantinople, ii. 323–4.

Theimseke, Themsike, George de, provost of Cassel, ambassador to England, alluded to, 306.

Theotimo, bishop of Chieti or Theati, 526–7; ii. 973.

Therbes, *v.* Tarbes.

Tholouse, Thoulouse, Mr. de, *v.* Toulouse and Orleans, 518.

Thouard, Captain, ii. 554–5.

........., ..., letter of, 1028.

Thuringen, in Saxony, a meeting of the pope and king of France proposed, 389–90.

Tiber, sudden overflowing of the, at Rome (Oct. 1530), 756.

........., ..., a sign of God's displeasure at Clement's behaviour in the divorce affair, says Henry to the papal nuncio, 797.

Tictacq, game of, ii. 465.

Tiepolo, Nicolò, Venetian ambassador at the emperor's court (1530–31), 454.

Tingla, *v.* Dingle.

Tinteville, *v.* D'Inteville and Tynteville.

Tithes or two-tenths of all ecclesiastical revenues in Flanders granted by Clement to be spent exclusively in armaments against the Turk, 88.

Tlemsen, in Africa, son of the king of, ii. 266.

Tobar, Tovar, Francisco de, Spanish captain, 766 *note.*

........., ..., sent to Siena by the prince of Orange, 211, 219.

........., Luis de, in the service of Ferdinand, 711, 765, 778, 823, 837, 844; ii. 858, 904.

........., ..., appointed knight of Santiago, ii. 780.

........., ..., Maria de, ii. 960.

Todo (Todi), in the estate of the Church, sacked by the Spaniards, 211.

Toledo, city, 358; ii. 161.

........., the emperor's court at, 75, 881.

........., treaty of, in 1526, alluded to, 32, 114, 374.

........., pension on the archbishopric of, claimed by Clement, 185; ii. 239.

........., manufacture of arms in, 776.

........., indulgences obtained at Rome for, 875.

........., one of the articles in the second council of, adduced as an argument in the divorce case, 505.

........., archdeacon of, *v.* Reyna.

........., D. Henrique de, ii. 535.

........., Da. Maria de, 159.

........., D. Pedro, marquis de Villafranca, viceroy of Naples; arrives in Rome, ii. 500, 503.

Toledo, D. Pedro, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., leaves for Naples (30 Aug. 1532), ii. 504, 717, 741, 791, 807, 823.

........., ..., erroneously called D. Garcia, ii. 807 *note*, 997.

Tongres, prov. Limbourg, in Belgium, letter dated at,

Tonlieu, right of, in Zeeland and Brabant, ii. 937, 939.

Tordesillas, town in Castille, 125, 409, 715, 742, 747, 770, 774–5, 881; ii. 516, 905.

........., governor of, *v.* Sandoval.

........., letters dated at, 246, 451, 464–6, 469, 473–4, 716.

Tormano, Il, Gasparo (?), 99; *v.* Sormano.

Torre Sigismondo della, Mantuan ambassador to the emperor (1530), 842–3; ii. 105.

Torrellas, D. Carlos, 678, 783; ii. 979.

...., [Juan], Pablo, 696; ii. 167–8, 979.

........., letter to the emperor, 736.

........., *v.* Lopez Benedit.

Tortona, cardinal archbishop of, *v.* Gambara.

Tortosa, cardinal of, *v.* Enckewoërt.

Touaglia, Lupo del, ii. 209.

Tovar, *v.* Tobar.

Toul, archdeacon of, ambassador from the duke of Lorraine to the emperor, ii. 576.

Toulouse, in France, ii. 428.

........., university of, gives opinion in favour of the divorce, ii. 41, 214.

........., archbishop of, *v.* Orleans.

Tournay, town of Hainaut (Flanders), ii. 297, 554.

Tournaments in Paris for the coronation of queen Eleanor, the emperor's sister, 848, 854.

.... in London, prepared in honour of Anne Boleyn, ii. 788.

Tournon, on the r. Lot (France), 576.

Tournon, Turnon, cardinal François de, bishop of Embrun, French ambassador at Rome (1533), ii. 575, 619.

........., ..., sent to Rome with Grammont to promote Henry's divorce (1532), ii. 548, 562, 581, 612, 700–1, 735.

........., ..., compromise of the divorce suit proposed by, ii. 702.

........., ..., not entirely disapproved by the emperor, as reported, *ibid.*

Tours, town of France, king Francis at, 73.

Tower, *v.* London.

Trabot (?), Nicolas, master of the artillery in Austria, 455.

Trade, intercourse of, with the Low Countries; Chapuys' complaints respecting the, 346, 627; ii. 921.

........., regulations about English ships in Spain, *ibid.*, 627.

Trade—*cont.*

........., new constitutions in Flanders for the regulation of trade with England, said to have given general satisfaction, ii. 865.

........., Chapuys recommends the stoppage of, between England and the Low Countries, ii. 631, 854, 864.

........., measures to be taken in England in the event of an interruption of the, ii. 699.

........., the spice, to be transferred to Constantinople, 731.

Traento, Trento, Trent, 171, 176.

........., bishop of, *v.* Clesi.

Traietto, duchy of, disputed by Waury, 160, 165, 170, 176, 181, 194; ii. 485, 562, 959.

........., bishopric of, 176.

........., provostship (*prepositura*) of, disputed, 823.

Tramolla (La Tremouille?), 240; ii. 964.

Trani (prov. di Bari), held by the Venetians, 318, 328, 365.

........., surrendered to the imperialists, 456.

........., cardinal, *v.* Cupi.

Transylvania, vayvod or governor of, 176; *v.* Zapolsky.

........., occupied by the Moldaves (1529), 165.

........., the court of king John in, ii. 346.

Trapolino, Nicolas, his claims from the signory of Venice, 521.

Treasurer, high lord, of England, 357, 452, *v.* Howard (Thomas).

........., of the royal household, *v.* Fitz William.

Treaties of alliance, truce, &c. proposed or concluded between Clement and Charles at Barcelona (1529), 45, 115, 118–19, 147, 178, 742; ii. 849.

........., ..., ratified, 59, 60, 115, 118–19, 137, 147.

........., ..., alluded to, 98, 117–18; ii. 733.

.... for the peace of Cambray, *v.* Cambray.

.... of commerce between England and the Low Countries (1506–20), ii. 929, 930, 934.

.... between England and France in 1528, alluded to, 435.

.... of truce with the Turk recommended by Charles to his brother Ferdinand in Jan. 1530, 397–9.

.... with the Turk and the vayvod of Transylvania suggested by Mai (Aug. 1530), 695.

........., ..., the same concluded, and to last a whole year from March 1531, ii. 118.

........., ..., prorogued, ii. 119.

........., ..., announced by Chapuys to Norfolk, who affects not to believe in it, ii. 736, 797.

.... one of defensive and offensive alliance against the emperor proposed by Henry to Francis, 817.

........., ..., which the latter hesitates to accept, in the hope of obtaining from the emperor the investiture of Milan, *ibid.*

Treaties, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., concluded (Sept. 1532), ii. 508.

.... of truce between England and Scotland, ii. 721, 818.

........., between England and Spain (1497); said by Norfolk to have been disastrous in its consequences, 789.

........., copies of the, between Spain and England, urgently demanded by the emperor, to forward them to Rome, 668.

........., agreement with Grimaldo, the lord of Monaco, 75.

Tremezen, *v*, Tlemsen.

Tremouille, Mr. de la, ii. 964.

Trent (Trento), 250, 477–9, 494–5, 511, 518, 842; ii. 791.

........., the emperor at, 519, 528.

........., bishop of, *v.* Clesi.

........., captain of, *v.* Castelalto.

........., arsenal of, artillery furnished to Charles from the, 336.

........., letters dated at, 292.

Treveris (Trèves, Triers), archbishop elector of, *v.* Grieffenklau.

Treviso, cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, ordered by Clement not to move from, but wait there for the emperor's orders, ii. 539.

Tribultio, Trivulcio, *v.* Triulzio.

Tripoli, in Africa, ii. 827.

Trieste, the inhabitants of, and other towns on the Adriatic coast, to be allowed to sell their merchandise in Venice, 489.

Trigestines (Triestine), to be allowed the free navigation of the Adriatic, 489.

Tripalda, marquis de la, *v.* Castrioto.

Tripiani, Roman family of the Gibeline party, 872.

........., Miçer Antonio de', 873.

Tripolino, Miçer Nicolas, a Venetian, property confiscated from, to be restored, 491.

Triulzi, Milanese family, attached to France, 17, 49, 162, 242, 247.

Triulzo, cardinal Agostino, 45, 824; ii. 964, 975.

........., ..., in Rome, as French ambassador, ii. 470.

........., Cesare, bishop of Como, papal nuncio in France, 249, 266–7, 375, 555, 669, 761, 793; ii. 835, 975.

........., ..., a Frenchman at heart, though professing to be an imperialist, 270.

........., ..., stops the payment of bills drawn by the Florentines, 522, 561–3.

........., ..., his news letter from Blois, 486.

........., Giovanni, senator of Milan, ii. 964.

........., ..., meets Simonetta and Dr. Bucla (?) at Marseilles, and discusses with them the divorce case (20 Oct. 1533), ii. 835.

........., Pompeo or Pomponio, governor of Lyons, 12, 247; ii. 964.

........., Theodoro, count of Pizzighetone and marshal of France, 242, 578; ii. 964.

Triulzo, Theodoro, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., his mission to Venice, 17.

........., ..., ..., turns out unsuccessful, 49.

........., ..., going on a mission to the duke Carlo of Savoy to propose exchange of Piedmont for equal territory in Burgundy, ii. 122.

........., ..., death of, ii. 122 *note.*

Tropea, bishop of, *v.* Poggio.

Trophimo, Felice, bishop of Chieti, ii. 571 *note*, 9 . .

Trouillière (?), sieur de la, 459.

Troyano, El (?), ii. 402.

Troyes, bailli de, French ambassador in England (Sept. 1533), ii. 600, 609, 757, 872–3.

Truce, *v.* Treaties.

Tudescos, Tedeschi, *v.* Germans.

Tudor, Mary, widow of Louis XI. of France, duchess of Suffolk, 366; ii. 723, 969.

........., Margaret, sister of Henry, and queen mother of Scotland, ii. 534–5.

Tuke, Brian, postmaster-general, and secretary for the French tongue, 59, 238, 393, 421, 436, 451, 532, 617–18, 633, 641; ii. 448, 549, 695.

........., ..., in frequent communication and friendly terms with Chapuys, 394.

........., ..., letters countersigned by, 171, 225, 226, 248.

........., ..., said to be devoted to the imperial service, ii. 549.

Tullerin (?), ii. 744 *note.*

Tunstall, Cuthbert, bishop of London, lord privy seal, 305, 346.

........., ..., designated to go to Cambray, 159.

........., ..., ..., to Rome, in company with Dr. Sampson, 197.

........., ..., at Greenwich, introduces Chapuys to the king, 296.

........., ..., writes an allegation in favour of queen Katharine as one of her privy council, 386.

........., ..., promoted to the see of Durham on condition of his making over the privy seal to the earl of Wiltshire (Jan. 1530), 422, 430.

........., ..., leaves for his bishopric, 510; ii. 80.

........., ..., on Katharine's application for counsel and advice, answers that he dares not give it because he is Henry's subject and vassal, ii. 175.

........., ..., on a mission to the borders, 857; ii. 266, 337.

........., ..., appointed with others to revise the treaties of commerce with the Low Countries, ii. 931.

........., does not attend convocation, ii. 366.

Turenne, Francis, viscount of, French ambassador in Rome, ii. 9 . . .

Turin (Torino), 749, 795; ii. 41, 210.

Turin (Torino)—*cont.*

........., proposed by Francis as the place for the meeting of the council instead of Mantua or Milan, 836.

........., letters dated at, 763–4.

Turk, the Grand, has war proclaimed in his dominions, 51.

........., a league of all the Christian princes to be made against, 59.

........., prepares to invade Hungary, 47, 50, 58, 117.

........., takes possession of it, and marches on Vienna, 166, 169, 203, 280, 286.

........., ..., which he invests, though obliged to raise the siege and retreat into his own dominions, 308–9, 315, 319, 346 348, 402.

........., war against the, discussed in London, 293–4, 301, 316, 348, 618.

........., ..., and at Rome, 319, 462.

........., not likely to invade Germany in 1530, 407–8, 412–4.

........., all the powers of Christendom solicited by Clement to contribute towards the expenses of the Holy War against the, 403.

........., reasons given by Henry and Francis for not bestowing help or money, 338, 413, 825; ii. 98.

........., not likely to renew his attack for a whole year, 407.

........., ..., and yet occasional reports of his arming reach the pope and the emperor, 502.

........., all the princes of Christendom to unite their forces against the Turk, 414.

........., Henry and Francis promise aid on certain conditions, *ibid.*

........., said to be preparing an invasion of Italy for the spring of 1531, 615, 664.

........., a general alliance defensive and offensive against the, discussed at Rome, 684, 695.

........., contribution in money towards the expenses of the war against the, 354, 684, 710, 765.

........., quota to be paid by each of the Christian powers, including the pope and the emperor, 695.

........., by the Italian princes and universities, 777.

........., the emperor willing to contribute also, though he has already spent considerable sums in that service, 727.

........., various undertakings proposed, and among them an attack on Constantinople and the Holy Land, 731.

... ., Venice hesitates for fear of the, 791–2.

........., Henry promises his aid on condition of the divorce suit being revoked from Rome to England, or tried in France (1530), 845.

........., Francis cannot and will not contribute, as he has no money, and wants his army for his own defence at home, 853.

Turk, the Grand—*cont.*
………, the approaching invasion of Germany by the, very much desired by Henry and the English, ii. 98, 114.
………, truce with the, prorogued, ii. 119.
………, not likely to come down next spring, ii. 122.
………, standard of, captured by Andrea Doria, ii. 195.
………, strengthening his Indian fleet for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese settlements, ii. 289.
………, should the Christain princes refuse to contribute to the war against the, to be excommunicated, ii. 336.
………, preparing again to invade Italy, ii. 332, 338–9, 418, 910.
………, alarming news of his warlike preparations brought to Venice by Grimano and confirmed by Gritti, ii. 333, 349.
………, reported by Clement in consistory (Dec. 1531), 347.
………, the fleets of the, and the French, to make a combined attack on Genoa, ii. 420.
………, agent of, in France (1532), ii. 434.
………, said to have proclaimed war against the whole of Christendom, excepting the kings of France and England and the Venetians, ii. 418, 434.
………, the league against the, to be discussed at the Calais interview, ii. 444.
………, to invade Italy and lay siege to Rome before Michaelmas 1532, ii. 449.
………, Francis' secret negociations with the, ii. 456, 467, 477.
………, application to Henry for help against the, renewed unsuccessfully, ii. 506.
………, conversation between Norfolk and Chapuys on the subject, *ibid.*
………, defeated by the imperialists, retreats, ii. 519, 547.
………, ……, by the Sophy of Persia in 1531, ii. 166, 909.
………, peace said to have been concluded with the, on condition of Strigonia (Gran) being restored to Zapolsky, ii. 636, 771, 737–8.
………, two combined undertakings against, proposed by Francis, one in Greece led by the emperor, the other by himself on Syria, ii. 831.
………, the French army to land in Syria before the imperial fleet sails from Genoa, *ibid.*
………, news letters, 108, 829, 831.
………, advices, ii. 55, 72–4, 77, 91, 95, 467, 542, 823, 829.
Turkey, the "Green Turbans" revolt in one of the provinces of (1529), 284.
………, news from, 55, 257, 542.
Turkish fleet, rumours of a, coming to the Mediterranean in 1529 for the purpose of stopping the Emperor's passage to Italy, 15.

Turkish fleet, rumours of, &c.—*cont.*
………, ……, an invention of the Council of Ten and French ambassador at Venice, 15.
………, ……, one of 75 sail about to invade the coast of Sicily, ii. 458.
………, ……, admiral of, ii. 434, 457.
………, ……, ……, orders sent to the, to act according to the instructions of Francis' agents, 434.
………, war, the Italian states without exception to contribute towards the expenses of the, 811.
………, ……, the duke of Albany's proposals for carrying on the, 811, 843.
………, ……, neither France nor England (says Mai) will give one farthing towards it, *ibid.*
………, camp, news from the, communicated by Chapuys to Norfolk in Oct. 1531, ii. 254.
………, ……, contradicted by the French ambassador, *ibid.*
Turmiano (?), signor, 124.
Tuscany, Alessandro de' Medici said to have applied to Charles for the crown of, 730.
………, the suspicions of the Venetians aroused in consequence, *ibid.*
Tuy, town in Galicia, bishop of, *v.* Gonzalez Manso.
Tylney, Agnes, dowager duchess of Norfolk, mother of Thomas, third duke, 366, 368.
………, favourable to Katharine, sends her frequent messages and a present, 818; ii. 44, 152.
………, at the King's table on St. Mathias day (24 Feb. 1533), ii. 617.
Tyndale, William, his book "Practice of Prelates," condemned and burnt, 847–8.
………, ……, brother of, and other London merchants, in whose possession copies were found, sentenced to throw them into the fire, 821.
………, ……, arrested and taken before the archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 96.
………, ……, released, owing to Anne Boleyn's exertions, *ibid.*

U.

Ubeda, a town of the kingdom of Jaen, in Spain, *Int.* xxvi.
………, Antonio, de, imperial courier, 25.
Udine, in Friul, ii. 99.
Ulm, in Würtemberg, 46.
………, mass suppressed and altars and the relics of saints smashed at, ii. 202.
………, the Lutheran princes propose holding a diet at (1532), ii. 388.

Ulric, duke of Würtenberg, *v.* Würtenberg.

Unicorn horn (Alicorno), in a gold casket, sent by the Venetians as present to the Turk, 731.

Universities, the principal, in Europe, consulted on the divorce case, 465.

........., brief applied for by the Imperial ambassadors at Rome to prevent the, from giving their opinion, 583, 737.

........., ..., a special one for those of Padua, Bologna, and Paris applied for by the Imperial ambassadors, 791.

........., those of Savoy and Piedmont solicited by the duke Carlo to give opinion, ii. 41.

........., most of the, in France and Italy conclude in favour of Henry, 689.

........., to be asked what reason they had for coming to such a conclusion, and to be again lawfully convoked and requested to give opinion, 737.

........., *Italian,* to contribute towards the expenses of the Holy War, 749.

........., *English* (of Oxford and Cambridge), refuse at first to decide in favour of Henry, 471.

........., ..., but do at last by dint of bribery and intimidation, 689, 737.

........., ..., violence used to extort votes, 508.

........., ..., which fact Henry completely denies, *ibid.*

........., *French,* most of the, conclude in favour of Henry, 496, 597, 689; ii. 214, 217.

........., ..., the Sorbonne of Paris particularly, 371–2.

........., ..., ..., the opinion of the latter of much weight, 586.

........., ..., efforts made to obtain its seals, 632.

........., ..., 48 doctors voted at Paris in favour of Katharine, and of the pope's power to dispense; their opinion properly attested to be addressed to Henry and brought to England by some person of rank, 854; *v.* Sorbonne.

........., *German,* Henry's assertion that all the, are in favour of his divorce, disputed, 674.

........., ..., to be consulted, as well as that of Louvain in Flanders, 693.

........., *Spanish,* consulted on various doubtful points in the divorce suit, 568.

Unterwalden, Swiss canton, ii. 310 *note.*

Urania (Uri), Swiss canton, contaminated by Lutheranism, ii. 311.

Urban II., pope, alluded to, ii. 810

Urbina, the marquis Juan de, 13.

........., ..., receives an arquebuse shot at Spelle, 191.

........., ..., dies of his wound (Sept. 1529), 201.

Urbino, duchy of, to contribute towards the expenses of the Turkish war, 811; ii. 55.

........., ..., the imperial army to quarter in the, or in the Romagna (1530), 816.

........., ..., said to belong by right to Caterina de' Medici, Clement's niece, ii. 848.

........., ..., ..., whose claim is no infraction of the Barcelona treaty, ii. 851.

........., duke of, *v.* Rovere

........., duchess of, *v.* Gonzaga.

........., ambassador of, at Rome, ii. 521.

Ureña, count of, *v.* Giron.

Urgel, town of Catalonia; bishopric of, said to have been bestowed on Miçer Mai, 189.

Urrea, *v.* Ximenez de.

Urrias, Urries, D. Alonso de, field-marshal, to be sent to Siena with a body of infantry, ii. 987.

........., D. Felipe de, ii. 999.

........., D. Juan de, bishop of Huesca, 13, 61, 172.

........., D. Pedro de, knight commander (field-marshal?), in Naples, 13, 172, 808; ii. 55.

........., Pedro Jordan de, canon of Huesca, claims the abbey of Monte Aragon, 13.

........., D. Hugo, lord of Ayerbe, in Aragon, 13.

........., ..., his secretary, 698.

Ursino, *v.* Orsino.

Utrecht, in the Low Countries, 142. 687.

........., Our Lady of, 59, 167, 687.

...., provost of, in Rome, *v.* Naturelli.

Uvaldino, Bandinelli (?), papal nuncio to Scotland, 1530.

........., arrival of, in London (18 Dec.), 857.

........., not well treated; King's audience to, delayed, 863.

........., returns from Scotland, and informs Chapuys of the state of the country, ii. 752.

........., at Florence, detained by illness (Sept. 1533), ii. 815.

V.

Vacano (?), forest of, 808.

Vaguer, Spanish lawyer at Naples, 686.

Vaison, town and bishopric in the department of the Vaucluse (France), *Int.* xxvii.

........., bishop of, *v.* Sclède.

Valais, in Switzerland, 259.

Valançon, *v.* Rye.

Valdés, secretary Alfonso de, 362, 794, 888.

........., ..., drafts of letters in the handwriting of, 482, 488.

........., licentiate Fernando (?), 12.

........., becomes bishop of Orense, 192; archbishop of Seville, *ibid.*

Valdezcaray, prov. of Burgos, 885.

........., maker of crossbows at, *v.* Oviedo.

Valdrade, wife of Lothaire, king of France, 810 *note.*

Valence, town of France, 576 *note.*

Valencia, moors of, 12; ii. 110.

........., viceroy of, 185; *v.* Aragon.

........., the coast of, ravaged by Barbarossa (1533), ii. 824.

........., Antonio de, public notary at Salamanca, 841.

........., cortes of (1533), ii. 903.

Valenciennes (dept. Nord), 103, 174, 258.

Valente, captain, 378.

Valero, 519.

Valesians, the inhabitants of Valais, one of the Swiss cantons:

.... prevented from joining St. Pol in Italy, 242.

.... not present at the defeat of the Lutherans in 1531, ii. 313.

Valladolid, in Spain, *Int.* xvii.; 479, 742, 774–5, 881–2; ii. 65, 116, 407.

........., Chancery court at, ii. 465.

........., president of, *v.* Gonzalez Manso.

........., convent of, Saint Francis at, 753.

........., guardian or warder of, gives opinion on the divorce case, *ibid.*

........., Santacruz, college of, at, 753.

........., San Pablo, church of, 753.

........., corregidor of, *v.* Lugo.

........., ..., letters dated at, 680, 1086–7.

Valle, cardinal, *v.* La Valle.

Valois, Charles de, duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis I.:

........., ..., one of the handsomest and most attractive youths in the world, 244.

........., ..., might make a good husband for Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, ii. 794–5.

........., Charles III. de, duke of Alençon, 109 *note.*

........., François de, dauphin of Britanny and of the Viennois in France; in Spain as hostage for his father Francis I., 184, 283.

........., ..., not allowed to speak to any one except in the presence of the great constable of Castille (Velasco), or of his brother the marquis de Berlanga, 184, 243.

Valois, Charles de, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., removed with his brother (Henri) to a place in the Basque provinces 13 leagues from the frontier of France, 554.

........., ..., delivery of, delayed from various causes, 553–4, 594, 613, 615.

........., ..., ..., effected at last, 639, 653.

........., ..., his marriage to Mary of Portugal, spoken of (1531), ii. 128, 132.

........., Henri de, duke of Orleans, second son of Francis I.:

........., ..., in Spain, with his brother "the dauphin," both hostages for their father's ransom, 184, 283.

........., ..., ..., delivered, 653.

........., king Henry contributing 1,000 crs. towards his father's ransom, 477.

........., ..., negociations for his marriage to Clement's niece, 704, 747, 757, 792; ii. 123, 128, 183, 185, 186–7, 229, 231, 733.

........., ..., he himself, or his brother the dauphin, proposed for the hand of the princess Mary, 711, 721; ii. 488.

........., ..., to go to Flanders, 720.

........., ..., report of his coming to England spread by the servants of the French embassy (Oct. 1530), 736.

........., ..., negociations for his marriage to Clement's niece, resumed, ii. 260.

........., ..., Francis his father supposed not to be in earnest about it, ii. 305.

........., ..., ..., but to be looking out for some pretence to set his foot in Italy and invade the Milanese, ii. 305, 812.

........., ..., ..., pretends to the duchy of Milan, ii. 334.

........., ..., ..., should Caterina's marriage to, take place, a schism in the Church might be caused through it, ii. 686.

........., Madeleine de, daughter of Francis I., to be married to James V. of Scotland, d. 1537, 244; ii. 964.

........., Marguerite de, daughter of Francis, married to Emmanuele Philiberto, duke of Savoy, d. 1574, 244; ii. 964.

........., sister of Francis I., and widow of the duke of Alençon; marries another, Henri d'Albret, called the king of Navarre, 109; ii. 257, 990.

........., ..., disapproves of Henry's conduct in the divorce affair, ii. 588.

Valona, Velona, *v.* Avlona.

Valori, Bartholomeo or Baccio, papal commissary to Chalon's army before Florence, signs the capitulation of that city, 592, *note* 681.

........., Francesco, one of Clement's chamberlains; sent to the prince of Orange (June 1530), 592.

Val Spercal (Van Spercal), George, count of Lodron, 867.

Valteline, Valtellina, in the land of the Grisons, ii. 92, 304, 314, 316.

Valtkirk or Valtkerke, provost of, *v.* Merklin.

Vandenesse, Jean de, bishop of Corria, his "Itinerary of Charles V." quoted, *Int.* v., vii., xiv.; 183, 188, 842; ii. 580, 967.

Vanes (Vannes), in the dep. of Morbihan (France); the French court at, ii. 454.

Vannes, Peter, Latin secretary to Wolsey, *Int.* xxii.; ii. 817, 996.

...., sent by Henry to Rome, 172.

........., ..., appointed to go to the emperor in Italy, 238, 257; ii. 965.

........., ..., has a fall from his horse, and is replaced by Carew, 257.

Varadin, in Hungary, bishop of, *v.* Gibacus.

Varana, Giovan Maria, duke of Camarino, 530 *note*; ii. 55, 470 *note*, 988.

........., Giulia, daughter of the preceding, to be married to the prince of Sulmona, 530; ii. 470 *note*, 988.

Varax, count of, an officer in the imperial service, 110–11, 259.

Varchi, Benedetto, his history of Florence, quoted, 188 *note*, 375, 522–3, 541, 574, 680, 685–6; ii. 991.

Vargas, Francisco de, Spanish ambassador at Rome in Philip II.'s time (1567), alluded to, 322 *note*.

........., Capn., takes possession of some small villages in the territory of Siena (Feb. 1531), ii. 56.

........., ..., treasurer, ii. 351.

Vasionensis, the bishop of Vaison, in the Vaucluse (France), *v.* Sclède and Vaison.

Vassone (Vaison), dep. de Vaucluse, in France, 1.

........., bishop of, *v.* Sclède.

Vasto, marquis del, *v.* Davalos d'Aquino.

........., marchioness, 230.

Vatican library, 321.

Vaucher, Philippes, greffier (notary) of Dole, in Burgundy, 576.

Vaucluse, dep. of France, 117.

Vaughan, Dr. Stephen, on a mission to the duke of Saxe-Weimar (John Frederic), ii. 754, 841, 995.

Vaulx (Vaux), canton of, in Switzerland, 240, 242.

........., governor of, *v.* Lullin.

Vaux [des Praslins], in France (dep. Seine et Marne), lord of, *v.* Passano.

Vazquez [de Molina], Juan, one of the emperor's secretaries in Spain, *Int.* xv.; 567, 703, 713, 742; ii. 31, 715.

........., ..., letters of Salinas to, 449, 464.

Vecchi, Antonio de', ii. 983.

Veçin, prov. of Namur (Belgium), sieur de, *v.* Barres.

Vedia, Anton de, 668.

Velasco, Spanish family, 809 *note*.

........., the constable, *v.* Fernandez de Velasco.

........., D. Christoval de, ii. 809, 997.

........., D. Francisco de, count de Siruela, 809 *note*; ii. 997.

........., Da. Leonor, countess of Siruela, ii. 997.

........., Da. Maria de, duchess of Alburquerque, 787 *note*; ii. 997.

........., D. Miguel de, arrives in Venice, 520, 542.

........., Ortiz de, agent in Rome of the archbishop of Toledo, 826.

........., D. Pedro de, constable of Castille, 458.

........., ..., *v.* Fernandez de Velasco.

Velazquez, Clement Miguel, a knight of Saragossa, *Int.* xxii.

Velez, Diego, 841.

... . de Guevara, D. Pedro, recommended for the command of a force, 492.

........., ..., at Siena, ii. 126.

Velletri, in the Rom. states, Juan Perez and another Spaniard assassinated close to, 699, 700, 704.

Velona, *v.* La Vallona and Avlona.

Velzers, *v.* Welzers.

Venafro, in the Campagna of Rome, the estate of, bought by Pompeo Colonna, 777.

........., Margaret, the duchess, staying at, ii. 683.

Vendosme, Vendôme, duke of, *v.* Bourbon (Antoine).

........., duchess dowager of, *v.* Alençon (Françoise).

........., ..., daughter of (Marguerite), to attend the conferences of Calais in 1532, ii. 257, 528, 757.

Venetians, their camp at Rivolta, 17.

.... foremost in promoting the interests of the League, 22, 26.

.... asked to restore the castles and towns they had in the kingdom of Naples and duchy of Milan, 127, 129.

........., ..., and to help against the Turk, which they reluctantly grant on certain conditions, 268, 683.

.... glad of any opportunity to curtail the pope's power in spiritual as well as in temporal matters, and therefore in favour of a general council, 698.

.... unwilling to contribute towards the expenses of the Turkish war, 756.

.... challenge the three judges appointed by the emperor to arbitrate between them and king Ferdinand, 755.

.... protest against the appointment of a super-arbitrator (Caracciolo), ii. 180.

.... requested to help in defeating the marriage of Caterina de' Medici to the duke of Orleans, ii. 305.

.... shelter Spanish mutineers and prepare ships for them, ii. 565.

Venice, signory of, threatening with her galleys, 15.
........., ..., the emperor negociates with, 32.
........., ..., fitting out galleys to send to the coast of Puglia, 48.
........., ..., asked to restore to the pope everything they had taken during the last war, 126.
........., ..., negociates for peace, 141, 170–71, 268, 280, 283, 287, 336.
........., ..., the marquis of Mantua, Leyva, and Caracciolo appointed to treat with (1529), 128–32.
........., ..., instructions to the above, 82.
........., ..., prepared to defend herself against invasion from whatever side it comes, from the emperor, from the pope, or from Francis, 200.
........., ..., should she not accept those offered, to be attacked by Leyva and Gonzaga, 208, 216–8, 401.
........., ..., said to be arming, 334.
........., ..., the greatest efforts to be made by the imperial ambassadors to bring her to terms, 206.
........., ..., negociates with the archduke Ferdinand, 401–2, 615.
........., ..., peace with the emperor concluded (29 Dec. 1529), 403.
........., ..., friar sent by Henry to, on the divorce question, imprisoned by order of the signory, 617.
........., ..., overtures made by, respecting the general council, which is likely to deprive the Church of Rome of all her possessions in Italy, 699.
........., ..., rejects the compromise offered in her differences with Ferdinand, and challenges the arbitrators appointed by the emperor, 755.
........., ..., her former treaties with the Turk considered an obstacle to the defensive league proposed by Clement and Charles, 810.
........., still hesitating to join the league, ii. 20, 92, 405.
........., ..., not to be attacked by Turkish corsairs, ii. 287.
........., ..., will join the Christian powers, and arm 50 galleys if she were only sure of success, ii. 334.
........., ..., urgently requested to join the league for the protection of Italy, ii. 458.
........., city of, all foreign ambassadors residing in, complain of the manner in which they are treated at, 521.
........., ..., a friar of, writes in favour of the divorce, 563–4.
........., ..., a meeting of theologians and canonists in, promoted by the English ambassador (Casale) for the purpose of giving opinion on the divorce question, 563.
........., ..., ..., Niño's efforts to prevent it, *ibid.*

Venice, city of—*cont.*
........., ..., the dukes of Milan and Ferrara at, 564.
........., ..., reception made at, to the duke of Milan in, 754.
........., ..., conjectures about their meeting there, 782.
........., resident ambassadors at, *English*, *v.* Casale.
........., ..., *French*, *v.* Avranches.
........., ..., *Imperial*, Niño, Soria, Caracciolo, Sanchez.
........., ..., college-hall in Venice, 663, 729–30; ii. 323.
........., ..., doge of, *v.* Gritti (Andrea).
........., ..., vice-doge of, 549.
........., ..., proveditor general, ii. 91, 457.
........., ..., sages of the land, 754.
........., ..., letters dated at, 317, 335, 564, 958–99, 1156.
Venier, Domenigo, Venetian ambassador to Rome, 286; ii. 563, 966.
........., Gabriele, Venetian ambassador to Sforza of Milan, 617.
........., Giovan Antonio, Venetian ambassador to France till Dec. 1532, 653.
........., Marco Antonio, Venetian ambassador to England, succeeded by Lodovico Falier, Jan. 1529, 617; ii. 976.
........., ..., ..., arrives at Rome, Dec. 1530, 617; ii. 976.
........., ..., ..., secretary of, in London, *v.* Spinelli.
Vere, Robert de, earl of Oxford, lord high chamberlain of England, privy councillor; on a deputation to queen Katharine, ii. 629.
........., ..., ... to the princess Mary, ii. 830.
........., ..., to take Elizabeth to Norfolk, ii. 877.
........., ..., Francis de, his daughter, betrothed to the earl of Surrey, ii. 428.
Vermilio, Pietro Paolo, recommended by Schomberg, 74, 84; ii. 956.
Verney, Du, French diplomate, also called Vernes and Dyverny, 283, 312.
Veroli, bishop of, *v.* Filonardo.
Verona, 314, 572.
.... to be attacked by Gonzaga (Sept. 1529), 216, 218.
........., bishop of, *v.* Giberti.
Veronese, to be invaded by Leyva in case of Venice refusing the peace, 216.
Vexin, in Normandy, 824 *note.*
Veyre, Mr. de (Philibert de la?), ii. 115.
Vianoli, Alessandro Maria, his history of Venice quoted, ii. 454.
Vicedom (?), also called Witzthum, ii. 346.
Vicenza, 269, 572.
Vich, Mossen Joan, his presence at Rome very much wanted in consequence of the death of cardinal Sancti Quatuor, ii. 245.

Vichefarfild, Bishop's Hatfield (?), in Hertfordshire; letter dated at, 1022.

Vienna, 203.

........., besieged by Solyman in 1529, 284.

........., siege of, raised, 258, 271, 315, 319, 321, 330–32, 339.

........., threatened again, ii. 823–4.

Victoria, Vitoria, in Alava, one of the three Basque provinces of Spain, 724, 776–7.

........., Fernando, Katharine's physician, in correspondence with Chapuys, to whom he occasionally forwards Katharine's letters, 236, 351, 392, 710.

........., ..., attending Mary during her illness (June 1533), ii. 724.

Viesti, in Naples; bishop of, *v.* Alarcon.

Vigebano, in Sardinia; Spanish infantry marching on, 16.

Vilaine d'Humières, sieur de, *v.* Brinon.

Vilaque (Villach), in Illyria, ii. 532, 536, 918.

.... *v.* Laibach.

........., letter dated at, 1180.

Villa Beltran, abbey of, 192.

Villafranca [di Nizza], Charles landing at, in Aug. 1529, 186 *note*; ii. 959.

.... [del Vierzo], in Galicia, marquis of, *v.* Toledo.

Villains of Germany, *v.* Peasants.

Villena, Christoval, a merchant of Siena, 176.

Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Philip, grand-master of Rhodes (1521–34), 36, 99, 124, 165, 741, ii. 468.

........., ..., will not undertake the relief of Coron unless provided with ample means, ii. 827.

Vincestre, *v.* Winchester and Gardyner.

Vinyol, Mossen Joan, *Int.* xxii.

Vio Caetano, Thomas, cardinal of San Sixto, very well disposed to defend the queen's case at Rome, 556; ii. 218–9.

Violante, *v.* Yoland.

Virués, Fray Alonso de, Benedictine, writes against the divorce, *Int.* xxv.

Visconti, Galeazzo, a Milanese, at the court of France, 245–6, 258–9; ii. 965–6.

........., ..., on a pilgrimage to Loretto, 701.

........., ..., at Venice before returning to France, 836.

........., Ludovico, 640 *note.*

........., one of the family attempts to assassinate the duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, ii. 912.

........., Scaramuzza, 334, 826.

Vismonde, 35 *note*, *v.* Sigismondo.

Vitello, Vitelli, Alessandro, Italian condotiero in the emperor's service, against Pisa, 337, 686, 784–5.

Viterbo, in the states of the Church, 67, 688; ii. 75, 808.

Vives, Juan Luis, Katharine's chancellor (?) summoned before the duke of Norfolk, 672.

........., ..., ordered to give up Katharine's jewels, ii. 254, 524.

........., ..., dismissed from Katharine's service, ii. 893.

........., ..., summoned before the king with the rest of the queen's household, ii. 724.

........., ..., asked to give up the keys of the room at Westminster where Katharine's papers and deeds were kept, ii. 863.

Vizconde, *v.* Visconti.

Vochterinus, Anselmus, an Austin friar, native of Vicenza; signs a conclusion in favour of the divorce, 529, 563.

........., ..., ..., which he retracts at the request of bishop Sclède, 552.

Volterra, in Tuscany, attacked by Vasto, 524, 570, 577, 610, 868.

........., taken, 680 *note.*

Vormia, *v.* Worms.

Vorte (Voltri?), 259.

Vours, Pietro, nephew of cardinal Tortosa and auditor of the rota at Rome, 74.

Vulmot, *v.* Wilmot.

Vuasmaytre, *v.* Westminster.

Vuyllot, *v.* Elyot.

Vyenne (Viemme?) in Brabant, 688.

Vyennes (?), Mr. de, 259.

W.

Wakefield, Robert, his treatise in favour of Henry's divorce, ii. 214, 514, 984, 988.

........., ..., denounced by Ortiz, ii. 267.

Waldstettes, the inhabitants of the Forest, name given to the Swiss of certain cantons, ii. 310.

Wales, ii. 886.

Wallop, Sir John, English ambassador to France, leaves (19 June 1532), ii. 466, 992.

Warham, Dr. William, archbishop of Canterbury, elected speaker of the House, 324.

........., ..., Henry's letter to (1530), 436–7.

........., ..., ..., substance of its contents communicated by Katharine to Chapuys, 436–7.

........., ..., the divorce suit to be submitted to, and others meeting at Hampton Court on the 11th of August 1530 for the purpose, *ibid.*, 817.

Warham, Dr. William, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., summons Fisher to his presence, 852.

........., ..., formerly of Katharine's council, but now leaning to the other side (Dec. 1530), 853.

........., ..., draws out by Henry's orders an appeal to the general council besides a protest, *ibid.*

........., ..., on Katharine's application for counsel answers that he will have nothing to do with such affairs, and that "ira principis mors est," ii. 175.

........., ..., does not attend convocation, (1591), ii. 39.

........., ..., implicated with others in the Nun's case, ii. 863.

........., ..., death of, (1532), ii. 863.

Warwick, the castle of, ii. 488, ..., (?) earl of, 238.

Waterford, in Ireland, 54, 206.

Waury, sieur de, *v.* Rupt.

Weiss, "Papiers de Granvelle" quoted, *Int.*, vi., vii.

Welsh disaffected, and rather partial to Katharine, ii. 323.

Welzers, the, bankers of Augsburg, 33, 840; ii. 351, 825.

Werdenberg, count Felix von, colonel in the emperor's service, 124, 258, 377, 445; ii. 965.

........., ..., letter to the emperor, 170.

West, Niholas, dean of Windsor, bishop of Ely (1515–33), ii. 258, 529, 993.

........., ..., Katharine inhabiting a house belonging to (Aug. 1532), ii. 497.

Westburey, dean of, *v.* Barlow.

Westminster, the manor of, 354; ii. 464, 863.

........., a house in, and a pension to chancellor Audeley, ii. 610.

........., abbey of, ii. 63.

........., Anne Boleyn's coronation to take place at, ii. 700.

........., letters dated at, 222–3, 225–6.

Weston, Sir Richard, treasurer of Calais, 56, 303.

........., Sir William, prior of the order of St. John in England, 303.

Wheat, scarcity of, in Italy, amounting almost to a famine (1529), 33.

........., in the Castillian provinces, 123.

........., Sicilian, ii. 308.

........., English, permission to export, applied for by Chapuys (1531), ii. 98.

........., ..., by Givachino for Bordeaux, 858.

........., ..., at first refused, but ultimately granted, ii. 99.

Wiertenberg, *v.* Würtenberg.

William, duke of Clèves, ii. 290.

Willoughby, lady, ii. 893.

Wilmot, earl of, *v.* Boleyn (Thomas).

Willougby, Mrs., a Spanish lady, once in the queen's household; her daughter married to the duke of Suffolk, ii. 788, 893.

Wiltshire, earl of, and Ormond, *v.* Boleyn.

Winchester, a pension to cardinal Wolsey on the revenues of the bishopric of, 449.

........., bishops of, *v.* Ford, Gardyner.

Windsor, 586.

........., Henry's court at, 56, 69, 259, 285, 292, 296, 504, 535, 617, 802; ii. 198, 773, 782.

........., Katharine to be removed from Greenwich to, 468.

........., ..., staying with Henry at, 476, 698.

........., the privy council at, ii. 758, 773.

........., princess Mary, with her mother, at, 962.

........., ..., to reside at, during her father's absence at Calais, ii. 527.

........., treaty of alliance between France and England signed at, ii. 509, 513.

........., Royal Chapel at, dean of, *v.* Sampson.

........., letters dated at, 25, 34, 188.

Wine, French, supply of, for Henry's table, 691.

........., ..., butts of, presented to cardinal Wolsey by John Jocquin, the French ambassador, ii. 379.

........., ..., who claims their value from Henry, *ibid.*

Wingfield, Sir Richard, 586.

........., Sir Robert, ii. 927–8.

Witzthum (?) coiner of base money in Bohemia, ii. 346.

Wladislas, *v.* Ladislas.

Wolsey, Thomas, archbishop of York and cardinal legate in England, 7, 47, 144–5, 276–8, 290–91, 308, 507, 853, 673, 805, 853; ii. 57, 512, 552, 640.

........., ..., interview of, with the Flemish ambassador (Le Sauch), 57–9, 90–91.

........., ..., ..., with Mendoza, 89, 90–93.

........., ..., loses Henry's favour, 133.

........., ..., his affairs getting daily worse, 189.

........., ..., probable cause of his fall, *ibid.*

........., ..., lampoons and squibs against, printed and circulated in London, 195.

........., ..., absent from court, staying at Esher, 195–6, 234.

........., ..., living in exile at a country house of his, 20 miles from London, 196, 234–5.

........., ..., his affairs beginning to take a very bad turn, owing to Anne Boleyn's enmity, 195.

........., ..., Chapuys advised by Katharine not to present his credentials, or call upon, until it be decided whether he remains in power or not, 232, 235, 278.

........., ..., taken to court by Campeggio 235, 257, 266

Wolsey, Thomas, &c.—*cont.*

………, ……, papal brief informing him of the advocation of the divorce suit to Rome, 214, 237, 255–6.

………, ……, declaration of desistance signed by Campeggio and in consequence, 153.

………, ……, tried and found guilty of high treason, dismissed from the privy council and the chancellorship, 303, 305–6.

………, ……, compelled to draw out an inventory in his own hand of all his movable property, *ibid.*

……, ……, ……, which he hands over to the king, 303–4.

………, ……, Henry presents him with a ring by way of consolation, 304.

………, ……, and allows him to retain one of his bishoprics (Winchester), besides the revenues of York, 370, 469.

………, ……, his son, a student in Paris, deprived of almost all his ecclesiastical benefices, 353.

………, ……, said to have lent money to the vayvod of Transylvania without Henry's knowledge, 369.

………, ……, his fall entirely the work of Anne Boleyn, for the king himself bears him no ill will, 366, 368.

………, ……, should Henry's love for his mistress abate in the least, and restore to his favour, his enemies would certainly lose their lives, *ibid.*

………, ……, so ill and despondent that his physicians fear for his life, 444.

………, ……, German agents in London interceding for, *ibid.*

……… ……, his restoration to power the principal object of Jocquin's mission, 448.

………, ……, would have succeeded, had it not been for Anne Boleyn, as the king in reality bears him no hatred, *ibid.*

………, ……, striving to regain Henry's favour, 449–50.

………, ……, feigns illness, *ibid.*

………, ……, a promise of pardon sent to, *ibid.*

………, ……, at the Charterhouse (Richmond), 486.

………, ……, visited by Chapuys, who tries to console him, *ibid.*

………, ……, sets out for his diocese, 514.

………, ……, begs Chapuys to intercede for him with the emperor, 515.

………, ……, is glad to hear of Thomas Boleyn's failure at Bologna, 515.

………, ……, states his opinion that, should Henry attempt a second marriage, he would soon repent, 533.

………, ……, in communication with Rome and with Chapuys, 600.

Wolsey, Thomas, &c.—*cont.*

………, …… , sends to inquire from the latter how the queen's case is progressing, 619.

………, ……, ……, and shows a decided interest for her, *ibid.*

………, ……, plotting against Norfolk, and striving to regain his influence, 630–1.

………, ……, ……, in which he is assisted by the French ambassadors, and particularly by Gioachino, *ibid.*

………, ……, sends daily to inquire from Chapuys why the queen's cause is not more energetically pushed at Rome, 692.

………, ……, ……, that affair once settled, he is sure to return to power, *ibid.*

………, ……, arrested, and placed under the keeping of Talbot, his old enemy, 804.

………, ……, in correspondence with Clement through the papal nuncio (Borgho), 805.

………, ……, accused of having resumed his former habits of pomp and splendour, and having applied to Rome recommending Henry's excommunication, 819.

………, ……, death of, at Leicester (28 Nov. 1530), 833.

………, ……, letter to Margaret, the governess of the Low Countries, 22.

………, ……, from Margaret to, 90.

Wool trade in England, Venice afraid of the, being stopped, 710, 782–4.

……… with the Low Countries, ii. 773.

………, at Calais, ii. 915.

Worcester, bishop of, *v.* Ghinucci.

Wormacia, *v.* Worms.

Worms, in Hesse Darmstadt, 321, 489, 609; ii. 42, 780, 835.

Würtemberg, (also written Viertenberge and Werdenberg), duke of, 176, 483; ii. 157, 202–3; *v.* Ulric.

………, count Felix, 138.

Wymaria (Weimar), ii. 728 *note.*

X.

Xenque (?) Juan, *v.* Shenck.

Ximenez de Urrea, count of Aranda, *v.* Urrea.

Xipiciano, *v.* Cippizano.

Xuarez, ii. 920.

Y.

Ycart, commander Francisco, 458.

Yeomanry being created in England, ii. 610.

Yères (Hyères), island of, arrival of Charles at the (July 1529), 162, 166.

Yolanda (Yolant, Iolant), *v.* Albion.

York, Wolsey ordered to go to his diocese of, 476, 486.

........., archbishop, of, *v.* Wolsey and Lee.

........., Margaret of, countess of Salisbury, 811 *note*; *v.* Plantagenet.

.... house, residence of cardinal Wolsey, king Henry takes possession of, 323.

Yve, Mr. d', ii. 554–5.

........., ..., letter to, 1028.

Z.

Zamora, bishops of, *v.* Acuña, Mendoza.

........., episcopal town of Spain, business relating to (1532), ii. 563.

Zante, island of, 184; ii. 518–19.

Zapata [de Mirabel ?], Pero, 186, 188.

........., ..., governor of Modena during the arbitration, 166, 609, 749, 782; ii. 249.

Zapoli, Zapolski, Zapolsky, also called John Sepuse, vayvod of Transylvania, 59, 60, 62, 101, 151, 257, 329; ii. 330–31, 335, 420, 558.

........., ..., about to marry Solyman's daughter, 50.

........., ..., recognized by France and England as king of Hungary, and provided with money, 82, 89, 684.

........., ..., ..., by Wolsey also, 369.

........., ..., in league with the Grand Turk, 144, 176, 412, 764; ii. 348, 350–1.

........., ..., ... with the Venetians, ii. 91.

........., ..., defeated, 144, 176, 412.

........., ..., vassal of, (Pereni ?) sends an embassy to the Grand Turk, ii. 288.

........., ..., his influence over the Hungarians completely destroyed, 483, 657.

........., ..., commission to proceed against the bishops who followed the party of, 636.

........., ..., agent of, in France, 596; *v.* Corsin.

........., ..., crossing over to England, 725, 736–7.

........., ..., in Rome (Bioderos ?), 755.

........., ..., pretending to the hand of Mary of Hungary, 764.

........., ..., called king John, 860–61.

........., ..., under the protection of Solyman, *ibid.*

........., ..., in frequent communication with Francis, ii. 147.

........., ..., ..., and with Henry, ii. 379.

........., ..., summons a diet, ii. 127, 339.

........., ..., his ambassador at Constantinople dismissed, ii. 324.

........., ..., excommunicated by the pope, ii. 807.

........., ..., commissions Paul Casale to represent him at the conference of Nice, and complains of the pope, *ibid.*

Zapoli, Zapolski, Zapolsky, &c.—*cont.*

........., ..., report of his being on the point of marrying a daughter of Solyman, who will give him Hungary to govern under him, 50.

........., ..., of having concluded a new treaty with the Turk, 764.

........., ..., and having overrun Hungary 798.

........., ..., alluded, 113, 257, 349, 518, 797–8, 828, 868; ii. 73, 333, 349–50.

Zara, in Delmatia, ii. 974.

Zaragoza, *v.* Saragossa.

Zarate, Çarate, secretary, 882.

Zeeland, ii. 937.

Zenete, marchioness of, *v.* Mendoza.

Zeno, Micer Pietro, Venetian bailli at Constantinople, ii. 91, 333, 573.

Zirletti, 183, *note.*

Zoppo, Il, surname of Luigi Gonzaga da Castalgiffredo, ii. 968.

Zorzi, Zorsi, Francesco, his opinion in favour of Henry's divorce, 529.

........., ..., summoned to appear before the "Dieci," 869; *v.* Giorgio.

Zuccaro, Zucharo, Capt., 525.

........., ..., in command of the hackbutiers sent to the relief of the Catholic cantons of Switzerland (1531), 525; ii. 304, 467.

Zug, Swiss canton, ii. 311 *note.*

Zuñiga, D. Alvaro de, second duke of Bejar, count of Ledesma, of the emperor's privy council (1532), *Int.* xxv.

........., D. Frances de, ii. 977.

........., y Avellaneda, D. Francisco de, third count of Miranda, chief of the empress's household, and privy councillor (1536), *Int.* 183, 713 *note.*

........., y Sotomayor D. Francisco de, duke of Bejar, *Int.* xxv.

Zurich, canton of, the principal leaders of the Lutheran sect abandon, 34; ii. 305, 311–12, 314.

Zurichians, in favour of the Swiss Lutheran league which they join, ii. 212, 310–12, 314 *note.*

........., holdiug a diet with the Catholic cantons, ii. 662.

........., proposed reduction of the, if the Pope will only pay them their arrears, ii. 803.

Zwingle, Ulric, ii. 201, 305, 309, 311.

........., ..., preaches at Zurich that succours from France are quite lawful as "peace money," ii. 201–2.

........., ..., leads the Zurichians against the Catholics, and is slain at Cappel, ii. 282, 311–2, 314.

Zwinglians, in favour of the duke of Wurtenburg, ii. 202.

........., ..., whose restoration they procure, ii. 203.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

LONDON:
Printed by GEORGE EDWARD B. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
[B 1190.—400.—1/83.]